

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

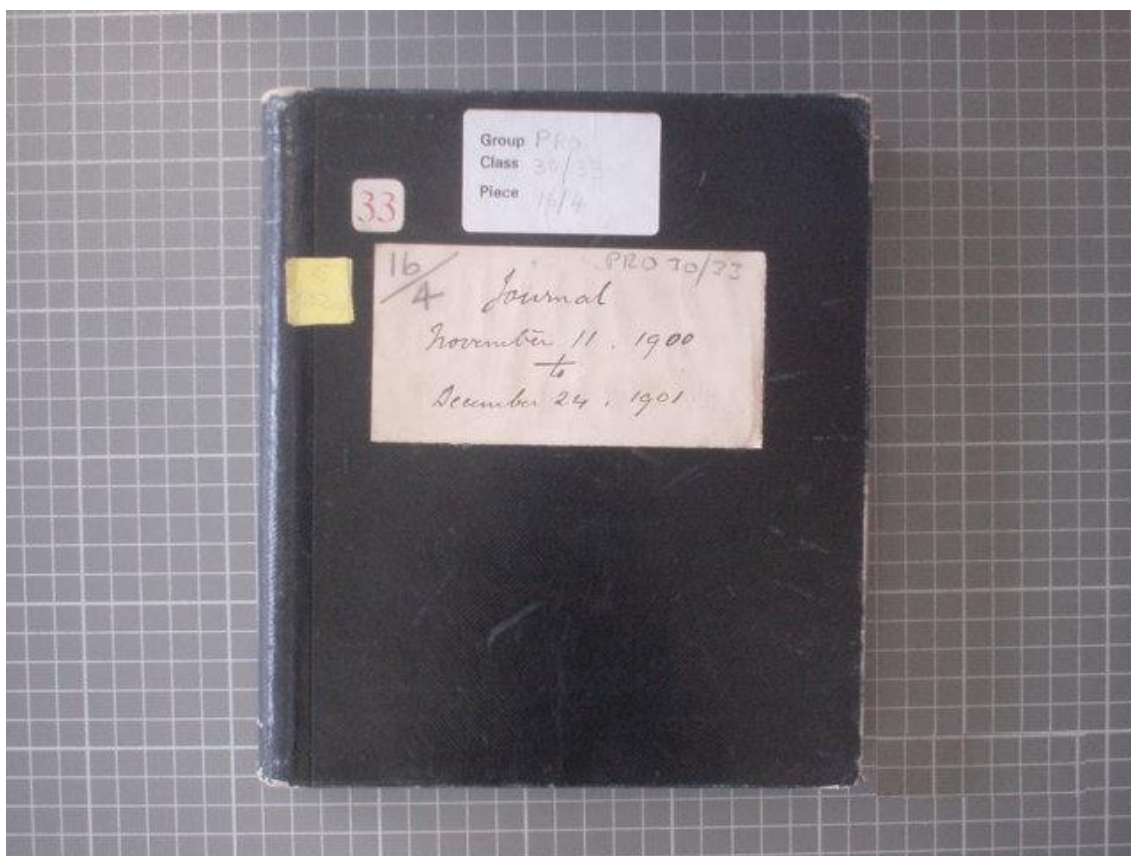
In Two Volumes

Volume One: 1900-03

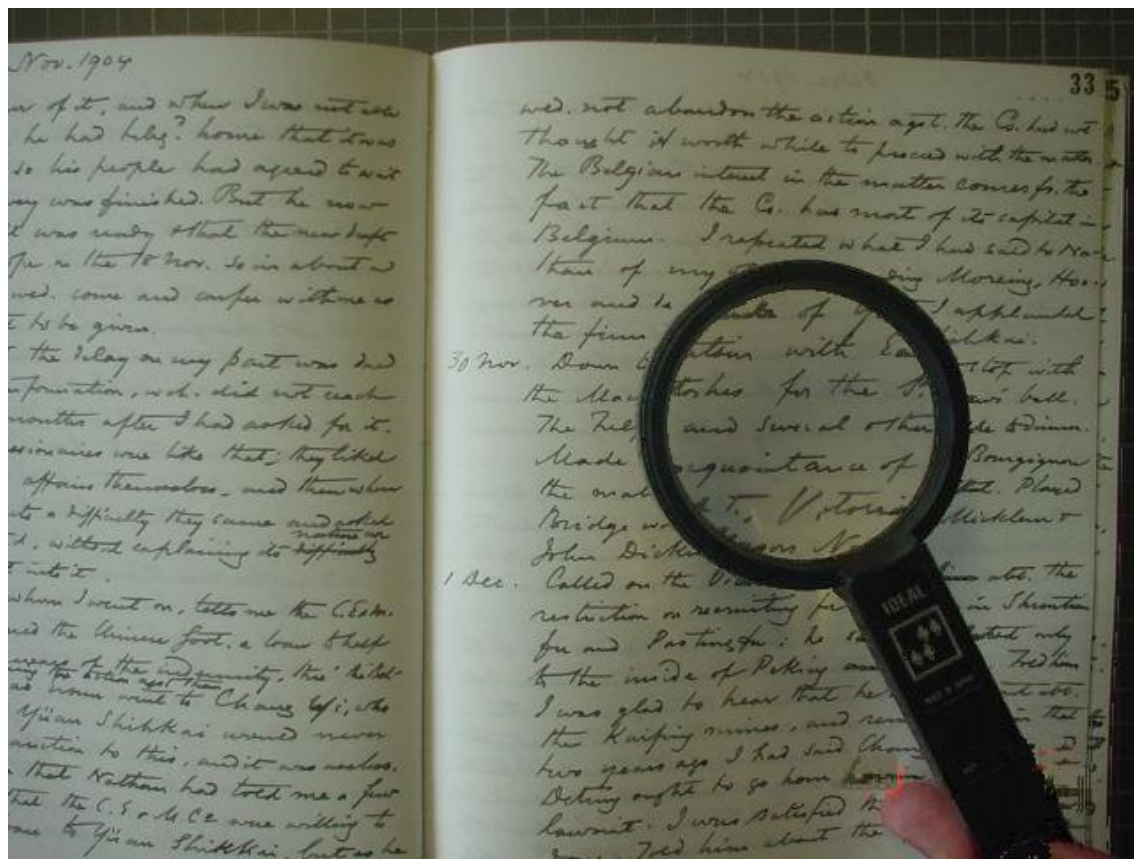
Volume Two: 1904-06

Edited and Annotated by Ian C. Ruxton

With an Introduction by James E. Hoare



PRO 30/33 16/4. Satow's Journal (diary) from November 11, 1900 to December 24, 1901. All of the Peking diaries are splendidly preserved in this way.
(Photograph by Ian Ruxton with permission of the National Archives, UK)



A magnifying glass was needed for the parts which were hard to read.
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The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900-06)

Table of Contents

<u>Volume One</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Illustrations	i	
Table of Contents	iii	
Editorial Preface	v	
Copyright	vi	
Introduction (J.E.Hoare)	vii	
1900 May-December	1	Satow leaves Japan (May 4). Reaches England (May 31) Leaves England (August 25) Arrives in China (September 29)
1901	78	
1902	175	Satow leaves China for home leave (November 20).
1903	311	Satow arrives in England via San Remo (January 15). Satow travels in Italy (January 30 - March 25). Satow leaves England for China (June 18). India (July 3-19). Rangoon (July 22). Singapore (July 30). Hongkong (August 8), Shanghai (August 12), Peking (August 21).
<u>Volume Two</u>		
Illustrations	i	
Table of Contents	iii	
Copyright	v	
1904	1	
1905	148	
1906	259	Satow leaves China (May 14). In Japan, May 16-June 9.
Epilogue	306	
Bibliography	310	
Index for both volumes	312	

Peking Diaries Volume Two - Page Index by Months

	<u>1904</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1906</u>
January	1	148	259
February	18	156	265
March	38	162	270
April	47	173	278
May	58	184	287
June	70	195	301
July	76	204	
August	83	208	
September	101	217	
October	114	226	
November	129	235	
December	139	248	

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1904

January 1904

Jan. 1 Li Shêng-tê and Ch'ing-kuan called, but I said I was not receiving. [General] Chiang Kuei ti came at nine o'clock, but I said that I was not up.

Went to Mme. Cárcer, Mme. Uchida & Mrs. Conger, also left cards on the Rogestvenskys. No other New Year calls.

“ 2 Mr. Walter E. Southcott of Forbes & Co. Came to ask whether there was an opposition on the part of the Chinese Govt. to coolie emigration to South Africa. His firm is acting for Wernher Beit & Co. with whom is associated a brother of Lord Milner. He has talked to Hopkins & Tang Shao-yi, and framed scheme on the lines of the Hongkong ordinance. The Chin. Auth: say there would be no difficulty in getting 10,000 or 20,000.

I told him that Chinese Govt. had written to propose the regulations being drawn up in London, instead of in China betw. myself and the Provincial Auth: I had reported this home and recd. a reply that H.M.G. had as yet come to no decision as to allowing the engagement of Chinese for service in the Transvaal, and read to him the F.O. teleg. of Nov. 11. He said a story was going abt. that the Chinese Govt. wld. not allow it, because of the opposition in Canada to the immigration of Chinese there. I said I had seen some telegs. abt. Viceroy of Liang Kuang having declared his desire to prohibit, but I thought these were “lies”, unfortunately too common a problem in journalism.

In the afternoon Prince Ch'ing, his son, Natung, Wu Ting-fang, Lienfang, Chü Hung-chi, Ku, Hu Yü-fên and a host of other officials, to make New Years calls. They had fixed 4 and 4.30, but the first batch arrived at two, the rest shortly afterwards. I had them at a long table in the dining room, set out with plate, flowers, cakes & fruit & gave them champagne & pale green tea. Prince Ch'ing drank to the health of the King and the members of the Legation, & I drank to that of the Emperor & Empress-Dowager and China. We wore frock coats & they had on furs.

3 Jan. Kuei-chun 桂春 nominally gov. of Tingchow called by apptmt. to make a new Year's call, but really to talk politics. He is 47 & intelligent, knew all about the Russians striving towards an ice-free port, and that Ambassadors were supposed to be entitled to have audiences of sovereigns. I told him Russia was not contented with Port Arthur and Talienwan Bay, but now wanted Masanpho [the coaling station on Korea's South coast], and that she talks of annexing Mongolia and Kashgaria. He thought that these annexations wld. do her no good, but cost her a great deal of money, as they are not self-supporting territories, and would distract her attention from getting to the sea, besides Port Arthur & other places of the kind made her very vulnerable. Manchuria was regarded as of vital

1904

importance by the Court, because Kirin was the cradle of the dynasty and Mukden is where their tombs are.

Bishop Scott and his niece Miss Scott, a pleasant, bright girl, who has come out to teach in a school for foreign children at Tientsin, lunched.

Kuiei-chun also asked whether it was true that England & France had given urgent advice to Japan not to go to war. I replied that war was always an inconvenience to neutrals, as it interfered with their commerce, and so of course they always expressed a sort of platonic hope that war wld. be avoided, but we had not gone further than that.

4 [Jan.] Conger came. He told me very confidentially that [U.S. Minister in Tokyo Lloyd] Griscom telegd. that he has it on excellent authority that Japan wld. send an ultimatum shortly after the 4th, & asked if I had the same news. I said no, but Kurino [Shinichirō, Japanese Minister in St. Petersburg] went to see [Russian Foreign Minister Count] Lamsdorf the day before yesterday & [entrepreneur A.M.] Bezobrazoff had given it out that whether Russia retired or remained in Manchuria, other Powers wld. not be allowed to have equal rights with her there, wch. I said was a denial of our m.f.n. clause wch. we had always maintained. Acc[ording] to Uchida, said Conger, neither China nor Corea wld. be regarded as a 'third power' in the sense that their participation wld. oblige France to join Russia. And he felt certain that considering the recent exchange of friendly visits betw. the King & M. Loubet, the French wld. be very loath to fall out with England. I reminded him of what I had told him of Dubail's language, & said that no doubt France felt less dependent on Russia since she had now a friendly understanding with England & Italy; and I told him what was reported from Paris as to Lamsdorf's visit there.

Went to [Freiherr] Czikann [von Wahlborn] with whom I found Mumm & arranged with him that he shld. put the question of the rate of exchange adopted by the Commission of bankers for the remittance of the indemnity on the agenda for the next meeting of the Dipl. Body. All three of us were agreed that the way in wch. they have acted in the past throws a present loss on the Govts. of the Powers, and on the Chinese Govt. hereafter when the account is ultimately wound up.

To Dubail abt. the same matter. He has asked for instructions. But his Govt. takes the view that what they are entitled to receive is as much sycee as represents their share of the indemnity in gold, and that they are not likely to be able to accept bills for the amount. The Banque de l'Indo-Chine is a small affair and will prob. not have much interest in the matter; by its constitution, wch. is too narrow, it can only buy & sell exchange.

Abt. Hwangpu, he said he had not been able to find the note wch. the Chinese Legn. addressed to the Fr. Govt. but he left the room and at once came back with a decypher of the telegram that was handed in at the Quai d'Orsay, and his instructions, wch. he read to

1904

me. They were to the effect that if the Chinese offer were unanimously accepted by his colls: he might do the same. I fancy the date was not later than May. He said he had written home by Siberia & asked for a reply by teleg. I observed that there were two objections to leaving the matter in the hands of the Chinese 1°. the necessity of improving the approaches to S'hai had been mooted in 1866 (5 is correct), & the Chinese Auth: & I.M.C. had always opposed anything being done, hence it was not safe to entrust them; 2° only an international board wld. have authority to prevent encroachment by private owners on the waterway. He responded that the water was deep in front of the Fr. settlement, so there was no likelihood there of encroachment, not seeing that this must necessarily weaken his grounds of opposition.

He gave me copies of the Fr. Municipal Council rules & constitution, & I asked him if he knew why the Fr. had split off from the others. As he asserted that they never had worked together I told him what I had discovered in a desp. of Sir H[arry] Parkes that it was owing to the refusal of the Engl. Auth: in 1854 to protect the Fr. settlement, wch. he evidently did not know.

We talked abt. Manchuria. He said the Chinese cld. not turn the Russians out by force, & therefore they must save all they can by giving way on some pts. He had told them it was no use relying on Japan wch. wld. be satisfied if she had a free hand in Corea. Nobody was going to fight the Russians for Manchuria. I objected that 1°. the Chinese said they cld. not trust the Russians to carry out any new convention as they had broken the first, & 2°. the Russians now say they will not admit other nations to equal participation there, whilst the Powers went on telling China that they insisted on the m.f.n. clause. E.g. the Russians wld. not allow any other nations to carry on mining enterprises, and it was possible they might interfere with missionaries. They had annoyed ours a good deal, and prob. disliked the Catholics as much. He replied that they were hostile to the Catholics no doubt. In his view Russia had made a mistake in spending such vast sums in Manchuria. Possibly they might therefore consent to let the Chinese continue the administration, if they gave way on other points. They shld. send some one on a special embassy to Russia. When one is the weaker *il faut être le plus malin* ["one must be the more cunning"]. I said that Lamsdorff apparently had no power in the matter, but he replied that for the past two months he had been regaining favour. The man to influence was Bezobrazoff who has so much influence over the Emperor. I observed that the Emperor had apparently not a very strong character, and easily let himself be influenced. There was a strong party in Russia that disapproved the enormous expenditure on the Manchurian enterprise. Mongolia & Kashgaria were notoriously not self-supporting, & their acquisition wld. bring on profitless expenditure. Yes he said, I have told Lessar this over & over again: what the Chinese ought to do

1904

however is to get the moderates in Russia on their side, & so overcome the forward[?] party. I did not say what I thought, namely that the Chinese are also playing a waiting game, believing that the money will not last. Asked about the rumour of a £20,000,000 loan talked of at Berlin; he said the Germans could not do it, for they had a deficit on their budget of nearly £2,000,000; also he did not believe that the commercial treaty had been signed. In Paris the Taiyuenfu line had been subscribed 7 times over, but it was difficult to get money from financiers fr. China without a guarantee. There was the Yünnan rlwy., another case in point. But he never encouraged concessionaries unless he knew the thing was good. I alluded to Souffart's Honan[-]Kaifêng rlwy: on this he said it had been promised before the troubles, & it was he who had taken it down fr. the hook where it had hung. The 6% guarantee was of course to be paid out of capital, until the line was finished, but he had not undertaken to Souffart that the money shld. be forthcoming in Paris, there was no Cie. d'Orient[?] in the matter, the real concessionaries were a tramway Co. in Paris. The same he said was the case with the Szechuen rlwy. fr. Ichang. The money had to be found. He had told the Fr. group that their only chance was in allying themselves with the Engl. group; for it was as easy for me to checkmate him as for him to checkmate me in the matter of a railway concession. Asked if he knew what tracé wld. be followed, he replied that it must be carefully examined. I hazarded the opinion that a line along the river bank wld. be impossible, and that in any case the amount required wld. be huge. He observed that Szechuen was surrounded on all sides by lofty ranges of mountains. I asked abt. Monteau's[?] coming here, but could get nothing definite. Wonder whether he knows of Manifold's expedition. Prob. he has heard fr. the Waiwupu of the passports being issued. It wld. be interesting to see his journal of our conversation, and amusing to see what he gets out of it!

Went on to Citters. ¹ He has no theory as to what shld. be done to prevent the foreign banks making as much as they do out of the Chinese indemnity payments, but some live entirely on it, the Italian & the Austrian. He has asked Van Wahre's opinion on my proposal. The fact is most of the colleagues are afraid that the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank wld. tender for the whole amount, but I told him they were not strong enough for that. The bank that offered to take a certain amount at the highest rate wld. get all it tendered for, & so on in proportion.

Dubail also said that Tsen the Viceroy of Liang Kuang was 'dans le marasme' [in a slump]. He had been trying to borrow money from French people, who wanted the provincial guarantee, but that was refused. I laughed & said, they did not want to give you a mortgage on the province. He said that the Hgkg & S'hai Bank had failed for the same

¹ Jonkheer Adolf Jacobus van Citters, Dutch Minister plenipotentiary at Peking, 1903-08.

1904

reason (wch. is not the case, but I did not tell him so). Then he went on to say that Germans had lent money to Chang Chih tung on his personal guarantee, and were very much troubled how to get it back. I told him that in 1900 the Hgkg & S'hai Bank had lent him money, but on the security of certain revenues.

- 5 [Jan.] Albert W. Bash an American, representing the Chinese Investment & Construction Co. came. He gives himself out as the repres've of a new and wealthy Syndicate, wch. wishes to work with us for the construction of railways. His idea is to work fr. the Pingshan miles [sic. mines?] towards the coast, preferably to Amoy, or at any rate to Hangchow, & also by way of the Meiling pass down to Canton, in wch. he has been encouraged by G. Jamieson or Brenan, & also into Szechuen. Does not think much of the proposed Fr. line S. of Yangtze fr. Ichung. The best line is that of the Han river. As to the Canton Hankow line, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the capital is Belgian, only $\frac{1}{3}$ American, but the concession is still American. Prob. the Belgians are to build the $\frac{2}{3}$ to the N. wch. completes that line from Peking down to Hunan. They got hold of Shêng by stuffing his pockets. He showed me a private letter of Townsend of July last fr. Hgkg & S'hai bank in London, in wch. he speaks of the B. & C. Corporation having been laggards. I told him that I wld. not oppose him, unless he interfered with the interests of the B. & C. Corporation and Pekin Syndicate, wch. I had to protect.

Major Picton came abt. the rebuilding of the barracks and officers quarters in the hornwork. ¹ I got hold of Ottewill, and ascertained that I could, when the Assts. get into their new house, say in March, lend 4 sets of quarters temporarily for the accommodation of officers.

Hillier brought me a teleg. fr. Kinder saying that a Russian officer had been yesterday at Hsing-ming-ting to say that a hundred Russian soldiers would shortly come there. Also we discussed the possibility of revoking the option of taking bonds or being paid off, offered to British claimants, and so defeating the Russo-Chinese Bank, wch. has a lien on the claims of Bandinal of Newchwang & Ward & Co. of Tientsin, who insist on bonds. We talked about the Bankers commission & the rate of exchange they fix for the indemnity; he says prob. the Hgkg & S'hai Bank could take the whole of the successive instalments, if it were put up to tender.

Mumm came to get figures of actual payments of Haikwan taels by the Chinese in Jany. & July last and on 31 Dec. 1903. He says the belief among the Chinese here is that the Japse. will send an army corps here & drag them off to attack Newchwang. There was a row a night or two ago between German soldiers and Japanese 7 agst. 40 or 50. The

¹ A hornwork was a type of advanced fortification traced with a bastion front consisting of two demi-bastions connected by a curtain.

1904

Germans held out for 20 minutes till the Italian patrol came and put a stop to it. The Japanese soldiers refused to obey their officers. It all sounds very true.

- 6 [Jan.] Went to see [Russian Minister P.M.] Lessar. We got on amicably until we began to discuss the question of a municipality for the Diplomatic Quarter, and then both got a little hot over the refusal of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank to pay quota of expenses. He said if he were the French and Germans he would put up gates in Legation street and allow no loaded carts to go to the Bank. I retorted that I would shut up Canal street in front of our Legation, and that I was not pervious to threats. He always puts my back up, for he has claws like a cat, wch. he unsheathes on the slightest provocation. We managed however to part harmoniously.

Prince Kung called, and was unusually stupid; he was in a great hurry to get off to Mumm.

Chou Tungshang 周東生, a director of the National Bank of China, who was provided with letters of introduction from Sir H. Blake, & Jas. Scott called. His conversation was not interesting and he had no business.

Fulford arrived from Newchwang on a visit. Mumm came in with a paper furnished him by Hillier showing the difference between the rate of the day and the rate adopted by the Bankers' Commission on the last three occasions.

- 7 [Jan.] Hillier says that when the Russian 4½% loan was made, the R. kept back 5,000,000 taels as Chinese capital in the to be established Russo-Chinese Bank, on wch. they undertook to pay 4% interest. But they did not pay this over, retaining for a deposit on account of the Chinese University. Recently the Chinese induced the R-C. Bank to let them have 300,000 taels, wch. they promptly brought round to him. They then tried to get another 200,000 taels, but meanwhile the R-C. bank had taken the alarm, and on one pretext or another refused to shell out.

He says Japse, have sent up 400,000 Mexican dollars to the acct. of the Yokohama specie bank, to be retained in safe deposit, and this is to be followed by 600,000 more. These coins are used not in Peking or Chihli, but at Newchwang. It looks as if this money was to be deposited in Tientsin to meet certain eventualities.

Bishop & Miss Scott came over to our theatricals. Pieces were "Whitebait at Greenwich" and "Hook and Eye". The Doctor was excellent in the latter as old Joshua, young Jamieson was the artist lover, also good. Eastes' make up in the former as Benjamin Buzzard first rate, Mrs. Bagshawe as Sally and Mrs. King as Miss Buzzard also good.

- 8 Jan. Bash came to say that he has had it suggested to him by Kinder to find capital for building a line to Kalgan, and wanted to know my opinion. Told him I did not want the

1904

line built at all. Both Russia and England had the right to object if China built it except with her own capital. Americans if they gave the money to China would not be able to take a mortgage on the line. I doubted too whether the U.S. Govt. would like to be drawn in to have to protect American capital in N. China against the Russians. He agreed they would not. He was decided to give up this scheme, and to go for the Amoy Hankow line. He has seen Uchida and given him an outline of his ideas for the Japanese Govt. to consider. Professes desire to see England, Japan & U.S. working together for the protection of their joint interests in China.

Went to see Conger, who says Bash is honest, really represents a strong Syndicate, is indiscreet and talkative, and rather to be dreaded as a bore.

Hu came to tell abt. Russian talk of occupying Hsin-ming-ting. Asked him to let me know when they came. He told me that he had been recd. by the Empress-Dowager two days ago, & told her about his experiences at Port Arthur, & how Alexeieff had recommended that China shld. negotiate about Manchuria direct. But the Russians still stick to their 6 demands; of these China might agree to let the Russo-Chinese bank's establishments being [sic] guarded by Chinese troops, and use the branch at Newchwang as the Customs bank. Apropos of this I asked whether they ever recd. any of the revenue of the customs. He said that after the expenses of the Russians for the extra mural line had been deducted, the Hupu [government-owned Chinese bank] was able to draw on the Russo-Chinese bank in Peking for the bal[an]ce. I advised China to remain still, as it was not certain that if it came to war, there wld. be fighting in Chinese, or even Korean, territory. It seemed unlikely that war cld. come for another couple of months. There were signs of Russia beginning to give way, and she wld. give way more, as Russians in Europe did not at all want a war. He suggested that Conger & I shld. advise the Japanese not to go to war and the Russians to evacuate Manchuria, but I said the task was beyond my powers.

9 [Jan.] Fulford went off by the 9 o'clock train. He seems a very nice fellow, and one that will have the interests of the Service at heart, tall and fine presence, but looks rather older than he is. I fancy anxiety about his wife's health.

10 " Rev. J. H. Sedgwick and his wife, he the new S.P.G. missionary to North China lunched. He was formerly a C.M.S. missionary in South China, then went home, took the Chinese scholarship at Oxford, and for the past five years has been in Jerusalem.

11 Jan Wu Ting-fang came to see me. He says that China is resolved to remain neutral and that Japan desires it. He has been instructed to draw up a neutrality proclamation, wch. he thought shld. be communicated to the Foreign RR [Representatives] that they might devise in conference means for treating the question of China's position. I said he had

1904

better also lay before us the Manchurian evacuation convention and the Russian demands which had led to delay in carrying that out, but he thought that wld. offend Russia.

12 [Jan.] Meeting of Diplomatic Body at wch. we settled the Canton Harbour regulations & arrived very nearly at unanimity regarding the glaxis, Joostens promising to telegraph & recommend his govt. to accept.

On question of fixing the rate of exchange several more colls: said something must be done. v. Citters read a valuable opinion of his delegate in favour of open tender, & Joostens was strongly in favour.

No progress made with Hwangpoo as Dubail is awaiting instructions, nor regarding Joostens proposal abt. indemnity, as Lessar has none.

Uchida came to say that on the 7th he informed Prince Ch'ing by instructions fr. Japan that China had better remain strictly neutral in the event of a war 1. in order to limit the area of hostilities, 2. in order to limit the no. of belligerents, 3. in order that China might not be put to trouble in maintaining order in the provinces and open ports, where if disorder arose foreign intervention wld. be sure to happen. Prince Ch'ing said he was ashamed that in a matter like this where China ought to take the lead, she was obliged by her impotence to remain quiet. She wld. take the advice & remain neutral.

I told him of my conversation yesterday with Wu Ting fang & previous conversations with Liang, Tang & Dubail, and explained the difficulty I had been in, because I did not wish to go counter to what might be the wishes of Japan, and hold back China fr. giving some useful services.

Uchida seemed quite happy. He says the railway to Söul will be completed in Aug. or September next.

14 [Jan.] Russian New Year's Day. Called on Mme Roudanowsky. At dinner a young C.H. Browning, Lt. R.F.A. A.d.c. [Aide de camp] to Sir George Sydenham Clarke, who has come here on his way home fr. Victoria.

15 [Jan.] Went to Uchida and told him of my instructions about Chinese neutrality, and suggested that it might be well if he told Prince Ch'ing of the reference to Manchuria in the last Japanese Note. Also that Griscom had been shown the Note by Komura; he said that K. had told the Chinese Minr. also.

Wu Ting-fang has been app[oin]ted to the Wai wupu, vice Ku Chao-hsin, who goes to replace him at the Board of Commerce.

Went on to Conger, and found that he had recd. a short teleg. fr. Griscom, who said the Japse. answer to Russia was not in the nature of an ultimatum. I disabused his mind on this point, and he was much relieved, for he had been under the impression that the Japse. were still merely trying to gain time. Told him also that I was to tell Prince Ch'ing that

1904

H.M.G. approve of the [Japanese] advice given to China to remain neutral, of wch. C. also entirely approves. He said Uchida had given him a careful statement of the grounds on which they recommended neutrality to China, wch. he had evidently got by heart. I said [American adviser to Japanese F.O. Henry Willard] Denison's hand was in the composition.

Uchida also told me that Yüan Shih Kai [袁世凱] also sent a message to ask that the portion of Manchuria already retroceded to China shld. be regarded as neutral. I observed that this was a matter that wld. have to be decided by strategists. (But it is one of the cases where strategy and policy may not harmonize).

The despp. [despatches] by bag that arrived yesterday show that Lord Lansdowne is not letting the grass grow under his feet in the matter of putting pressure on the Russians at the present juncture.

- 16 [Jan] Wrote to Kinder, Boyce-Kup and Fulford to obtain statistics about likin on the extra mural line; also to Fulford & Hillier about the revenues of Newchwang and their ultimate disposal.

Returned Prince Kung's call. Nothing of interest. Went on to Prince Ch'ing by app[oint]m[en]t where I found Conger just going away. Uchida had been there before him to communicate contents of last Japanese Note, in wch. the demand for an engagement to respect the integrity of China in Manchuria, in return for Japan declaring Manchuria and its litoral [coastline] outside her sphere of interest is renewed. A declaration by Russia that Corea and its litoral are outside Russian sphere of interest is asked for, the Russian proposal for a neutral zone on [the] Yalu [River] is rejected. Prince Ch'ing radiant. Told him H.M.G. approved the advice to China to remain neutral, for wch. expression of opinion he expressed his gratitude. Told him I had begged Hopkins to warn the Tientsin Viceroy to repress popular excitement, wch. he also said was a real act of friendship. Natung was with him. As Yüan told Hopkins a few days ago that he feared the effects of news of a Japse. victory upon the popular mind, he may perhaps have given the same idea to Prince Ch'ing. Prince evidently has been told that the first thing will be a naval battle. He said they wld. on no account bring the Peiyang squadron up north, they have only 3 cruisers wch. are of a little good, as being fast.

- 17 [Jan] Sent telegs. to F.O., Warren, Hopkins & Admiral on the situation. Collins the agent of Reuter left yesterday morning for Japan, & Gatrell has undertaken to act for him during his absence.

Saw Conger, who said he went to Prince Ch'ing yesterday abt. opening of Moukden & Antung wch. Prince said he wld. give instructions to declare open to the Tartar General of Moukden. Conger told him that if the Russians made any objection, the U.S. would take

1904

care of that. According to him it is difficult for the Russians to draw back. Lessar and all the others think it would be an easy business, and that these dwarfs [i.e. Japanese!] were quite out of their reckoning in thinking they would stand up against European troops. I said to him I did not think England could stand by and see Japan crushed, or allow Korea to pass into the possession of Russia, as Masanpho [on the south coast of Korea] directly threatens the Yangtze, & seeing the interest U.S. have in Japan, which she brought into the world & educated, I did not think they would either. He replied that the present [U.S.] President is a man of courage and determination, who has always carried the country & Congress with him in whatever he has undertaken, & possibly he might think action [is necessary] to preserve U.S. commerce in Manchuria. Finance & commerce usually carry everything before them.

- 18 [Jan] Dined with Natung, the American and Japanese contingents being there. Uchida had heard from Kurino of a stormy interview between [British ambassador Sir Charles] Scott & Lamsdorf, in which the latter had complained of the tone of the English press and of five Russian torpedo boats being warned out of Malta. Also that L. [Lamsdorf] had hinted at mediation, and that Japanese Govt. had probably sent instructions to Hayashi [Tadasu, Japanese Minister in London] to say that they would not agree to it at the very last moment, when all the Russians want is to gain time.

Brig. Gen. Allen (Henry T.) chief of the Philippines Constabulary, who brought a letter of introduction from W.J. Kenny, our consul-general at Manila came. Says that all the American naval officers think very highly of Japanese navy, except Ad. ["Fighting Bob"] Evans. In his opinion if the Japanese can get hold of Port Arthur, they ought to keep it.

- 19 [Jan] Went to Uchida [Yasuya] about Hsin-ming-ting & what the Chinese should do if Russians seized it. His advice, in which I concur, is that the Chinese should not resist. His Govt. when consulted about an undertaking not to land troops in Manchuria W. of the Liao river, said that this was premature. They might want to land troops there after the naval engagement which must be the first incident of the war. Yuan Shihkai wishes to station troops at Kinchou and Shaoyang. As to the latter, there can be no objection, as it is in the Mongolian part of Chihli, but he has recommended Yuan to defend Shanhaikwan from Yungping. I said that it seemed to me that just as in 1894 Japan had put the extra-territorial character of foreign vessels and foreigners aside when it became necessary to arrest two hostile foreigners on board the "Gaelic" at Kōbe, so here the safety of Chinese territory ought to take precedence of the Protocol [which settled the Boxer Rebellion]. We discussed Yuan's question to Hopkins about the moving of troops, and agreed to tell him that he could do this, but to advise their being sent by road, not rail, so as to avoid notice by newspaper correspondents. He agreed with me that the allied troops

1904

could not undertake the defence of Shanhaikwan agst. the Russians.

Hankow hulks. He has told Chang Chih tung that the Japse. hulk cannot be moved until the Japanese settlement is in order, and it cannot be taken in hand until after the Japse. settlement at Tientsin is finished. That the Germans have no more right to claim a pontoon close to the Han river than Japan would have to construct railways in Manchuria because the Russians have them. The Germans threatened to put their pontoon at that point unless the Japanese hulk was removed. That made it impossible for the Japanese to move.

Newchwang Customs revenue . Hu he thinks is evidently wrong in saying that the Hupu can draw agst. it [see January 8 entry]; but he thinks it would be useless to suggest to the Chinese to address the Russians on this subject, when there are much more important points in relation to Manchuria on wch. they can get no redress. (F.O, having told me to make a fuss about it, if the U.S. & Japse. colls: will join.)

In the afternoon went to see Chang Chih tung, as he was not well enough to come to see me. He related a conversation betw. Dubail & a member of the Wai wu pu, in wch. the former had suggested that France and England shld. try to mediate betw. Japan & Russia, & he said that the Grand Council wanted my opinion. I suspect this means merely his relation by marriage Lu Chuan-lin. I replied by giving him instances fr. the Crimean War of 1854 down to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, in wch. all the friendly efforts of neutral powers had been in vain before war broke out. Besides I felt certain that Japan wld. not agree to mediation, wch. cld. only be suggested in order to give Russia more time to complete her armaments. He said that the Grand Council feared was that if the Russians were defeated in Manchuria they would pick a quarrel with China and attack her by way of Ichol and Kalgan. I said they would have their hands too full with the Japanese to think of such enterprises. Then he asked if H.M.G. and France would not undertake to mediate between China and Russia. That I said was quite impracticable. 1°. China when urged at the time of Li's Manchurian negotiations to put the whole negotiation before the RR [Representatives] of the Powers at Peking, had declined owing to Russian intimidation. 2°. whenever H.M.G. had asked at Petersburg about the negotiations [the Russians] had refused to discuss them. H.M.G. wld. certainly not undertake to put Japan aside and start a fresh negotiation with Russia.

Dined at Dubail's for bridge.

21 [Jan.] J.W. Dickinson came to see me abt. the proposed Russian bridge. If we refuse it, possibly they will be able to induce the Germans to let it be thrown across to their concession, and we should then be in a worse position as having no voice in the construction. On the other hand, the Municipality wld. be ready to contribute Tls. 70,000

1904

towards the construction, on condition that it is placed in the hands of the Customs to manage. I said I wld. teleg. to F.O., to ask if they could get the Germans to join us in opposing the construction of any bridge whatever.

He says that by mutual agreement with the French concession, the jinrikis [rickshaws] licensed on either side are allowed free passage thro' the other.

Mumm came again about the German group desiring to negotiate separately for the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway. Cordes had been to see him, and says that the B. & C. Corporation are willing for three reasons, 1^o that they have only half as much to construct as the Germans, and therefore need not start for a couple of years later, and they have an easier line of country, without bridges or tunnels. He declared that he had no instructions fr. his govt. but Cordes usually sent him the records of the meetings for him to see, and he was merely seeking for information. Privately he drew the conclusion from what he had read that the British group were apathetic, owing to the difficulty of obtaining funds, whereas the Germans easily raised what they wanted.

I reminded him of our discussion some time ago, the result of wch. was that the B. & C. Corporation had denied any knowledge of such proposal. They were sending out engineers to survey their portion. Had anything new happened since then? He said he thought not.

I observed that the Chinese seemed to object to the guarantee. He replied that this was the case, and they founded themselves on art. 8 of the original agreement. It was however also referred to in Arts. 1 and 25. The bankers had [acted] very unwisely in insisting on putting in the 2nd clause of the final contract the two branch lines as to wch. he has got a promise from the Foreign Board by an exchange of notes, and he thinks it would be better to omit all direct mention of them & to substitute something by way of recognizing the exchange of Notes as a binding promise. I said I wld. write to Brennan and ask how things stood. He also spoke of the evident hanging back of the B. & C. Corpn., but desired that I wld. not mention it.

Wu Tingfang called. I told him that the Fr. idea of mediation 1st betw. Japan & Russia and as an alternative betw. China & Russia was nonsense. He promised to find out about the Newchwang Customs revenue.

Went to Conger & told him of my talk with Chang Chih-ting. Sounded him abt. the Newchwang Customs revenue, and found he was in favour of the F.O. idea. At Nat'ung's the other night sitting next to Hart, he had asked about it, & H. had said that when they got the returns, they meant to claim payment fr. Russia. I replied that I had just received from Hart the returns of the whole Customs revenue, & wld. now go & put the other matter before him.

1904

Dined at the Kahns, being the only Englishman there.

Roudanowsky told Conger that the three supposed possible successors to Lessar are Pokotilow, Wozack & Pavlow. I have heard this before. The Corean Minister, says Conger, recd. a teleg. to say that his Govt. had been asked by Japan to remain neutral.

23 [Jan] Chang Pohsi [Chancellor of Peking Imperial University] and Hu Yü fen came to see me, the former ostensibly to talk about sending a few students to England, the other to ask that one of the high officials banished on account of the Chü-chou murders should be allowed to come back fr. Szechuen, whither he was banished. Chang emitted the opinion that not nearly enough people had been punished for the events of 1900. I said I would look into the matter on Monday, tomorrow being Sunday, and see whether I could recommend a pardon.

Then they began to talk about the prospect of war, and the terrible results to everybody. Wld. it not be better if England for instance were to try and persuade Japan not to fight, but to let things slide, and then as Lessar says, it wld. be easier for Russia to withdraw, and to arrange comfortable terms with China. Lessar said Hu, entirely disapproved of Plançon's demands ¹ and earnestly desired to carry out the convention. China had refused those demands said Hu, and wld. go on doing so to the end of the chapter. Now the Russians said the reoccupation of Moukden was partly caused by the conduct of certain Chinese officials, partly by Japan and America insisting on China signing treaties with them about Manchuria. It was not until Japan began to interfere that the Plançon demands were renewed. Why could not England, America & France talk to Japan, and get her to be moderate, so as to avoid war, with all its attendant losses to the commerce of everybody.

I replied as befitted such nonsense that H.M.G. wld. not think of making a suggestion of this kind to Japan, because they considered her to be entirely in the right. Russia had signed a solemn agreement to evacuate [Manchuria]; it contained some hard conditions for China, but she had consented to it. The Russians carried out a part, and when the 2nd term came produced fresh conditions. Let her abandon these & carry out the Convention. But everyone knew she meant in any case to remain in Manchuria. The Russians themselves all said so. But for what purpose had they taken Port Arthur and acquired a right to build a railway thro' Manchuria? In order to possess the three provinces [of Manchuria]. That Lessar who had negotiated the Convention shld. desire to see it carried out was natural. But he was only expressing his personal opinions. The matter was not in his hands any longer, but in those of Alexeieff. It was A's man Plançon who had put forth the conditions, and given a copy of the document, made by his own hands, to Conger. But

¹ See I. Nish, *The Origins of the Russo-Japanese War*, p. 146 for the list of seven demands presented by G.A. Planson, deputy to Lessar and chargé d'affaires, to Prince Ching on April 18, 1903.

1904

the Russian govt. said they knew nothing about it, and that Conger had sent home incorrect information. Plançon had blundered. They would send back Lessar, who wld. arrange the affair. And when L. came out, he presented the same set of demands. He did this by order of his govt., not approving of them, but he had to obey. Had the Russian govt. disapproved of them they wld. have recalled Plançon and his chief. But far fr[om] that they had made him Viceroy, promoted him and loaded him with honours.

Chang said they had been asked by a member of the Foreign Board [Wai Wu Pu] to take the opportunity of this visit to sound me about giving advice in the matter, and if they found me favourable, they wld. go on to Conger and Dubail and ask them to help.

I said I cld. tell them what Conger & Dubail wld. say. The former would use the same language as myself. The latter wld. say that Japan wld. be beaten & that China shld. come to an agreement with Russia now, giving way on some points.

Hu said Dubail thought Japan wld. win. I said that Japan's attitude had been misunderstood by Russia (Chang had previously suggested that the length to wch. the negotiations had gone proved that Japan did not wish to fight & wld. therefore be amenable to reason, to wch. I replied by explaining her desire to show the world that she had not hastily or unjustifiably taken up arms) and that she [Russia] had thought the Japanese wld. be afraid to challenge her. The Russians quite misunderstood that Japan in opening the discussion meant to persevere to the end. She had at last perceived that it was a serious matter, and was beginning to climb down. China shld. possess her soul in patience & let Russia climb down further.

To some arguments of Chang's that the Japse. might be successful at the outset, the war wld. be prolonged for two or three years & then exhaustion wld. come. Was it not better then to do without going to war.

I answered that there were situations in wch. a nation must fight, and that was when to abstain from war wld. mean the same thing as a complete defeat. The future result might be uncertain, but that was no reason for lying down & letting your adversary walk over you. Besides I felt convinced England would not let Japan be crushed. They said Russia as well as Japan had advised China's remaining neutral.

From all this conversation I am led to think that the Fr[ench] & Russian Legations have been trying to persuade the Chinese that they have committed a serious blunder in leaning on the Japanese, & that it is still not too late to come to terms independently of her; and that the Chinese are thoroughly frightened. Perh[aps] there may also being [sic. be?] at the bottom of their minds an uneasy feeling that if Japan wins they will be under her tutelage.

Telegram from Kinder that 50 Russian soldiers have arrived at Koupangtze, and that

1904

Yuan's troops are 'bolting'. Employés of the railway will all leave. Sent on to F.O.

Hillier brought a teleg. fr. Smith the Manager at Hongkong about proposed loan of \$1,000,000 to Viceroy of Canton, and loan of 1 million taels already concluded by Mandl, 6,000,000 to be taken in arms, and the balance to go to the Canton indemnity quota. Russo-Chinese bank lends the money to Mandl at 8%, and the loan fr. Mandl is for 16 months, at 7% for the Chinese year. Sent a teleg. to F.O.

Genl. Allen and W. Kirton of the Central News. Had a longish talk with the former after dinner. He says that if his countrymen could look ahead a couple of generations they would take a much more serious view of the Far Eastern question. Has compiled a list of Russian declarations & undertakings wch. she has later on departed from. Seems disposed to think the general result of war will be the partition of China, as she is quite unable to make any stand. Is going on into Manchuria and then to Corea and Japan.

24 [Jan] Hillier came round about the Russians at Kuopangtze[?]. We framed a teleg. to Kinder asking for more information and he went then to Hu. Later in the day he brought news from Hu that they were only passing thro', and that Yüan's troops had not withdrawn.

25 [Jan] Saw Conger and told him my conversation c. Chang Pohsi and Hu Yü fên. They had not been to see him. But Liang had come from Chang Chih tung on a similar errand, and he had replied that mediation was out of the question. Then Liang inquired wch. was worse for China, a Russian or a Japanese victory. He answered the former, because she would take Manchuria, and Japan by way of compensation wld. perh. fall back on Fukhien; this would be followed by Germany and France, so that Russia victorious meant the partition of China, while Japan victorious meant the restoration of Manchuria to China.

To Uchida and told him all that had happened in the last few days. I thought Dubail & Lienfang were at the bottom of it. He said most distinctly that Motono had been instructed to tell [French Foreign Minister T.] Delcassé that Japan did not accept mediation, to wch. D. replied that he did not propose it, but on his own account he was advising Russia to give way about 'the neutral zone.'

Conger also said that about the beginning of this month Komura and Rosen had come to an agreement ad referendum, but when it went home thro' Alexeieff, the latter put such a colour on it that it was refused. However on getting out his papers he found that what Griscom had written to him on Jan. 2 was that Russia had refused all Japan's demands, even those points on wch. Rosen and Komura had come to an agreement. On Saturday he was dining with Dubail who said his news was that things wld. be arranged. Conger retorted that he did not believe it; the telegs. fr. Shanghai gave us to understand that Russia was ready to make some concessions, but the Reuters were so contradictory that they could not be true.

1904

Gatrell says the Japanese legation does not believe in the reported audience of Kurino & the Czar.

Hu came along in great triumph to say that Dubail says he has just got a telegr. fr. Paris to say that Japan accepts mediation, in reply to a telegr. sent by him from here on the 18th. Also that the Russians came fr. Tashihchiao by land & went on to Yuchow, apparently for purpose of reconnoitring to see whether any were about. There was no need for alarm, & he advised that Yüan's troops shld. not be withdrawn.

I begin to think Hu is under Russian influence. Uchida says Tsai Taotai, who acts as interpreter for Yüan is prob. unfaithful, and perh. thro' him may have got to the Russians an inkling of Yüan's inquiry about neutrality of Manchuria W. of the Liao river and Japan's cautious reply. I had suggested that a knowledge of this question having been put was the cause of the Russian reconnaissance. I also said to him that I did not trust Munthe or Denby.

Mumm [Freiherr von Schwartzstein] came. He had been to see Conger, who knew nothing. I said I had no official news since the despatch of the Japanese note on the 13th. The Chinese I said were apprehensive. M. thinks the dénouement must be close at hand.

He told me that he could not find any confirmation of a German firm having applied for the Shanghai-Hangchow railway concession, tho' he had an impression that he had seen it somewhere. I suggested that he had read it in a Chinese newspaper extract.

26 [Jan] Mumm came round with the circular containing the glacié procès-verbal ¹ in wch. Joostens had made an important alteration, & we agreed on the remark I shld. write on this point. He says Belgium is in bad odour with both England & France at present, and is trying to curry favour with Germany for wch. reason he is desirous of not taking the lead in sitting on Joostens, but if I and Conger will follow Dubail's remark on this nouvelle rédaction he will join us. We discussed Dubail his vanity & love of flattery, and his general untrustworthiness, on wch. we seem to be agreed.

Kamei, the Jiji correspondent came. He had heard of my conversation with Chang Pohsi & Hu Yufên abt. the proposed mediation, and I gave him a correct account. He says that letters fr. Fukuzawa the editor in chief tell him that Japan does not expect any further answer from Russia, and is simply completing her preparations. He does not expect anything to happen until the two new cruisers reach Japan. All the women & children in Japan are contributing to the war fund. He was curious abt. the appearance of Russian soldiers at Koupangtze.

[G.E.] Morrison came after lunch. Told him what Kamei had said to me, and also what had really happened to me about mediation & my reply as to the attitude of H.M.G. & U.S.

¹ procès-verbal: minutes of a meeting; (Jur.) a statement

1904

He thinks [Russian minister] Lessar first put the idea into Prince Ch'ing's head. Hu yesterday gave a different account of what Dubail had said to that wch. we recd. fr. Hu. It was merely to the effect that his govt. wld. propose to G.B. & U.S. to join in offering mediation & if it came off, China would benefit thereby.

Went to return Wu Ting fang's call. He told me a curious story abt. the Russians refusing to allow the new Lt. Govr. of Tsitsihar to proceed to his post, because Alexeieff had not been officially informed. The Empress Dowager has approved of the proclamation of neutrality being communicated to the F RR [Foreign Representatives] with a request to confer together for the purpose of taking measures to have China's neutrality respected.

As to the Supao case he promised to find out whether the W.W.P. had telegraphed to the Viceroy of Nanking to insist on a life-sentence on the two pamphleteers. To my remark that the affair wld. never have assumed the proportions it did but for the advice of a certain foreigner, he said "you mean Ferguson", & then went on to tell me that Tuan Fang was really the cause of it all by telegraphing to W.W.P. & the Grand Council that the prisoners ought to be handed over; that all Ferguson did was to suggest the life sentence, wch. wld. be a monstrous injustice. The Taotai had made a blunder by offering to the three consuls-genl. to let the men be tried in the Mixed Court, but without that offer he could not have got the warrant of arrest signed. The Taotai used to come & consult him, and he told him that having given his word of honour, he must keep it. The Taotai went up to Nanking several times about this affair.

I told him that they must be patient and confident about the crisis between Japan & Russia, wch. I felt certain wld. turn out well for China.

27 [Jan] Hughes, the engineer of the Port works at Ch'in-wang-tao, brought copy of missing letter of Sir John Wolfe Barry & Co. and I kept him to lunch. Called on Mumm with Russell to offer congratulations on the Emperor's birthday, and told him the latest news (wch. I had fr. F.O. this morning) that both sides maintained their pretensions unaltered.

28 " Sir John Lister Kaye called, and talked abt. his copper & iron mining concession in Anhui. Gatrell also came.

29 Jan Bash came. Says Thurlow Weed Barnes wrote offering 600,000 taels to Chinese Govt. for a railway concession. Wu Tingfang found his letter in the Foreign Board. His idea was that if Brice wld. not give him his price he wld. then sell it to Cassini. Conger took him to Nat'ung, who said his proposal seemed sound, but they must refer it to Prince Ch'ing. Possible Japanese opposition is in the way. Conger had spoken to Uchida & pointed out that as America has helped them in Manchuria by demanding open ports and apptg. consuls, it wld. be ungracious of them to stand in the way of the desired American rlwy concession. He wld. be prepared to offer Japanese an option of taking bonds up to a

1904

certain time and to employ Japse. rlwy. experts. Wishes I wld. take an opportunity of speaking to Uchida.

Morrison says it was he who telegraphed Lessar's remark abt. twisting the Chinese pigtails till they bite to the "Times" after taking the advice of two other men. It has made a sensation it seems, having been reprinted in French papers.

Told him no answer had yet been delivered by Russia to the last Japse. Note. They had no intention of giving a pledge as to non-annexation of Manchuria, and I did not think the Japanese wld. be contented till they saw them out of that. He has recd. a letter fr. Moberly-Bell, who says Chirol saw Hayashi before he went to join Curzon, and that H. said war wld. not take place before March.

31 [Jan.] Morrison came with a letter from Major Nathan about Russian purchases of coal from the C.E. & M. Co. and I sent a teleg. to F.O. & Tokio.

Mumm came today before dinner abt. a proposal of Dubail's to rehabilitate a Chinese Genl. who was put on the Black List in 1901 for unfriendly behaviour to missionaries. We agreed to oppose it. I told him that I shld. say I was unwilling to accept Kinder's offer of a bridge across the Canal S. of the Watergate instead of a road thro' the station-yard to the Chien-mên. He did not seem to like it.

Morrison says Wirt Gerrare is W.O. Greener. Fraser & Comr. Colquhoun are Times correspondents in Japan for the war [margin: Lionel James also], and Greener is on the Russian side.

February 1904

1 Feb. T. Koizumi of the Kokumin Shimbun called c. letter of introduction from Tokutomi. He says when he left Tokio everyone was clamouring for war. Bankers had been summoned by the Govt. to confer abt. raising a domestic loan of ten million [pounds] sterling. The Govt. feeling that as this is the first time they have found themselves face to face with a war with an European Power it is needful to have everything in good order are making very thorough & careful preparations. As Bower says they are like a man who has to undergo a stiff examination, and prepares himself accordingly. Koizumi, who speaks excellent English, says the feeling is that the Govt. has allowed the Russians to interpose delays. I suggested that the military authorities prob. knew what they were about and perh. had not been in a hurry to begin before the spring.

Uchida came to ask about the coal at Kaiping, of wch. he knew the quantities. Told him I wanted to put obstacles in the way, & had telegd. to F.O. & Tokio for wch. he was grateful.

1904

Conger yesterday produced a teleg. fr. Collins to Coolidge that Scott had telegd. to MacD[onald] that the Russian answer was satisfactory. I said I had not heard this & did not believe ans[wer] had yet been given. A teleg. that came today round by London & Tokio says it will not get to Alexeieff before the 3rd, & that the [Russian] Emperor resists giving any pledge to Japan about Manchuria.

3 Feb. Went to Prince Ch'ing, and spoke to him about (1) Shêng's obstructive attitude in regard to Peking Syndicate's rlwy. (2) remaining Supao prisoners: he denied having recd. any letter fr. Viceroy, tho' Wu Ting-fang had written to me some days ago that they had heard, I suppose, by telegraph. (3) Hwangpu, counselled them to put themselves in the right by apptg. Chinese Delegate. From what passed sotto voce betw. Prince Ch'ing & Wu Ting fang, who was present, the Fr. Consul-General clearly is making opposition. (4) Trade mark regulations. (5) Rumour that the Empress-Dowager had been advised to withdraw to Hsiangfu if war breaks out. Prince denied that there was any such intention, & agreed with me that it would be disastrous. (6) Has recd. no answer fr. Lessar to his protest agst. Russian soldiers going to Kupangtze.

Lister Kayes dined, also Mumm. The latter said that Dubail had been to him with a proposal fr. himself that the neutral PP. [Powers] shld. impress on the belligerents the necessity of leaving Chihli alone, as it is in a manner occupied by neutral troops. He had said that of course as to Manchuria we cld. not ask them to make any stipulations. Whether D. was moved bt Fr[ench,] Russian or Chinese considerations he could not say. But evidently if the neutrals did this it would be a friendly act to China besides helping to keep the peace. D. proposed also to sound me & [Count Giovanni] Gallina.

I said that I did not mind telling him that ten days ago I had telegd. in the same sense to H.M.G. but had got no instructions on the point. Perh. Dubail was doing it in the interests of China. If he got Mumm, me & Gallina to take the same views he wld. then take credit for himself with the Chinese.

Mumm said he had replied rather cautiously, as he had no instructions, & did not know how the Japanese wld. take it. I replied as far as they were concerned I thought they wld. have no objection at all. The Chinese no doubt wld. ask us to take the very step proposed by D. But I did not feel certain abt. the Russians. They had already sent troops into the evacuated portion of Manchuria. They might claim to send a legation guard to Peking & troops to Shanhaikwan, at least up to the figures agreed upon among the generals in 1901, and we cld. not say them nay.

Mumm seemed to think such a proceeding unlikely. When he saw Yuan Shih kai the other day abt. railway matters, Y. had talked to him on this subject & hinted that the PP [Powers] occupying points in Chichli ought to defend them, and I gathered that Mumm

1904

shared this idea.

Dubail had prefaced his remarks by saying that the news yesterday morning was very bad. M. rejoined that a couple of days earlier he had said it was pacific, & added that he too had heard the same the day before yesterday. I said that altho' the announcements fr. Paris & Petersburg had always been of that character, yet the naval and military reinforcements sent out here had showed that Russia meant to make no concession to Japan. Early in the negotiations a very small assurance with regard to Manchuria wld. have contented them, & now they wanted more.

M. said that the question of peace or war now depends on whether the Japanese were confident. I said that I gathered they were, & every day they were completing their preparations. They had been taught German methods of thoroughness by the officers attached to the general staff before 1894, with whose aid they had no doubt worked out the plan of the North China campaign.

I conceive that the Germans will not be at all sorry to see Russia engaged out here, as that will weaken them at Constantinople.

4 [Feb] Mumm brought me a translation of a teleg. fr. Shanghai wch. reproduces one sent fr. here on 2nd Feb. to the effect that Russia had induced China to offer Japan important concessions in another quarter if she wld. desist from her demands abt. Manchuria, wch. was favourably viewed by "some of the FRR [Foreign Representatives]" at Peking as a means of averting war. Japan it said was willing to accept provided China acted quickly and the concessions were of real value. How much of this is true it is impossible to say, but something is being tried no doubt by Lessar and Dubail in the way of drawing a herring across the scent. Got Morrison to come round and talked to him about it; he thought it was without foundation, at least as regarded Japan, but that Dubail had a hand in it. Later in the evening came a teleg. fr. Petersburg that the reply had not been despatched, but that a teleg. had gone off to Rosen, thus confirming the Japse. teleg. of 2 Feb. that a long teleg. had come to Rosen, been translated and sent to Komura. Might not this contain the insidious proposal put forward by Russia? It wld. also acc[oun]t for Dubail not coming on to see me on Wednesday (3 Feb.) as he had told Mumm he intended doing, if he happened to look in at his Legation on the way and find a teleg. informing him of this step. Wrote to Morrison and told him that the reply had not left Petersburg, but that a teleg. had, wch. might be about this very thing.

5 [Feb] Sent a teleg. to F.O. & Tokio reporting the above. It seems unlikely that Japan wld. accept such a combination, wch. is entirely at variance with her previous declarations, & contrary to the spirit and terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, wch. it wld. at once put an end to. But that is one of the objects at which Russia was aiming when she sent Rosen

1904

back to Tokio. Also one cld. easily understand Dubail persuading the Chinese that it was a way of avoiding the war the results of wch. they dread so intensely. They wld. I believe rather sacrifice Manchuria [to Russia] even, provided it were not done openly, rather than let the Japanese have a chance of taking the place of the Russians. For Dubail wld. demonstrate that it is more easy in every way and more profitable to their pockets to be friends with Russia than with Japan.

The Kokumin correspondent [Koizumi] passing thro' the hall, I captured him and told him about this curious telegram, and the prob[able] origin. I said he might inform Uchida, but without mentioning the source of his information.

Met Conger in the street, and told him. He said Mumm had said to him that the teleg. had been sent to Paris, not Shanghai.

Went on to Mumm & told him what I had heard from Petersburg. He then informed me that it came to him not fr. Shanghai, but from his govt. who asked what it all meant. As they did not tell him to consult his colls: he had not thought himself authorized to say where it really came from (But why tell me a fib?). He thinks it was prob. concocted betw. the Russian & French govts.

He wants to know how I am treated by our military people in the matter of 'honours', as he does not get what he considers himself entitled to, and also what is the practice as to the use of "Excellency". Promised to write him a note which he may use.

On to Sir Robt. He says French capitalists are offering to Shêng large funds to reanimate the Imperial Bank of China, to transform it into an institution like the Russo-Chinese bank, & to have charge of minting operations. The latter however is to be established at Tientsin. A year ago the Chinese Govt. consulted him & he wrote several memoranda for the Waiwupu, & entered into negotiations with the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, who was to send or lend one of his men. The matter was nearly concluded, when the WWP wrote & said they had they had three men, knew all abt. the business, so he need not trouble himself. He thanked them for relieving him of the charge & offered his congratulations. Then they decided to establish the Mint at Tientsin, instead of in the neighbourhood of Peking, & at once came into conflict with Yüan, who insisted on placing the two Americans, an assayist and a mechanician, whom Conger had procured for him, at their disposal. I told him of Law's suggestions, wch. he said were much like his own. He is to have a talk with Jenks tomorrow.

West River. He says he had sent to Canton a skeleton plan for simplifying the rules, but particularly providing that the three places wch. the steamer Cos. complained to C.W. Campbell were about to be closed, shld. not be interfered with, & he promised me a copy of this.

1904

6 [Feb] Major Nathan came. Object was to induce me to say something on behalf of Chang Yi to the Foreign Board, so that N. might be enabled to negotiate with him about the mines, instead of with Yüan and Tang Shao-yi. I said that I had always maintained that the action must be disposed of; either by withdrawing it or pressing it forward to judgment, that Chang Yi had never been friendly to this Legation and had been a foe of Kinder, while Yüan was one of the Chinese whose friendship I most valued; consequently I could do nothing to interfere on behalf of Chang agst. Yüan. We then discussed the title of the Co. and I asked him to find the decree authorizing the transfer, and send me an authenticated copy, after examination by Hopkins. Told him abt. the deed signed in Feb. 1901, but antedated, expressed my belief that the memorandum now repudiated by the Co. was part consideration for the transfer and signature of the falsely dated deed, also my belief that at the outset the only intention was to effect a nominal sale by way of protection agst. seizure by Russians, & that Detring in my opinion ought to go to England and tell the whole truth. He said he did not agree with this, and wld. send me a memo. on the whole subject with copy of the answer put in by defendant. That if he was not able to settle the whole affair, the Mining Co. wld. come to grief. I had previously said to him that the F.O. wish to have as little as possible to do with the affair, wch. originated so suspiciously, and I was not disposed to take a step further than I had done in maintaining British jurisdiction over the company.

Cockburn saw Wu in the afternoon and was told by him that Detring had addressed to the WWP a memorial exculpating himself and Chang Yi, and stating that the only object of the original contract was to put the mines out of harm's way. He also spoke with him abt. the Peking Syndicate's concession & railway.

Went to Conger & told him instructions were sent last night to Kurino to break off negotiations. He says Cheshire is apptd. Consul-general at Mukden and Davidson to Antung. I came back & telegd. to F.O. in reply to their inquiry whom I recommended, that Fulford shld. go as Consul-General to M. and Fox as Consul to A.

7 [Feb] Uchida writes that their consul is ordered away from Newchwang, & O'Brien Butler telegs. that Japanese Consul at Chefoo is to withdraw all Japanese subjects from Port Arthur & Dalny [Dalian]. Dined at Hilliers.

8 [Feb] Dined at Congers, & agreed with Dubail to discuss tomorrow the neutralization of Chihli.

9 [Feb] Dubail came. I agreed with him & said that a fortnight ago I had called the attention of H.M.G. to the subject [of the neutralization of Chihli province]. He said he wld. see Gallina & Mumm & arrange a meeting. As he was going away he said Russia had made a great blunder abt. Manchuria in not conceding. They wld. still have exercised a virtual

1904

protectorate. He said 'just as in our case with regard to Yünnan. We are there on the frontier. When our military people wanted last summer to pour in troops, I protested agst. the unnecessary & wasteful expenditure that wld. be involved in an occupation, pointing out that we cld. always exercise a preponderant influence because we have troops in our colony close by. The Russians cld. have done the same. Now they will have to spend an enormous amount of money in beating Japan, as they of course eventually will, and without getting anything more than they could have acquired by peaceful methods.'

At 5 he, Gallina and I met at Mumm's, and after some discussion, agreed upon a telegram to send to our govts. We omitted, or forgot, to insert a para. about the Japanese troops that share in the occupation [of Chihli], so I sent a separate one on my own account to the F.O. suggesting that they & the few Russians shld. be neutralized, unless they mutually agreed to take them away.

I myself suspect the Japanese later on may want to use the 1000 or so they have in the province to stiffen Chinese troops that will join in the fray, if the Russians begin to get the worst of it.

Koidzumi of the Kokumin [Shimbun] in the course of conversation said that what preoccupied people in Japan was the question of the future of Corea. Should it be made a province of Japan or a protectorate, like that of England in Egypt. I said that we had not assumed a protectorate in name, but merely an occupation.

10 [Feb] Went to Uchida and told him of our meeting and the telegram we had agreed to send, also of my additional one. He seemed to be quite satisfied. He has heard of the safe landing of 4 regiments at Chemulpho [Inchon], and the sinking of a Russian man of war, the Korietz. This is official. Also the Br. str. [British steamer] Columbia brought news last night to Chefoo that the previous night the Japanese suddenly attacked Port Arthur & torpedoed a couple of battleships and a cruiser, but this is not confirmed officially. The Japanese fleet is blockading Port Arthur.

Went on to Dubail and told him of my additional telegram: he said he would do the same. He has telegd. to his general about the Fort No. 1, on wch. the Fr. teleg. has been substituted for the Russian. Evidently he has no intention of giving way, & represents that it is only a corporal and a couple of men. But I told him the whole of our case, wch. is a good one.

To Conger, and told him what we did yesterday, and at his request subsequently sent him a copy of the French text of the teleg. He thinks Cheshire & Davidson may turn up within a month. I told him what we had done. He sent yesterday for Lien Fang and thro' him advised Prince Ch'ing that he should not on any account let the Court leave Peking.

Hu came with a teleg. fr. the railway people at Yinkow, wanting to be withdrawn. I

1904

advised him to teleg. back that they shld. stick to their posts as it was important not to show signs of fear. He said he wld. send them a message to that effect. He asked whether it wld. not be wise for China to ask of the two belligerents an undertaking that whatever the event [i.e. outcome of the war] Manchuria shld. remain Chinese. I replied that Japan had already given China an undertaking to that effect. He asked could we not suggest the same to Russia. I replied hardly, since Russia had preferred going to war rather than give it to her and now there was still less chance. He replied that Posdnieff had told him the English had been egging on the Japanese to war, when they cld. easily have prevented it, and Russia wld. listen to nothing from us. I said we had been asked by the Russians to mediate, but as Japan was justified in asking a pledge as to Manchuria wch. Russia wanted to keep for herself, we cld. not listen to any such suggestion. P. he said was not aware last night, or said so at least, that he knew nothing about war having begun.

Mumm remarked today that whichever comes out victorious it will be bad for us, i.e. England & Germany. For Japan would become so all-powerful that she would be an inconvenient commercial rival to us both, irrespective of alliances. If Russia [wins], then our commerce will be shut out from whatever territory she acquires.

I think this was a feeler, for it is much more for her political position in Shantung [province] that Germany has to fear. I told him what I had said to Uchida and Dubail this morning, & especially to the former that having themselves urged China to observe neutrality, they could not consistently be the first to violate that neutrality.

Returned Azevedo's call, Then to Sir Robt. [Hart] who agreed that it was impudent to distribute newspaper extracts of Japanese victories. To Uchida and suggested that it would be good if he could have them stopped.

Tsêng called & stopped to lunch. At his suggestion sent to Prince Ch'ing that I wld. call on him about neutrality proclamation. [Margin: He talked a good deal of the discovery now made by China that all Russia's talk of friendship in 1900 and withdrawal of their troops from Chihli after the relief of the Legations was a mere hollow pretence to cover her design of annexing Manchuria. Also of v. der Goltz's stupid proceedings in the autumn of 1902 about withdrawal of troops fr. Shanghai & Prince Ch'ing's saying Germany had made no conditions, and said Goltz had got himself rather into disgrace about this affair.]

12 [Feb] Hu came to say that he proposed informing the Russian & Japanese generals & ministers that the extra-mural line wld. carry no more troops or munitions for either belligerent.

Koidzumi, to whom I mentioned the distribution of extras. He said it had been stopped. Promised to send me the telegs. that come from Tokio.

1904

To Prince Ch'ing, met Uchida coming away, who said the Chinese had made a stupid mess in their declaration of neutrality to the Powers by including Manchuria. So he had told them to except the portions where the Russians hold sway. When I asked the Prince he said the declaration was all right, and gave it to me just as he had been told by U., but when I asked to see a copy was not sure that he had one in the house. Told him we were going to send Consular officers to Mukden & Antung wch. he said was excellent from a political point of view, tho' commercially perh. not much. He hoped they wld. be able to open Talienwan Bay. Pr[ince] suggested that after one or two more knocks Russia might be glad to have peace. Told him the attempt of Dubail, self & Co. to get Chihli neutralized, for wch. he was grateful.

The new Minr. to Vienna 楊晟 Yang Chêng called. Speaks English quite well. Was in Tokio with Hu twenty years ago, with his Secy. Chêng Fu-ch'ing 程福慶 who also knows English.

Was having tea comfortably with Bower, Cockburn, Russell & Morrison when Mumm arrived, & they dispersed. He says Lessar is apparently quite pleased with our suggestion to belligerents to keep out of Chihli, but he was a bit upset by news of naval disasters, wch. are confirmed by the Havas [news] agency. [Margin note: I asked abt. "Hansa" going to Port Arthur. He said there were 16 Germans in it, whom they wanted to bring away, and if the Japse. & Russian naval commanders had no objection she would go in and bring them away.]

Uchida came to bring me the text of notes in wch. Kurino announced the breaking off of relations & his own departure [from St. Petersburg]. Says he has stopped the placards. Told him colls. wld. all be grateful. As to our neutralization of Chihli suggestion, Japse. Govt. is conversing with London, but he had got Pr. Ch'ing to insert in the declaration to be given to us all a statement that China feared she wld. be unable to enforce neutrality on Chinese subjects in those parts of Manchuria wch. are in adverse occupation by foreign troops. He does not believe the stories going abt. that Japse. landing party had been beaten off near Kinchow, nor bombardment of Hakodate by Russian cruisers.

13 [Feb] Wu Ting-fang came, as usual, to talk nonsense. Had I heard that Russia was giving out that she wld. like peace? I said not, as Japan certainly wld. not, unless Russia gave up everything in Manchuria, evacuated the province, surrendered Port Arthur and handed over the railway to China. He laughed & said Russia was not prepared to do that. If Japan succeeded in capturing Port Arthur, wld. she not retain it. I said no, had not Japan given an assurance to China regarding Manchuria? Yes, she had. But how could China hold it. I replied that Japan wld. help her. He spoke of the enervating mental atmosphere of Peking, officials had no initiative. It would he thought last thru time, why make any changes.

1904

To Joostens, Comité de rédaction [drafting committee] about road to station. I suggested that the draft shld. propose a road along the canal side of the Chien mên goods yard, and if more were demanded I shld. have to withdraw my aid. I also recurred to the opposition of Rockhill to my proposal for tunnelling the wall, and Mumm's opposition to construction of the station between Water gate and Hata mên. I met Mumm in the street and told him what I meant to suggest.

Kamei came. He had no news in particular, except that a Japanese returned from Urga says there [are] only 100 Russian soldiers there, the rest are mere Buriats a sort of cross with Mongols.

Sir J. Lister [Kaye] came & talked abt. his concession. He has found out that the opposition to his concession comes from the Anhui students in Japan & the Anhui guild here, also Shêng who has just got hold of 3,000,000 taels from the Japse. for his iron mine at Tayeh. It appears that his concession does not explicitly mention the right of smelting the iron, and there is prob. no good iron anywhere near. He left 3 points unsettled with Mêh[?], the area (he was 100 sq. miles) the length (he wants at least 100 years) and wch. is to be the original language.

Menzies came in the afternoon. He said Yüan wanted my advice on certain points, and also that the railway authorities were handing protests to Russian officers against their travelling by it. I told him this must be stopped at once, as Russians & Japse. have the same right as any other military to use the intramural line. 2° to remember that China is neutral. 3° that we were trying to prevent belligerents entering Chihli. 4° that they must wait to see how Japanese land forces get on. He says a Mongol. Prince just inside the palisade north of I-chendo [is] going to create a military colony of 1000 men, to be armed with Mauser rifles, wch. he has already secured. That Yüan's attack on Chang-yi is out of revenge for the latter having tried to turn him out some months ago. The Germans & Belgians make a great deal of Chang yi.

Gatrell came. Says Chinese hardly even mention Thibet. Stoppage of Japanese bulletins being issued a very excellent thing.

Chinese note declaring neutrality, wch. they regret to be unable to enforce in those parts of Manchuria wch. are occupied by foreign troops. ¹ Also that troops in Chihli under the Final Protocol their position is unchanged by outbreak of hostilities. Telegd.

¹ "The formal declarations of China's neutrality were made on 12/13 February. There were of course anomalies in China's neutrality declaration in that she wanted it to apply to the whole of the Middle Kingdom in order to demonstrate that her sovereignty applied in Manchuria even though she did not exercise effective control there." Ian Nish, *China and the Russo-Japanese War*, from 'On the Periphery of the Russo-Japanese War, Part 1', LSE STICERD Discussion Paper No. IS/04/475, April 2004, p.8. <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/is/IS475.pdf> (accessed 12/7/05)

1904

former to Tokio as well as London, the latter to London only.

14[Feb] Mumm came. Thanked him for letting me know abt. the Hansa's having carried away 5 Br. subjects from Port Arthur to Tsingtau. The naval people gave him no other news, prob. wishing to send it direct to Berlin themselves.

He had heard from his Govt. that they had recd. the American proposal about China's neutrality, and had made the same reply as Lord Lansdowne, that Manchuria cld. not be neutralized.

He then recurred to his previous talk ¹ about the effect of the war, and the great comparative disadvantage to European Powers of a Japanese success over a Russian victory. The latter would establish a protectorate over Manchuria and Korea, but wld. prob. come no further S. If she did the other Powers could unite to restrain her. Not that Germany had any particular interests in Chihli. But the Japanese if they won would establish a virtual protectorate over China, wch. wld. be contrary to all foreign interests.

I said that I supposed wch. ever way it went the Great Powers, say France, Germany, England and the United States wld. insist in having a voice in the settlement.

This he said was a capital idea.

Whether we should have to invite the cooperation of Austria and Russia [sic – Italy?] I

¹ A three-page memo. handwritten by Satow is inserted here. It is apparently a quotation. "W.R. Thayer, Life & Letters of John Hay, ii, 384. Diary Jan. 5, 1905. Sternberg wires the President that he communicated his views to the Emperor, who requested him to teleg. the President. 'He is highly gratified to hear that you adhere firmly to the policy of the Open Door and uphold the actual integrity of China, wch. the Emperor believes at present to be gravely menaced. Close observation of events has firmly convinced him that a powerful coalition, headed by France, is under formation directed agst. the integrity of China & the Open Door. The aim of this coalition is to convince the belligerents that peace without compensation to the neutral Powers is impossible. The formation of this coalition, the Emperor firmly believes, can be frustrated by the following move: you shld. ask all Powers having interests in the Far East, including the minor ones, whether they are prepared to give a pledge not to demand any compensation for themselves in any shape, of territory, or other compensation in China or elsewhere, for any service rendered to the belligerents in the making of peace or for any other reason. Such a request wld. force the powers to show their hands and any latent designs directed agst. the Open Door or integrity of China wld. immediately become apparent. Without this pledge the belligerents wld. find it impossible to obtain any territorial advantages without simultaneously provoking selfish aims of the neutral brokers. In the opinion of the Emperor, a grant of a certain portion of territory to both belligerents eventually in the North of China is inevitable. The Open Door within this territory might be maintained by treaty. Germany of course wld. be then first to pledge herself to this policy of disinterestedness.'

Jan. 13 Hay sent off a telegraphic 'self-denying' circular to the Powers. Speck wrote a letter, in wch. he quoted the Kaiser as saying he is afraid of a combination between England, France and Russia for the spoliation of China.

Feb. 17 [The Kaiser] still insists upon the fact of the combination of France, England & Russia, to partition China. He says he was asked to join, but indignantly refused, and that our circular of Jan. 3 gave the scheme the coup de grace. The only proof of the story he gives is an interview betw. Doumer and Prince Radlin[?]. It is a strange incident – qui donne à penser.

[I wonder whether my talk with Mumm was the seed from wch. this romance was born. E.S. 21/2/16.]”

1904

could not forecast. If there were a conference in Europe they could not be left out, but if it were on the spot, then as their interests were so much less, perhaps we need not take them into our own counsels. Anyhow we ought not to let in the Minor Powers, Belgium, Holland, Spain and Portugal.

He replied that apart from the fact of Italy & Austria being members of the triple alliance, he thought they also must have a voice in the final Settlement.

As to the results of a Japanese victory, I did not think they would be so extensive as he feared. The Japanese had not a light hand, & their endeavours to exercise predominant influence in Korea in 1894-5 had been altogether unsuccessful. Like most people of a determined character, they failed in tact, because they cld. not bring themselves to humour other people's susceptibilities (I was thinking of the Germans when I said this). The Chinese were a proud people and would resent the feeling that they lay under an obligation to Japan, as we had seen during the past few weeks, during wch. they had made strenuous efforts to ward off war, almost at any price. I did not anticipate that Japan would be any more successful with China than she had been with Korea.

Mumm responded that Japan was certainly hated in Korea, and as for China he had observed that their instructors at various places were not much liked either. My view was a comforting one to him.

(I certainly think that a little disturbance of the bal[an]ce of power in the far East in favour of Japan is better than Russia having her own way. The rise of Japan as a military & naval Power and the construction of the Siberian railway have completely altered the situation out here for us as for all other European Powers, and we cannot expect to have things entirely our own way, as in 1842. But Japan will not be able to rule China. The latter will rely on European Powers to prevent Japan having her own way entirely.)

Hillier came with a letter from a brother in law of his named Everett, in the Employ of the Taku Tug & Lighter Co., who wishes to be apptd. Pilot to the British squadron in N. China. Promised to write to the Admiral.

In the afternoon went to Conger, & found that he had recd. fr. Washington exactly the same communication as I had got fr. Lord L., but without Lord L's reply regarding Japan & Manchuria, and he was instructed to pass it on to the Chinese.

Told him abt. the Russian officers & sailors on board "Talbot" and a French & an Italian man of war at Chemulpho, and the idea that if proper guarantees were against their serving again in the war or going north, they might be landed at Shanghai and handed over to the Russian Consul-general. He agreed that they wld. be prob. a source of trouble. I was careful not to say that this was a proposal of the Br. Govt.

Told him also that Mumm has sent a note to the Chinese Govt. demanding payment of

1904

the indemnity in gold, & that the Chinese connect this with a complaint he made to Tsai chên of the Ch. Govt. that they frequently went for advice to the Japanese, American & English Legations, but did not go near him, wch. neither he nor his govt. liked.

15 [Feb] Went to Gallina. Found he had nothing fr. his govt. either abt. the American proposal to recognize Chinese neutrality and restrict the area of hostilities as much as possible, nor about the Russian officers and men who are on board the foreign men of war at Chemulpho, and the manner of disposing of them.

Tried to find Dubail, but he was out.

Azevedo [the Portugese Minister] came to tea. He predicts that if the war lasts three months the Western Powers will intervene, and that the result will be to give Manchuria to Russia definitively and Corea to Japan. That a defeat of Russia would be a blow to European prestige generally in Asia, and cannot be permitted. The result will be the partition of China. He thinks the Chinese declaration of neutrality is inept. She would have done better to say nothing about it, as she is now exposed to the consequences of any failure to maintain it. He has been reading the procès-verbaux [minutes] of the conference of 1900-01, and is shocked to find how the colleagues were thinking of their own interests. He says Cologan got an indemnity of £4000, tho' not a single wine glass of his was broken. Salvago got indemnities all round. The Belgians, whom he calls the Jews of the Latin race, made more than anyone. The Russians have a great future before them, the Latin race is perishing. Germany is playing a deep game, and before long we shall see her throwing in her lot with Russia. France is now more independent of her than she was.

I told him that it had been judged absolutely necessary to insist in China declaring herself neutral and sending orders to the provinces to remain quiet, for had she joined Japan there would have been a general conflagration throughout the country, missions would be attacked and perhaps other foreigners also. I thought a slight disturbance of the equilibrium in favour of Japan would not be disadvantageous.

He says Gallina for months past has had instructions to do absolutely nothing, and that he is consequently horribly bored for want of occupation. Italy cannot be [sic. by?] herself bring about a 'gachis' [French: mess], but must wait till others produce one, and then she may secure a share. When the Treasury was burnt last year the foreign legation guards plundered the buildings on the pretext of saving the French hospital, especially French and Germans.

I said that the Chinese lived tranquilly under the English flag in Hongkong & Singapore having voluntarily placed themselves under it, that was a very different matter from our planting the flag in Chinese territory & trying to govern the people. We had not the men to organize and run the administration of a Chinese province, and would have to

1904

do it through Chinese agents, all of whom wld. be just as corrupt as the present mandarins.

At dinner Prof. Jenks, the Uchidas & Lister Kayes. Uchida says that as soon as the Chinese put out their declaration of neutrality, he went to them about the Russian gunboat [Mandjour] at Shanghai, with the result that the ammunition is now being landed and deposited in the Russo-Chinese bank. What is to become of the ship itself he does not know. As to the Russian sailors at Chemulpho [Inchon] on board foreign warships, his govt. has consented to what F.O. telegd. to me, but U. agrees with me that if they are landed at Shanghai China of course will be quite unable to fulfil her duties as a neutral in regard to them. He has not yet replied to the Chinese note abt. neutrality, as he must first hear what [h]is govt. has to say about the neutralization of the evacuated part of Manchuria. The portion of the note referring to the occupied portion was inserted at the request of his government, and the Chinese at first worded it to mean such parts of China where she had not permitted foreign troops to be stationed, whereas the Japanese Govt. wished it to be 'places in the adverse occupation of foreign troops.' The Chinese wording wld. thus have applied to the whole of China. Mumm on the 8[th] at Conger's talked to him abt. neutrality being confined to the 18 provinces, because in Urga the Russians have several thousand troops wch. they keep there for the protection of their Siberian railway. He was himself however aware that the Russian detachment consisted of only 100 men, & he protested to Mumm agst. the idea of excluding Mongolia on grounds entirely opposed to geographical facts.

I showed him the teleg. fr. Scott giving Lamsdorff's reply to McCormick & himself on Mr. Hay's proposal, also telegs. fr. Greener at Port Arthur lent me by Morrison, and one from Wingate giving Wintles' experiences at P.A. from 8th to 11th.

16 [Feb.] Hopkins and his niece came up yesterday and is stopping with Morrison. We discussed various Tientsin matters, where nothing seems to press. Asked him whether he intended to retire, and gathered from his reply that as he has 30 years service he would like to do so, but is afraid he will not get permission. It would be very inconvenient if he did.

Today was the Chinese New Year. Walked with Russell through the Chinese town, found all the shops shut and hardly any people about.

Kidston says Mumm was seen by Straight last night getting into a jinriki at midnight and going off to the Russian Legation. The Americans think he is up to some tricks, and sees that after all their position in Shantung wld. share the fate of the Russians in Manchuria.

Lt. Col. & Mrs. Macpherson R.A.M.S. dined. He was in Gib. when I was at Tangier, & in 1894 had asked me to take him to Fez, but I preferred having Gregg. We talked about

1904

old acquaintances & friends there. The man Gordon Miller, who induced Reader to go into the cattle business in Spain went to S. Africa and disappeared. Reader married an American financial lady & a year ago was living in great style at Claridge's, trying to put various concessions on the market which he had obtained in Peru, and then disappeared entirely. Hope-Biddulph is at Aldershot, holding prayer meetings, his wife as gay and frivolous as ever. Mrs. Macph. is a Scotch woman from Inverness, rather like one of Rossetti's pale & emaciated beauties.

- 17 [Feb.] Mumm came to tell me that Dubail denies any movement of troops to Shanghai or augmentation of the garrison in Chihli. (Bower says he learnt from a French officer with whom he travelled on the railway, that there is a brigade and a half of troops in Tonquin wch. belong to the 'North China command' and are always held in readiness to move if required). Mumm said nothing abt. his separate action regarding the indemnity but Tsêng seems to have asked Cockburn what China should do if PP took advantage of the present situation to ask for things with urgency. C. asked what sort of things, to wch. he replied that M. had in the name of his govt. presented a demand for the payment of the indemnity in gold. The ans. was that they should say that the indemnity was a debt due to the Whole of the Powers, and not a part due to any Power in particular.

He stayed a long time talking most amiably, as if he had no *arrière pensée* [hidden motive] at all. But the story of his going at midnight on the 15th to the Russian legation is getting diffused, as Menzies told me it today.

- 18 [Feb] W.D. Straight of the Customs, a fine young American, who has chucked up his billet to become a war correspt., having recd. a very good offer fr. Collins [of Reuters], came to ask for letters of introduction. Later on I sent him letters for Jordan, Cl. MacD., Robt. Young of the Kōbe chronicle, Brinkley and Visct. Aoki.

Morrison came in for a few minutes. Says Hart thinks Mumm is up to some mischief: he sits two or three hours daily with Lessar, acc. to his own account.

Gallina called, said his Govt. in accepting the U.S. proposal abt. Chinese neutrality had added a rider that Manchuria could not be included in the area where China must behave as a neutral, but in spite of that the Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria must be recognized as a fact. Which is unlike the attitude of the Germans.

- 19 [Feb] Azevedo [Portuguese minister] came and sat for an hour, talking far Eastern politics. He predicts that however neutral Germany may appear now, she will be found on the side of Russia at the final settlement, wch. I told him must be made by the Powers. I said also that England and prob. America would not allow Japan to be crushed. He was under a belief that we had suggested to Washington to make the proposal about neutrality of China to Petersburg, but I explained how it had really happened. Washington has invited Portugal

1904

to join, and he has advised his govt. to agree, as it will raise her position. He also thought it was a mistake for Japan to urge neutrality on China, but I show[ed?] how necessary it was in the interest of the tranquillity of everybody. Then he wanted to know with whom it had originated. I told him of my conversation with Dubail on 24 Dec. but not of my teleg. to F.O. repeated to Tokio, saying that Uchida evidently believed China wld. join, wch. seems to have led to the advice given by Japan 7 Jan. Hinted to him that it was impossible to say what China would do if Japan had success on land, wch. I however had an impression she would not obtain.

Bishop Scott came also.

Ducat dined. He says that he thinks the Japanese will place a strong force on the Yalu to contain the Russians who are massed on that side, and then occupy the isthmus of Kinchou with the object of blockading Port Arthur, and thirdly let the Chinese loose on the right flank of the Russians coming down from the North. Aoki has been to see Ma Yü-kun at Tungchow, whom he found in a very aggressive state of mind, on the point of starting to post troops from Kinchou (the other one) along the outside of the Wall to Kupei Kóu. Bansai his no. 2 goes up and down betw. this and Tientsin conferring with Yüan Shihkai.

20 [Feb] New Years Audience being the 5th of the 1st moon, at ten o'clock. A cool wind from the NW and clouds of dust. Azevedo presented his credentials as E.E. and M.P. [Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary] & we lent him an escort of mounted infantry. The Empress D. was seated in the principal place behind a table, the emperor at her left in a chair the seat of wch. was a little lower than hers, his feet resting on a huge yellow cushion. Czikkann being unwell, Conger acted as Doyen. The address was read at the foot of the dais. The Emperor took a paper from his side, and with an almost imperceptible motion of his lips, fr. wch. no audible sound issued, he handed it to Prince Ch'ing who had ascended to the dais to receive it. He read it, and the A-H ¹ (who had read the translation of the Doyen's speech) gave the translation. Then we were motioned up on to the dais, and took our places in order of seniority, Conger in the centre. The Empress-D. pronounced the usual complimentary phrases, wch. were rendered into French by Lien-fang, and Mumm interpreted for Conger, as he happened to be standing on his left, and nearest to Lien-fang. Then the Empress-D. inclined her head, we made our bows and descended from the dais, backing out by the left door, and returning diagonally across the courtyard to the ante-room. Got back by eleven o'clock. She looked very cheerful, but the Emperor though apparently in good health looked more girl like than ever.

Hu Yü fen came to ask whether they shld. refuse to carry 190 tons of flour to

¹ Presumably the representative of the Doyen, Austro-Hungarian minister Czikkann.

1904

Newchwang for a British firm of Tientsin, presumably for the Russians. They have already, at the instance of the Japanese, refused to transport coal thither. I said that it seemed to me doubtful whether the duty of a neutral required them to refuse, even tho' the Russian soldiers were to eat the flour, but I would ask the F.O. what their opinion was. The Russians might perh. construe a refusal into a hostile act. He said the Russians were sending a dozen soldiers from Newchwang to Peking.

Uchida came by instructions fr. his govt. to convey their thanks to O'Brien-Butler for helping to get Japanese away from Port Arthur & Dalny [Dalian]. It is true that the Russians maltreated a number of Japanese from up country and carried off a hundred or so to Port Arthur, but he hopes to get them all released. He had four men in Manchuria sending him reports up to the outbreak of hostilities, but the Russians never found out what they were doing, and they got away safely. Does not know what is going on as to movements of Japanese troops, but Conger has heard from his Söul colleague that they are moving northward from there. I suggested that when the river opens at Newchwang the question of blockading the port will prob. come up, & asked whether they had notified a blockade of Port Arthur & Dalny. He said he had no knowledge of it. The Mandjour is not landing her ammunition, but taking it on board from the Russo-Chinese bank, where it was stored. Japan demands of China that she shall order the Mandjour to leave. (Warren telegs. the same information fr. Shanghai.) Seems to think some time must elapse before we get any new of land operations. As to contraband of war being notified by Japanese Govt. has no knowledge.

Went to Congers to tea. He showed me the Russian reply to Washington about observing Chinese neutrality, wch. the U.S. govt. have accepted as 'responsive'. He thinks the phrase about Japan "observing the engagements with the Powers" is obscure and I agree with him.

22 Feb. Mumm came to thank me for the information abt. Bode's misconduct in Yünnan, and asked me to transmit to him a teleg. thro' Wilkinson.

Kamei and Koidzumi called. They had no news to impart and I had nothing to tell them. These people take up a good deal of our time to no good.

Dined at Mumm's to play bridge, and the result was that though I got home before midnight, I could not sleep till past two. Finished a third reading of Lavengro [by George Borrow].

23 " Waiwupu New Year's calls. Prince Ch'ing and the members of the Grand Council were there. We all sat down to a table 'groaning' with fruit & sweetmeats. Prince Ch'ing toasted the Foreign Sovereigns & Presidents, Conger and Joostens replied, Czikkann being still unwell.

1904

Wingate came up to stop the night, & to discuss Intelligence work.

24 Wingate returned to Tientsin.

Wu Ting-fang came with an idea of his to ask Engl., France, Germany and the United States to allow their Consuls-general at Shanghai to join with the Taotai on a Commission to decide knotty questions of International Law, like that of the Mandjour. This is because Prince Ch'ing is so weak. First Uchida induced him to order the Shanghai Taotai to give the Russian ship twenty four hours notice, or to stop throughout duration of the war. Then Lessar made him countermand these instructions. It is however nearly arranged that she shall be disarmed, her armament being placed in the charge of the Municipal Council, Lessar giving a written undertaking that she shall remain at Shanghai till the end of the war, but Uchida's instructions were to insist that some of her machinery should be removed. The proposed commission would relieve the Chinese govt. of such troublesome questions. Dubail had been sounded by Lienfang and had said it was a good idea. He wanted to know my opinion. I said it was unworthy of the dignity of China, who ought not to abdicate her duties to a mixed commission of consular officers who not being professional lawyers wld. have to refer to their govts. He said he hoped I wld. not oppose it, even if I did not approve, and I promised that. I said my personal idea was that the Chinese Govt. shld. get hold of a sound international lawyer & be guided by his advice, like the Japanese, but he replied that when formerly the Yamên had one, he was never consulted.

I put before him the Chinese Central Rlwy Ltd application for a line from Chungking to Chêngtu, on wch. he exclaimed that the B. & C. Corpn. & Peking Syndicate had concessions that they did nothing with. I defended them as best I could, and asked what I had better do. Write a Note to the Yamên, he replied. I explained all the advantages offered & drew a distinction betw. the concessions given to the Russian, French & Germ. Govts. & what private British companies had obtained. Personally, I thought the way in wch. the Northern rlwys. had been constructed was the best model. He told me he had founded the latter, & got people to subscribe about 200,000 taels, on wch. interest had never been paid, but recently he had induced Yüan to make part payment. His own shares in the rlwy and the Kaifing mines he had sold at a loss.

After dinner Gatrell came to give me some interesting information about Miller's statements as to denudation of Port Arthur of troops, unprotected state of railway.

25 [Feb.] Went to Mumm, and suggested that the time had now come for a Protocol on the glaxis question, wch. we agreed I should draft, if Gallina is ready to sign without more ado.

Russian & Japse. troops in Chihli. Told him my instructions & asked whether he thought it necessary to do anything of the kind previously suggested. Personally, he

1904

thought not, & cld. not join unless instructed by his govt. I said I agreed with him. The U.S. intervention had seemed more in the way of neutrality of China than we had even hoped for, but we [had] done right in calling the attention of our govts. to the question. I said I shld. now go to Dubail & Gallina.

He read me note from Lessar giving official account of engagement on night of 23 & 24 Feb. in wch. 2 Jap. torpedo boats were sunk & 2 steamers with wch. Japse. were trying to seal the mouth of the harbour [at Port Arthur]. [Russian battleship] Retvisan & forts replied with cannon. At dawn Japse. fleet descried in double line and 6 (or 8) torpedo boats steaming back to it.

To Dubail. He also agreed about not doing anything in regard to Russian & Japse. troops in the province. He talked about the future. Russia must crush Japan and then Corea, Manchuria, N. China all Russian. Supposing for the sake of hypothesis that Japan got the upper hand, she wld. turn us out of Asia. I admitted that Russia cld. not accept a defeat at the hands of Japan. That I had always when in Japan done my best to preserve peace, & had pointed out to Itō when they began doubling their army that it wld. be regarded as a menace. It was already large enough for defence; they cld. fairly increase their navy as they were an island nation, but such a large army cld. only be needed for enterprise on the continent of Asia. Dubail said that Russians could have had everything they wanted without a costly war, if Lessar had stopped here the additional proposals of Plançon wld. never have been presented & the evacuation wld. have been carried out, leaving Russia at liberty to pour in troops whenever she chose. It was "une gaffe" [a blunder]. I agreed that Lessar wld. never have done this stupid thing.

Abt. Wu's idea of Consular [Margin: Commission at Shanghai to decide questions relating to Chinese neutrality. He thought it absurd to put such questions in hands of consuls. I reported the whole thing in a private letter to Lord Lansdowne.]

On to Gallina. Russian & Japse. troops. He agreed that nothing need be done. Glacis: he cld. only sign ad referendum ¹, so I said we had better wait till he got a reply to the report made after the last meeting of the Dipl. Body.

Hu came to announce arrival of Russian troops at 3 points in evacuated region.

Uchida to tell me about Mandjour negotiations. He insists on a part of the machinery being removed. Lessar objects & offers to give written undertaking that she will not leave port during war. I suggested that this wld. suffice. Telegd. to F.O.

Chinese Min. at Petersburg, says Uchida, telegraphed that the Russians said they did not wish to intrude into evacuated region, but wld. prob. be unable to prevent the operations fr. extending W. of Liao river. I gather that Uchida does not regret this Russian

¹ ad referendum: subject to reference, here to Gallina's home government.

1904

answer, but I told him we were particularly interested on account of railway.

Conger came to call. Told him my talks of the morning and all the news I had gathered. Said that when the war comes to an end the U.S. will have to take part with us & other great Powers in arranging terms. He hesitated to agree to this, on acct. of the traditional [American] dislike to being mixed up with the European Powers. But Judge Taft who is now his War Secretary sees that the U.S. cannot keep out of world affairs, & if Roosevelt is re-elected, he will prob. not take a different line.

26 [Feb.] Went to Tientsin with Eastes. Viceroy [Yüan Shih-kai] sent his carriage to meet me at the station, but I preferred walking. Hopkins, Phillips, Genl. Ventris & Wingate there. No guard of honour, at my request. Went on with the General to call on Mrs. Ventris. At dinner the Rev. Brown & his wife, the Alick Shaws, Mackintosh of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank, who paid me some flattering compliments!

27 “ F. Perry & I.G. Hamilton who are here to try to get coolies for the Transvaal called with a letter of introduction fr. F.O. to render them what unofficial assistance I cld. Told them I had no instructions. They have talked to Tang Shaoyi, who objects to the provision that at the end of years the coolies are to [be] ‘repatriated’. If this objection is insisted on, the thing will fall thru’.

Then Nathan who handed a memo. by himself on the origin of the Co. & said that Yüan had now left the matter in Chang-yi's hands, & he hopes to settle things amicably, the lawsuit being withdrawn. Hoped I wld. not object to that. I told him that if the Viceroy asked me to assent I shld. not refuse, but I could not broach the subject with him. The position I had always taken up was that this is a British Co. and the Chinese must not interfere with it. When they said they had been swindled out of their property, I replied if so, seek redress in the Courts. They had begun a lawsuit. I could not therefore say anything that could be construed into recommending them to desist.

N. says Chang Yi feels that the lawsuit requires his presence in England, but that if he went, his enemies wld. take advantage of his absence. Hence his desire to compromise. I said that prob. several people connected with the affair wld. like to squash it, as their reputations wld. suffer if the whole story were made public. Personally I attributed no blame to the present Directors, but I shld. be glad if it were possible to make Moreing & Hoover disgorge.

He says Chang Yi has the edict, but will not let it out of his hands, but he is going to obtain a certified copy.

With Hopkins to the Viceroy. Principal topic the territory W. of the Liao River, wch. Russians refuse to regard as neutral. He has written to the Russian general protesting agst. his intrusion, but gets no satisfactory reply. I advised him to telegraph to Chinese

1904

Ministers in Europe & get public opinion on the side of China by publishing a statement of facts in the newspapers. Told him as to the extra[-]mural railway that I wld. teleg. the whole state of affairs to F.O. and ask them whether they could do anything.

Afternoon to Dr. S.L. Hart's museum & Library at the Anglo-Chinese college. Very small affairs. Hopkins in the chair, Tang Shao-yi representing Viceroy on his l. I made a speech about free interchange of ideas between nations increasing the common stock of knowledge, development of scientific study thro' the perfection of instruments, yet such study need not if humbly pursued lead to materialism; yet study of mind more necessary; but no one truly educated who neglected either, and wound up with eulogium of missionaries & the benefits they had conferred on China & other countries.

Called on Alick Shaws.

Boyce-Kup showed a telegram acc. to wch. the B. & C. Corpn. concede to the German group that they may get their agreement for the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. in working order, provided both agreements are signed simultaneously, but the English one to remain in Chinese hands till they are ready to go ahead.

Dinner Ventris, Poma the Italian consul, a very nice fellow, Miss Scott who sang nicely some old English songs.

28 [Feb.] Went to the new Church, which is a very fine and spacious building. The Rev. Brown took for his text: "What is that to thee, follow thou me."

Yüan Shihkai, his son and Tsai Taotai to lunch at the Ventris. Yüan said he objected to the proposed confinement of Chinese immigrants into the Transvaal in kraals, wch. he said wld. prevent his consenting. Russians now come into Chinese territory disguised as civilians, but he knows all about their movements. They are not clever, he says, at concealing their doings. There are two Japanese cruisers watching Newchwang.

Returned to Peking by 3.10 train, Viceroy having put a private car at my disposal.

29 " Went to Conger about Newchwang. He says Ad. Evans will certainly withdraw the Vicksburg as soon as the river opens, and the residents must look out for themselves. He does not apprehend any danger so long as the Russians are in possession, nor when the Japanese replace them, if they undertake any operations.

Talked to him about cleaning out the canal, and he agrees on principle.

Then to Lessar about the canal. He is favourable. Says he cannot now leave before August or September, but certainly could not live through another winter.

Called on [General] Chiang Kuei-ti, who says he has altogether 10,000 troops in Peking, and will not move from here, and on Prince Kung, who with a sublime air of superiority asked whether China ought not now to intervene between the belligerents & reconcile them; as if She were a wise parent making peace between two troublesome

1904

boys. This is of a piece with Wu Ting fang's explanation of a phrase in the Chinese note announcing neutrality, that it meant that China abstained from taking part in the fray out of gracious consideration for the whims of her two fighting neighbours. Left cards on Hu Yü fên, Li Shêng teh and Kuei chün.

Czikann came with our list of ladies who will go on Saturday to the audience, wch. he says is contrary to what was agreed on at the last new yr's audience that only ladies of diplomatic body cld. go. Explained to him that Lady Lister Kaye had been specially invited by the Empress.

March 1904

1 Mar. To Uchida about Newchwang & our gunboat there. Asked him to give me timely notice of what operations would be undertaken against Newchwang, in order that we might know what precautions would be necessary.

Talking of the appearance of Russian mounted men 5 miles north of Phyöng-yang, he said the Japanese would be only too delighted if the Russians chose to make Corea the theatre of war.

To Mumm and told him what I had added to the reply to Chinese note about police stations for protection of the Legation quarter & that H.M.G. approved our taking no steps abt. neutralization of Japse. & Russian troops in the province of Chihli.

In the afternoon presented the King's African medal to 67 of the Sherwood Foresters.

Hu Yü fên came to ask what H.M.G. would do if Russians occupied the railway outside the Wall. He asserted that they had given an undertaking to H.M.G. not to 'occupy'. I got out the Scott Agreement, and showed him that the expression was 'neither mortgaged nor alienated to a company belonging to a third Power', but he wld. not believe.

He says Lessar has written officially to the Waiwupu to say that Russia refuses to recognize the neutrality of the evacuated portion of Manchuria, and warns them not to send troops beyond Shanhaikwan, nor to Chaoyang. As to the latter, he says the WWP replied that Chaoyang was outside Manchuria. Prince Ch'ing has been unwell with lumbago, and sees no one. Nat'ung runs the Wai wu pu but cannot see him.

2 Mar. Conger came, and we agreed upon instructions to Playfair & his consul at Hankow abt. arbitrating the claim of one Lee agst. the Municipal Council.

He does not approve of my amendment to the draft Note to the Chinese Govt. abt. their putting guards at the entrances to the Legation.

Discussed with Gray & King their plan for improving the sanitary condition of the

1904

canal, wch. they said wld. cost near[er] 60,000 than 6,000 dollars. Told him this was impracticable, & insisted on their doing the best possible with the smaller sum.

Geo. Bronson-Howard, a young American, who is war correspondent for the "Chronicle" came to ask for help in getting permission to go with the Russian forces. Gave him a certificate of his identity, wch. was all he asked for.

3 " Gatrell called. Was at Paotingfu for one night. There he was told that the real number of troops sent from there was 10,000. They are well-provided with foreign-trained doctors, nursing staff, surgical apparatus & commissariat.

E.W. Salis-Schwabe, the Br. commercial agent at Vladivostok, with his brother, called. They were given 3 days notice to remove to a distance of 40 versts fr. Vl., afterwards extended to 11 days; at first only to British subjects, but later all civilians were included, and they had much difficulty in getting away, as there was a train only once every three days. He & his brother came by steamer to Nagasaki with a large number of Japanese refugees. A thousand that remained have been sent to Khabarovsk.

Morrison called. He has just been to Newchwang & Hsinmingting. Yüan Shihkai's troops, well-paid and disciplined are welcomed by the people. Those of the govr. of Moukden live on the people. The Russians at Newchwang behave very properly & are as conciliatory as possible. Only 500 soldiers there, who are kept in good order.

Visited the French Hôpital S. Michel, and was introduced to all the sisters.

Ducat came: he had previously sent in an excellent report.

Perry & Hamilton came. Told them I had read the draft contract, what Yüan Shihkai said to me on the subject of confinement of Chinese in "kraals", wch. I shld. have called "compounds" according to Hamilton. Said I had recd. no instructions from F.O. They asked that if I did, I wld. communicate with them thro' C.W. Campbell, as they are now going South. I requested them to put in writing the points on wch. they had spoken to me.

Azevedo came, and as usual sat a long time. Has had a satisfactory interview with the Foreign Board, who say that Shêng will negotiate the commercial treaty and also the agreement abt. a railway from Macao to Canton &c: he himself desires to carry it on as far as Wuchow. Dubail was furious when he heard of the Japse. convention with Corea. Azevedo describes him as a 'commis de chancellerie transformé en ministre plénipotentiaire'. They have had a warm discussion about the proposed withdrawal of the Portuguese Missions from Hainan, wch. the Fr. much desire, and their exclusive rights in Hungshan; the Fr. wish to have both. He has told the Bishop of Macao to stick to what the Pope has decided. Fr. consul at Kiungchou is also consul for Portugal; he bullies the Portuguese missionaries there, and recently was indiscreet enough to write a letter to the Taotai speaking agst. them, wch. letter the Taotai passed on, and A. now has it in his

1904

possession. The Portuguese consul has recommended that protection of Portuguese missionaries shld. be given to the British consul, & A. seems to have hinted to Dubail that he might take that course, but he does not wish to make things unpleasant. However he has told Dubail straight out that Portuguese Missions in China are not under French Protection, but by the Concordat of 1857 modified by that of 1888 they are protected by the Portuguese govt. The Fr. consul it seems accused the Portuguese missionaries of trading. As to that, the Belgian missions in Mongolia are the principal horsedealers and are amassing great sums by the business. I observed that other missions dealt in curios, and some in land (vide Lt. Webster's report of his journey thro' Honan.)

Dined at the Cárcers with the Almeidas, Gallina, Joostens & his young brother, Lister Kaye, Sforza.

- 4 [Mar] Uchida came to say that the Gaimushō [Japanese Foreign Office] had consulted the Kaigunshō [Navy Ministry] about the situation at Newchwang, and the[y] had replied that they would do everything in their power to avoid inconvenience to resident foreigners; they will give us as early notice beforehand as they conveniently can, but at present can say nothing.

From his talk I gather that he expects the Chinese to come into line as soon as the land campaign develops. Also that he stirred up Tokio to take up the Manchurian question from the first, and that he wanted them to begin protesting in April last, wch. would have enabled them to go to work earlier. Itō was the difficulty; Yamamoto Gombei his follower. Katsura prob[ably] cautious & anxious not to go against Itō, while really siding with Yamagata. As to the Emperor's views I could not extract anything from him. Certainly Uchida kept Prince Ch'ing up to the mark in a wonderful manner. He said, in reply to my remark to this effect, that on two occasions he had been afraid the Chinese wld. yield: 1. When Plançon presented the conditions, he went off to see Prince Ch'ing in the Hunting-Park, & found him regarding the new conditions as very trifling: for four days he c[ou]ld not get a copy. The 2nd time was when Lessar came back.

- 6 [Mar] Went to see Azevedo. He says Dubail talks of a Congress to settle the affairs of China. His idea is that the Powers, while nominally maintaining the integrity of Chinese territory, will establish spheres of protectorate. He forecasts a defeat of Japan on land and a result in favour of Russia, but attaches importance to Mr. Hay's proposal communicated to the powers to safeguard the neutrality of China and the integrity of her territory both during the war & thereafter. I observed that there was one amendment I shld. make to his forecast, namely that even if Russia were victorious on land, she has lost the command of the sea, wch. remains with Japan, so that the general result wld. be undecisive.

- 7 “ Dubail came to say that his govt. was concerned abt. the removal of so many troops fr.

1904

the Southern provinces to the North, lest disturbances shld. arise in the provinces thus denuded of troops. I expressed the opinion that no large number had come up here, but at his request promised to say a word at the Waiwupu.

Mumm came abt. the agreement to sign separate agreements for the Tientsin Yangtze rlwy. I said I wld. look into the matter & see what I cld. do to expedite matters. In conformity with this promise I wrote to Boyce-Kup asking what he was doing, and said I wld. assist to the best of my ability.

8 “ Li Shêng-têh returned my New Year's call.

Uchida came. Says Li is not in great favour at Court, i.e. with Prince Ch'ing and his friends, on acct. of his intimacy with Ch'ing Kwan, the denouncer[?] of the journalist who was beaten to death.

But what his visit meant was this. He was told that Conger had been to the Waiwupu to express his concern at the denudation of the provinces as to troops, leaving not sufficient there to maintain order, & he had added that the other Powers would make similar representations. Told him what Dubail said to me yesterday, & that I had rather avoided giving an answer. I had intended to see him & Conger, to warn them.

He says the 7 ships that are reported to have bombarded Vladivostok were cruisers, including the Yakumo and another 1st class armoured cruiser. Does not believe that Togo has left off watching Port Arthur.

Abt. Cowen, said he thought there was danger of young Japse. journalists of Tientsin & Peking writing articles condemning the proceedings agst. Cowen, as they believed him to be sympathetic to Japan, & he had therefore warned them to keep within bounds. If there was anything more I wld. like him to do he was quite ready. Thanked him & explained reason for action agst. Cowen, & said that it was indecent conduct on Cowen's part, quite a contrast to that of the press in Japan.

Kuei-chun came. Talked abt affairs. He said anyone with half an eye cld. have seen some time back that war wld. take place. Enjoyed being told that in the opinion of her own friends Russia had made a blunder, and he relished greatly his own idea that she wld. have to pay huge sums for expenses, besides the interest on the milliards borrowed in France.

9 [Mar.] Mumm came out. Dubail's letter in circulation withdrawing his consent to the limitation of Ladies New Year audiences to wives & children of the Dipl. men. I said I wld. give an explanation that I trusted wld. assuage his wrath.

Told him that I had written to Boyce-Kup abt. the railway negotiations & offered to do what I cld. to help. He says that his people unwisely agree not to include the Kaifêng & Chengting branches; previously he told me that they were unwise in trying to get them

1904

in.

Told him abt. Dubail's desire that I shld. join in warning the Chinese not to denude the provinces of troops, & what I had heard abt. Conger's visit (tho' without mentioning the source of my information) to the Foreign Board. He said Dubail had suggested the same thing to him, & that if he had supposed D. was speaking to others, he wld. have consulted us before acting. As a fact, he merely told his 2nd interpreter who had to go to the Board abt. something else to put an inquiry & offer a hint; nothing more.

Conger volunteered to him that at Dubail's suggestion he had spoken, but did not say that he had told them other RR. would make observations in the same sense.

Col. Aoki and my namesake Capt. Satow dined, also Major Townsend of the Burma commission & Capt. Pringle R.A. who are up here for the study of Chinese.

10 “ Hu Yü fên brought with him the m.s. copy of the loan agreement of 1898 with a Chinese version, possibly due to E.G. Hillier, in wch. the words “alienated or parted with” are translated so as to give some ground that no Power shld. occupy the rlwy. I pointed out to him that even were the Chinese text the original, the fact that the Chinese govt. had officially communicated the Agreement to the Legn. did not bind the Russians to anyone, but only them to us. He says the only troops that have been brought to Chihli are 8 Ying from Hupei to T'ung-chou and 4 from Shantung to Paoting fu. Uchida says it is a fact that Lessar sent in a note to Waiwupu, protesting agst. the number of troops at Chao-yang, & Pr. Ch'ing sent Lienfang to explain that as Russia had 200,000 in Manchuria she need not fear 10,000 Chinese outside the boundary. U. brought me the Japse. circular in reply to the Russian one accusing Japan of violating international law. He sent his interpreter to Prince Ch'ing to inquire what Conger had said abt. moving troops. It appears that the Pr. replied there were plenty left to provide for the tranquillity of the province.

U. says that it was the Russian advance to Fêng-huang-chêng [?] & the Yalu that finally brought round the Genrō[Japanese elder statesmen] to declaring war. I showed him Scott's report of Kurino's conversation with Witte.

11 [Mar.] In the forenoon to Joostens. Drafting committee on reply to Shanghai consuls abt. “Supao” prisoner.

Sent Dubail a summary of Sly's telegrams about the outbreak in N. of Kueichou.

To Conger & told him I had instructed Fulford to protest agst. sinking junks with stones in such a manner as to prevent the “Espième” getting out. He said he would give similar instructions to Miller.

12 Mar. Major Townsend of the Burma commission came to lunch, and we discussed the results of his meeting at Ertaiipo on 17 [?] May 1900 with the subprefect of Tingyueh at wch. the latter offered to produce proofs, & did show a map. Townsend refused to discuss the

1904

evidence. Sub-prefect did not actually produce the documentary evidence he professed to be in possession of. His own opinion is that delimitation is the only way of settling the question in dispute. Cockburn also present.

Cockburn saw Wu Ting-fang, who said he knew nothing about Marteau having applied for a railway concession into Yunnan. They had today sent a teleg. to Shêng to say nothing about manufactured iron not being transported by the Peking Syndicate's rlwy. to agree to railway rates being fixed by agreement betw. the two parties, and to the cost of the railway being fixed by expert examination of the line & if necessary of the books also. Wu said Imperial Govt. had already approved the Hunan Mining Regulations.

- 13 “ Mumm came. Had the Hunan Mining regulations a fortnight ago, & has written to Waiwupu protesting, as Germans already have mining interests in that province, by authorized advances of capital to Chinese. They promptly replied that the rules had been already sanctioned by the throne. He wrote again in stronger terms, and has not yet recd. a reply.

It is true, he says, that the Chinese have offered to pay German str. co. compensation for not putting their pontoon at the mouth of the Han, as long as the Japanese keep theirs there.

- 14 [Mar] Dubail came. Told him Lessar insists on the Doyen's reply to the Senior Consul stating that his (L's) Gov[ernmen]t. cannot have anything more to do with this affair. We deplored the line he takes; he might have left it alone, & simply omitted to send any instructions to his consul.

D's visit was to inquire whether we were bringing more troops to Tientsin, the rumour is that we are bringing 2 companies fr. Weihai[wei]. I said it was not the case, that I disliked anything like giving the signal for a panic. He has I suppose had an inquiry fr. his govt. Told him a coll[eague] had inquired of me, rather oddly, where our ships were; and my reply. He advises his govt. that army & navy people shld. keep their eyes open, but not move a ship without consulting him. We discussed the war, & both regretted it. I said it was acc. to Uchida the movement of troops towards the Yalu [River] early in Jan. that had brought abt. the change of Ito's views. He said that on the 3rd Jan. he knew Uchida had said war was inevitable, and he gave notice to his govt. We are both of opinion that China ought to be kept back from joining Japan, for supposing even that the latter were successful, China wld. then lose Manchuria and Kashgar. Dubail is ostensibly a lover of the status quo: he again repeated how he had persuaded his govt. not to let the military people in Tonquin send troops into Yunnan, & their approbation of his policy.

- 15 “ A slight fall of snow this morning continued in the afternoon. Went to the Mosque with Russell, & were shown over by a Turk who described himself as being of Kashgar,

1904

name Abdul Wahil[?].

- 17 “ Both Koidzumi and Kamei came to say how vexed they were that the “Japan Times” had interpreted a teleg. of the latter to the “Jiji” as meaning that the Peking and Tientsin Times had been bought by the Russians. Yuan Shihkai'[s] son and Tsêng came that the former might bring a complimentary message from the Viceroy, and thank me for my speech at Tientsin.

Lunched with the Lister Kayes. Annular eclipse of the sun. Marked fall in temperature. Clouded all day, and fall of snow in the afternoon. Mrs. Fulford, little girl Margaret and nurse arrived from Newchwang. Bridge party of colleagues.

- 19 “ To Foreign Board, wch. had assembled in full, Chü Hung-chi, Nat'ung, Lienfang and Wu Tingfang.

Mentioned Mining Regulations of Hunan, Camphor monopoly in Fuhkien given practically to the Japanese, Capt. Farrow's prospecting license, likin on rlwy. outside Shanhaikwan and trade mark regulations.

- 20 [March] Bishop Scott lunched.

- 21 “ Got on [his pony] Tycoon's back, the first ride I have had for nearly three years, and went up Customs Lane to the Anting môn, then under the wall to the Têh Shêng men, and by the diagonal road to the drum-tower, and so home. He went like an angel and I enjoyed it more than I could have thought possible; a lovely warm afternoon with a gentle W. breeze, the mountains perfectly clear.

Mumm came in, and there was some desultory talk about the Tientsin-Yangtze railway. He pretends now at last to have recd. instructions about the signing of separate contracts. Told him I had written to Boyce-Kup to do his best to get the Chinese to agree, & that I shld. have to get the notes of discussions that had taken place up to the present. He says that only a small portion of the Kiaochou-Chinanfu line has been put on the market, & is not aware of Choufu having bought any shares, though he believes the question had been mooted.

- 22 “ Rode to the Peit'ang ¹, & had a chat with Bishop [Auguste] Favier [Catholic Vicar-Apostolic of Peking, and a renowned China expert], who gave me a copy of his book on Peking, a magnificent well-illustrated volume in 4°: the site of the Cathedral was certain imperial magazines of the Ming Dynasty, wch. were ceded to him in exchange for the previous church, given over to the Empress-Dowager. Further on towards the marble bridge was the Yamên, with two stone lions in front, wch. I remember from 1862,

¹ Peit'ang Cathedral still stands northwest of the Forbidden City today, and is in excellent condition, despite being used as a store during the Cultural Revolution. See Diana Preston, *The Boxer Rebellion*, p. 355, and photograph on p. 356. For Bishop Favier's part in the siege of the cathedral, see Ch. 16.

1904

burnt by the Boxers. Opposite, but a little way down, was a blue-tiled pagoda, wch. I do not remember; this alas was destroyed by the Boxers. Li Hung-chang negotiated the exchange, and he gave a very amusing account of how the [sic. they?] used Chinese arguments successfully. The Chinese wanted to get the church out of the Imperial City, to wch. he objected that what the Emperor's ancestor had sanctioned could not be upset by his descendant. Kleckskowski, Lemaire and even [Thomas F.] Wade were not successful as diplomatists, because they had been interpreters, and thus had a bias in favour of the Chinese point of view.

- 23 “ Rode out by the Shaho môn, and outside the canal along the wall of the Chinese city to the Yung ting môn and so home in 2¼ hrs. Joe [Satow's dog] was with me and greatly enjoyed splashing along in the water and frightening the flocks of white fat ducks.

Azevedo came. Says that he has determined to get rid of the Fr. vice-consul at Kiung cho wao in charge of Portuguese interests, because he has written an indecent letter to the Taot'ai denouncing the Portuguese missionaries in Hainan, and asked if I would allow our man to act. I said there wld. be no difficulty, if he wrote to me officially asking my consent.

- 24 [Mar.] Went to Conger and arranged with him that the Lee arbitration at Hankow should simply decide the question of ownership, and the subsequent provision should be left till later. Also to teleg. to Fulford and Miller not to oppose the Russian exclusion of foreigners from the fort, the Russian settlement and the tract between the fort and town of Yingkow.

- 25 “ To Prince Ch'ing. A satisfactory conversation about Szechuen railways, and mentioned Lister Kaye's affairs.

- 28 [Mar] A lunch at Natung's private house, given by the Waiwupu. Wang Wênshao was among the guests. Sir Robt. Hart & Père Jarlin (one representing Commerce the prevailing British interest, the other the chief French interest religion!), also the Germ. Rear Admiral von Holzendorff.

[Margin: Tsêng came to ask for a loan of a Student Interpreter to teach English in the Hunanese school here. Talking of politics he said the case of China was hopeless, unless the Manchus were placed on the same footing as the Chinese, or got rid of altogether. His grandfather ought to have made himself Emperor after putting down the Taiping rebellion!]

Dined at Mumms, where was the Admiral, his Capt. Funke, van Citters, Gaiffier, Coolidge & others. Played bridge with Gaiffier, Rodachowski the Austrian Commandant & Mumm. I told the latter abt. the Russian endeavour to get Mr. [John] Hay [U.S. Secretary of State] to propose neutralization of Newchwang and the coast of the Liaotung

1904

Gulf from Shanhaikwan to Kaiping E. of Newchwang. Had previously told Conger and Uchida. The former was indignant, the latter much tickled. Remarked to Mumm that I had just learnt that Mr. Hay's proposal to the PP [Powers] that Russia & Japan shld. recognize the neutrality of China had been prompted by Germany. He gave me to understand that he had been consulted on the matter, and had approved. If this is true, it would account for his conversation with Uchida about neutralization of the 18 Provinces on 8 Feb. when we all dined at Congers, and also for his not being very anxious about Dubail's proposal debated by us all (Gallina, he, Dub[ail] and I) at his house on the 9th.

29 “ Conger came, and I told him exactly what I had heard from Washington abt. the Russian proposal to Mr. Hay. Also that Noel now telegs. that “Espiègle” may remain as long as she can. That I had sent on home Russian declaration of martial law, and thought we cld. not oppose their insisting on deposit of value of beans exported, to guarantee not going to Japan. He is of the same opinion. Said I had heard privately fr. Warren that Goodnow had proposed ten years for the chief “Supao” culprit, and I think he agreed that this was wrong; that the Assessor & the Chinese judge ought to be left to settle it. T.H. Lyle vice consul at Bangkok came to lunch.

Sir J. Lister Kaye came. Told him of Ker's teleg. that the concession & map had left Anching, & sent Wilkinson to Waiwupu to make a row about it.

30 [Mar] Rode out with Norris to the cottage to arrange about building an extra sleeping room to accommodate a third guest. Plenty of dust. Got there in 1 hr. 25 min. from time of starting, 50 min. from the Shunche[?] mên [gate].

Wu Ting fang called. He began by talking politics, & said the Emperor evidently had no force of character at all, or he would not allow himself to be sat on by his aunt in the way he does. He asked abt. the Emperor of Japan shaking hands with foreign representatives. I said he always did it. Then he told me that at the recent private audience of the diplomatic ladies the Empress Dowager & Emperor shook hands with them all, and the Emperor also.

We discussed the trademarks regulation fees, of wch. he brought a copy. I said I wld. look at them & let him know my opinion.

Sir J. Kaye's concession & map have arrived. They think the ten miles square & 100 years too much. I suggested that after they had examined the documents they shld. appoint some one to discuss these points with him. As to the original language, he thought an English translation certified to be correct by Cockburn would do as well as making it the original. I concurred in this.

Peking Syndicate. He says Shêng telegd. that he gave way on the point of fixing the rates and fixing the cost of the railway by an expert, but that Jamieson was negotiating

1904

abt. the iron smelting works on the basis of their being Chinese govt. property. We agreed that he shld. teleg. again to Shêng to come to an agreement, while I shld. advise Jamieson to see Shêng & conclude with him on this basis.

Szechuen rlwy. I cld. not get a promise that my last note shld. be answered accepting my suggestion to include all in one management.

Told him abt. Russian attempt at Washington to get Newchwang neutralized. He said he knew nothing of the Russians wanting to neutralize the territory west of the Liao river.

31 [Mar] Mumm came. Says the story of the Russian endeavour to get Mr. Hay to propose neutralization of Newchwang confirmed by a telegram recd. fr. the Ostasiatische Lloyd at Shanghai.

Uchida came to say that the "Mandjour" question has been settled by a part of the machinery (steam-pipes) being removed and 150 men to be sent home on parole. Akitsushima will leave Wusung tomorrow. Sinking of press-boat by Russian destroyer in Chinese waters. He has informed Tokio & asked for instructions. Expect that Japan will protest to China agst. her allowing this to be done. He produced a teleg. by w[hi]ch Kuropatkin & Makarof are apptd. independent commanders in chief of the land & sea forces, and Reuter says this is a 'diminutio capitis' [downgrading, demotion] for Alexeieff. It was really done about 21 Feb. but kept secret until now. Chinese have a story that Alexeieff is dead, either from a wound or by his own hand, and thinks the story may perh. be true.

Charles Denby called, son of the late U.S. minister Col. Denby. Talking of affairs, he said that Mr. Hay's policy antagonistic to Russia had done the U.S. much harm, and he cld. see when he was last in Manchuria that Russian feeling was very hostile to Americans. He comes up and down to Peking to try and find out for Yüan Shih Kai what is the attitude of the several Powers, but does not expect that they will adopt any decided policy till things have developed more. His remarks confirmed what I had heard before that his is pro-Russian.

April 1904

3 April Rain all day long.

Azevedo came to say that he was off to Shanghai for a couple of months to negotiate his commercial treaty and railway concession. He says Dubail's idea is that the settlement after war is over will be on the principle of compensation, and that the Powers shld. arrange amongst themselves a set of 'protectorates' of different parts of China: this notion he thinks must have originated with Delcassé, but it seems to me rather doubtful that the

1904

Fr. Govt. shld. be looking so far ahead. Anyhow, he says Dubail does not include the Canton delta in the French sphere, as it must fall either to Portugal or England.

4 April Went to see the Bishop and got him to send me the gardener who sold me trees for the cottage. Saw a peach tree in full flower, single.

Conger came to talk about the condition of the canal. Told him Lessar was agreed, but that Gallina, followed by Uchida and Cárcer, proposed to defer cleaning operations till the autumn. He is indignant, and will go to work at once to create a flow of water out past his own place. I told him that if he did so, we would work at our end.

Dined with Hu Yu fên. Conger, Coolidge, Fletcher & Miller, on our side Cockburn, Russell and Kidston. Wu Ting-fang. Chai the late Minister to Japan, Ku Hsia-Hsin, an old secretary of the Waiwupu, and Tsêng. European food, not well cooked, wines infamous, but some good German beer.

5 April Mr. Louis Spitzel came a second time, but I refused to see him.

Mrs. Fulford went down to Tientsin.

Rode along east side of the Imperial city, and to the Té-shêng mên, then tried to find the old road bordered by trees wch. ran along the S.W. side of the lake called the Ho-yen, but the place seems a good deal changed. V. der Goltz who called on his return from leave says the surroundings have been changed in consequence of the building of the Chiye-fu, and the removal of a number of trees.

6 [April] Wu Ting-fang came. He said that Sir J.L. Kaye had written to him that he was prepared to let the original [text] of his concession be Chinese, and to accept 85 years instead of 100, but that he must insist on 100 sq. miles. It was satisfactory as far as the first two points went, but he did not see how the question of area cld. be determined here, and Prince Ch'ing thought that Sir J. shld. himself settle this with the Govr.

I flared up at this, & declared I wld. not consent to such a proposal. It was like what had happened in the case of the Peking Syndicate, & I refused absolutely to agree.

He rejoined that they had recd. telegs. fr. Shêng denying that he had told Jamieson he must accept the 3 conditions of Jany. but that Jamieson on the contrary was asking for additional concessions in regard to the ownership of the smelting works by China, & also proposed the simultaneous signature of the two agreements.

I told him Jamieson's report, enclosing a letter of Shêng's was in my hands, that I was certain he spoke the truth whatever Shêng might do; & that the advice to insist on simultaneous signature had been given by me after our recent conversation, in wch. he had said that the other two points cld. easily be settled if Jamieson gave way abt. the smelting works. I got out the papers & showed them to him, so that he had to abandon that contention.

1904

He contented himself with saying that Jamieson was as sharp as Shêng. They had had a meeting, & agreed that Taotai Chên shld. see the books and ascertain the cost of the rlwy. He did not see how the total amount of the bonds cld. be fixed until this was done.

He reverted to Kaye's affair, arguing that 100 square miles was too much, that the profits of 10% to be taken by the Syndicate were too large; there were graves &c., & it was impossible to settle the area here. 6% ought to satisfy them.

I said that 10% was not too much, and people wld. not invest money in China unless they got handsome profits. After all the greater part of the capital wld. be spent in China, & go into Chinese pockets.

He tried to suggest that Kaye's concession wld. have to be subjected to the new mining regulations, but I refused to admit this.

We got on the subject of Chinese difficulty in raising loans, the high rate of interest required, & he said China always paid her debts with exactness. I retorted on him the attempt to avoid the payt. of the indemnity in gold & got rather strong on it, when he used the absurd reference to a teleg. of mine in the blue-book that had been quoted by him when at Washington.

Ended by his going away, & saying that he wld. see Prince Ch'ing & tell him what I had said abt. Kaye's affair. I also told him if necessary I wld. go to the Waiwupu with Kaye to discuss the question with him & fight it out.

Went round to Kaye, & repeated so much of the conversation as concerned him, and hinted at the unwisdom of his writing to Wu without consulting me, & going out of his way to offer two concessions, wch. must naturally make them think he was 'weakening'. Begged him not to have any more communication until I told him, & to show me any answer he might receive fr. Wu.

Riding thro' the city saw a simple white peach (?) in full blossom.

7 “

Alexander Reid of the Peking Syndicate came. He says the Syndicate has been unfortunately vacillating. They shld. have stuck to the Pukóu line, wch. wld. have enabled them to lay down coal at Nanking at a price capable of competing with other coal. Mixed with Japanese, it wld. be very useful coal. Is anthracite, with a longer flame than Peking. Has just been apptd. superintendent of both mines & railway, as De Landolle[?] is going home. The railway ought not to have been made from Tsechou to Taokao[?], and he was always agst. it. Huaiching to the river wld. have done better. He produced the Engl. version of the mining agreement, acc. to wch. the Syndicate has the whole of the hill country north of the Yellow river, & asked me whether I cld. undertake they shld. have this. I reminded him that the Chinese text did not bear the same meaning, & that I cld. not guarantee being able to put it thro' acc. to the Syndicate's view. A fair and impartial judge

1904

wld. have difficulty with the two documents before him in pronouncing in favour of the Syndicate. (They have a strong case agst. anyone else getting the mines, as one of the texts they rely on gives it to them). He said if they could not get it they might as well pack up & go, for the Luhan wld. then acquire mining rights at Changtê[?] and undersell them. They have got to a depth of 280 feet, thro' the water bearing strata, but he does not expect to strike coal before the autumn (? end of the year). He had always told his principals that it would take four years to get to coal. Asked whether the existing railway of the Syndicate was not practically worthless as a speculation, he said its only use was to be incorporated with the Luhan trunk line, and that if he had had his way it would never have been built.

Joostens came to say he had heard fr. Tientsin that Chang yi was in fresh difficulties. Had I any information. I told him what had been said to me yesterday (by Gatrell) that negotiations had been going on between Nathan & Chang yi, with the approval & knowledge of Tang taotai & Yüan, wch. had resulted in the drafting of an agreement. But at the last moment Yüan had denounced Changyi to the throne, & written to him that his proposed agreement was rubbish. I had been further told that the rescript was more favourable to Chang yi than at all suited Yüan. Personally I had done nothing more than maintain to the Chinese that as the mines were in possession of an English company, they could not be touched by extra-legal methods, & that if anybody considered himself aggrieved by the Co. they had their remedy in a Court of Law. I was told that Yüan's attitude was an exhibition of personal hostility, but that Chang yi was in possession of an edict wch. ratified all he had done: only of this I had never been able to obtain a copy. Joostens said it was true that Yüan hated both Changyi & Detring, & tried all he could to injure them. Told him my view had always been that Chang-yi & Detring shld. go to England & fight the action, wch. was the only way to clear up the facts. As for myself I did not wish to dip my hands too much into a pail of pitch. He said all he wanted to know [was] how things stood, as on his return home he wld. be asked; there was a great deal of Belgian capital in the mining Co.

Rained all day. Florist came, & we marked some places for planting trees.

8 [April] High wind last night and continuous rain, wch. lasted till the early afternoon, with sleet and a fall in the thermometer to 44°. Everybody says it will be a great thing for the wheat.

Dined with General Chiang Kuei-ti. Bower, Fraser & Gunter, also Hillier & Wilkinson. Report of Japanese having landed at Dalny [Dalian]. A Pekingese interpreter of Chiang's named Fên, who speaks excellent English.

Major Beddoes, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, brought a letter of introduction from Seymour Trower. He came out here as a Times correspondent, but on reaching Tientsin, found

1904

General Ventris had a telegram ordering back to England at once. Passing thro' Japan only saw Brinkley. General belief is that Japanese will cross the Yalu and invade Manchuria that way. They have two temporary bases on W. coast of Corea, one for torpedo flotilla, the other for large ships, wch. have wireless communication. This was discovered by the Times boat "Haimun" intercepting their signals.

Morrison has telegraphed home that the speeches of Sir W. Harcourt and other Liberals about the importation of Chinese labour are calculated to do great harm here, tho' the general feeling is not against the scheme, except Tang Taotai.

9 " Bagshawes came to tea, previous to their departure for England.

Dined at Dubail's, a fair well dinner to Joostens.

10 " Forsythia first observed in flower in front of the chapel. Began planting apricots and other flowering trees in the back garden, Sophora and Ailantus along one side from N. to S.

11 " Bash came. Says he has had to give up his plan of an outlet to Amoy, as Prince Ch'ing has promised that to the Japanese. Uchida says that Japan will get the concession & let the Americans finance it if they like, but Bash's view is that Americans shld. have the concession, with a promise to let the Japse. take up as much capital as they can, besides an engagement not to part with the concession to others. These views being irreconcilable, he is pushing for a line fr. Hangchow to Canton. His object is to [set a?] united G.B. Japan & the U.S. agst. the influence of the other Powers. Told me that Belgium is asking for a 'branch' line from Siang-yin to Changtê & Chênchou fr. wch. latter point they can descend on to the Yangtze and connect Hankow with Yünnan thro' Kueiyang. Of course they are only stalking-horses ¹ for the French & Russians. Wu Tingfang is agst. it, but alone cannot prevent the concession being given; it has been referred to Shêng and the Govr. of Hunan to report on. If Nat'ung & Wu were both hostile it could not be put thru'.

After he had gone I sent a teleg. to Playfair to prompt Chang Chihtung to offer his opposition.

Gershom Stewart, bill-broker of Hongkong, & a temporary member of the Legislative council, brought a letter fr. R. Chatterton Wilcox, the Chairman of the Hgkg branch of the China Association, to give me the views of the committee abt. Waichow Nanning rlwy. fr. Kowloon to Canton & Waichow and the action of the Russians at Newchwang. I said that as to the last, if it was the political position H.M.G. were fully informed, and I had nothing to say on the subject. The shipping there was mainly Butterfield & Swire, and they were quite able to look after themselves. As to Nanning I proposed to send a consular officer

¹ stalking-horse: a horse behind which a hunter is concealed.

1904

there for a couple of months to look abt. but Fox's opinion was that the consuming power of Nanning being very small, it was not worth opening; transit pass system worked well, and as long as that was the case goods cld. go up into the interior without our taking the trouble to have an establish[men]t there. Moreover I had not a man [to spare].

Got out map of Canton province & read with him the Hgkg branch's letter to the China Assocn. at home ¹ of 12 Dec. wch. had come to me from the F.O. It was mainly occupied with the Kowloon-Canton rlwy. question. As to that I was quite in agreement with the Association. He showed me minutes of a meeting held in London Jan. 22 presided over by Wm. Keswick, at wch. the latter made some inaccurate statements. We were both of opinion that if the B. & C. Corpn. did not proceed, the concession shld. be given to some one who wld. He is in favour of the Hgkg Colony assisting in the raising of funds by giving a 3 or 4% guarantee. I said that was just what the French Colony at Tonquin was doing, & heartily approved. Opening of Waichow I thought difficult, but had asked the Hgkg Chamber of Commerce on Feb. 2 for more information, wch. I had not recd.

Dined at de Gaiffiers, a farewell dinner to Joostens. Dubail & I rejoiced over the arrangement concluded between our respective countries ², & then he expressed the hope that there wld. be an agreement between us & Russia as to frontier questions in Asia. I said that I thought that very difficult of realization. Till I came here I had never had any démêlés with Russian colls: but in 1900 & 1901 I had been struck with the want of loyalty in their attitude. He said that the Russian coll: of that period [de Giers] was a very poor creature, & things wld. have gone much better if the present man had been in charge of the negotiations. I agreed, but said that I had been disappointed in Lessar, of whom I had entertained great hopes, but had found him raising difficulties abt. quite minor affairs, and I mentioned the recent incident in connexion with the "Supao" case. D. excused this on the grounds of 'nervosité' resulting from a painful illness. In the Manchurian affair he had shown himself reasonable, & we shld. have had no trouble at all, if it had not been taken out of his hands by the military party. Certainly the latter had made "une gaffe" [a blunder]. Of course they wld. beat the Japanese in the end, but it would be a costly affair. He looked on the Japanese as a dangerous people, whose object was to get rid of all Europeans, and considered our alliance [the Anglo-Japan alliance of January 30, 1902] had been a great imprudence. I said it had limited the range of hostilities.

To Gaiffier I said that after the war was over we shld. find a Russo-German

¹ at-home: a social reception at a person's home

² The Entente Cordiale between Britain and France, signed by Lord Lansdowne and Paul Cambon on April 8, 1904. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers* London, 1911, Vol. CIII, Cmd. 5969. Formally titled, the 'Declaration between the United Kingdom and France Respecting Egypt and Morocco, Together with the Secret Articles Signed at the Same Time.'

1904

combination on one side, an Anglo-American on the other & France in the position of arbiter.

Dubail says he saw a great deal of Lord Lansdowne in Canada, who used now & then to breakfast privately with him to get rid of the state that surrounded him. I observed that Monson & Delcassé did not seem to get on well together, to wch. he replied that Monson's manner was stiff & repellent (which I must say surprises me).

With v.d. Goltz I had a little talk about the discussion in the Budget commission, wch. had wanted to cut down the East Asian estimates, & told him that if the Russians had carried out the Manchurian convention we might this spring have withdrawn the troops, and the greater part of the Legation guards; I had never expected them to stay longer & had therefore recommended only temporary buildings; we were now rebuilding our commissariat stores & magazines.

12 “ Sir J.L. Kaye came to tell me the result of his discussion yesterday with Wu Ting-fang: they came to an agreement, provided that the Govr. of Anhui offered no objection.

Mrs. Cockburn safely delivered of a boy [Francis Claud Cockburn, later a noted journalist].

Went to Prince Ch'ing. Referred to Kaye's affair, & Wu Ting fang who was present (Tsêng interpreting) promised to send a teleg. to the Govr. telling him to make no objections. Peking Syndicate's affairs. Discussed. Prince promised to send instructions to Shêng, & to give me a copy.

Asked abt. the Belgian application for a branch from Siang-yin, via Chengtê to Chênchou, & warned the Prince agst. granting. He said it had not been given. I spoke of 'peaceful penetration' & of the danger to China if the trunk lines fr. the north of Manchuria to Yünnan came thus into the hands of a group whose interests were very different fr. those of China.

To the Waiwupu to see Miss Carl's portrait of the Empress-Dowager. The face is absolutely expressionless, and makes her look not more than forty, but the dress, pearl stomacher and all other accessories are most minutely painted. It has occupied the artist for eight months. All the colleagues were there, with the exception of Gallina, also Sir Robt. Hart.

13 [April] Mumm came to speak abt. mining regulations: he is disposed to object, & so is Conger. I said that I expected to take the same line.

14 “ Conger came with a letter fr. Miller, proposing arrangements for procuring provisions for the foreign residents at Newchwang by rail from Tientsin, to be distributed under the supervision of the consuls. I told him that I agreed, and advised him seeing Sir Robt.

Mining regulations . Are contrary to spirit of his Treaty. I promised to show him my

1904

draft before sending it in.

Major Home of the Gurkhas came with a letter of introduction from Lord Kitchener. He is going to join Russian Headquarters in Manchuria, and asked me to teleg. to India to procure him local rank of Lieut-Col. so as to be in a better position for gaining information. He says Herat and Afghan Turkestan are pro-Russian, having been constantly oppressed by the Ghilzai who rule in Afghanistan, and wld. certainly join the Russians in case of a row. The Russians are certainly moving troops towards the frontier. It is thought by some that Russia will pick a quarrel with us, to cover her defeat by Japan. The intelligence reports sent by Wingate, he said in confidence, were considered of no value at Simla. Young Campbell has been snapped up by the Foreign Office at Simla.

15 [April] Bash came at my request. Told him of my conversation with Prince Ch'ing about the Belgian application for Sinyang-Chênchou line. He greatly approved. Also that I had set Chang Chih-tung in motion. He said that he had written to Chen Oitong to put strongly to Shêng the danger of putting themselves in the hands of France & Russia thro' the Belgians.

Asked him abt. Hangchow-Kuikiang. He says he is working at that, to get a line fr. Hangchow to Nanchang, thence to Kuikiang & Hankow. On the other side he proposes to reach Canton by the East River, and join the Canton-Kowloon line. Told him of the dissatisfaction of the Hongkong people with the delays of the B. & C. Corporation, and that they want to take over the concession. His proposed line wld. fall in at Sheklung or Waichow with the Hongkong scheme. Advised him to see Gershom Stewart, and to remember that in London Carl Meyer is the moving spirit.

Teleg. fr. Tokio that the Petropavlosk ran on a mine laid by the Japanese, and capsized.

Joostens came to say goodbye. He suggested that Russia being in difficulties might ask her allies for help. I combatted this proposition. He also said that a Japanese victory would be a good thing, to which insidious remark I returned no answer. Going away he thanked me for the help I had so constantly rendered to him, wch. was probably meant to be ironical.

Kamei thinks it is certain that Japanese troops have landed at Pitzuwo, and that this Port Arthur affair was intended to cover it.

Later telegram describing the operation of laying down mines each containing 400 lbs. of gun-cotton two miles outside Port Arthur in the route usually taken by the Russian squadron in coming out, and the Petropavlosk coming out leading the rest of the ships ran into the mine-field and sank almost immediately.

Dined with Mumm to meet Vice Admiral von Prittwitz, his flag captain Prouwe and Chief of the Staff Souchon. They all are disposed to accept Russian view that it was one

1904

of their own mines that sank the P.P., and say that it wld. be impossible to sink a battleship with mines laid by the enemy, which would not hold more than 100 lbs. of gun cotton. P. said to me that Japanese eventual success would be a peril to Europe, but I replied there was no great danger of that. He complained of the press comments on his having sent the "Hansa" to Port Arthur after the battle. She merely went away to fetch a mail that he knew to have arrived. He referred also to the story of a German ship spying on the movements of Japanese men-of-war: the people who had reported it were themselves spies. I said that if there were no newspapers to make bad blood there would be no wars. (This is not quite tenable. Wars wld. be made as in old days by ambitious monarchs & statesmen, but would interest the nations less.)

16 April G. Stewart came at my request & I read him the drafts of my despp. about Nanning &c. & the Canton-Kowloon railway, making a few changes in acc. with his wishes.

Farewell lunch to Joostens at Gallinas. Sir Robt. [Hart] who was there says his financial reform scheme is being much discussed. Provincial officials whose pockets are affected are opposed to it, the Peking people in favour.

To the cottage with C. Russell.

17 [April] Rode over to Shih-chung-shan, the isolated peaked hill that overhangs the Hunho near where it issues from the hills, and lunched there, about 2½ hours very easy coming and going.

18 " Returned to town, and near the Chien mên [gate] my pony suddenly starting off at a gallop over some heaps of brickbats and rough ground. I lost my balance, fell off and was much hurt in the muscles of the back. Had to walk home and go to bed. Gray fomented the place and bound me up in flannel. A good deal of pain and much difficulty in moving, so that I scarcely slept a wink.

21 " Came downstairs in the afternoon for the first time since my fall, feeling rather a poor creature. The big muscle on the right side of the back probably stretched or torn a bit, and pain whenever it is appealed to for assistance very acute. Read Rob Roy, bits of Omar Khayam, [Francis] Marion Crawford's Heart of Rome, a rather poor novel and began Redgauntlet while upstairs.

Farewell bachelor's dinner of the Legn. to C. Russell. Gray being afflicted with an abscess in the neck was unable to come.

During the past few days the double-plums in front of the S.E. wing have come nearly into full bloom, and white lilacs are on the point of opening. Rain began before dinner and fell heavily during the early part of the night.

22 " Lister Kaye came about his affair. Told him F.E.W. [Wilkinson] was to see the Waiwupu in a day or two, and we wld. let him know how matters stood.

1904

Also A.W. Bash, who says Natung has recently been at the Fr. Legation for a three hour conference, wch. he thinks bodes no good to his own schemes, tho' they give it out that the subject of discussion was restoration of the astronomical instruments carried off in conjunction with the Germans in 1901.

23 “ Gray advises me to remain continuously in bed till the damaged muscle is repaired, say 2 or 3 days, otherwise recovery will be slow, & rheumatic pains the consequence. This is inconvenient because Alick Shaw & his wife are coming up for the week's end. However a stitch in time [saves nine] so I agreed.

Dubail came in the afternoon & told me his cock & bull story of the Japanese having agreed with China to occupy Amoy for the period of the war, wch. he & Lessar have heard here and his consul at Foutchéou [Fuzhou] confirms! I said I was very sceptical about stories of this kind, and reminded him of one or two incidents that had occurred in the last year or two, one relating to occupation of Kiangyiu forts, another to a design of seizing Amoy, attributed to the French themselves. Said that if the story was true, it wld. be easy to stop the scheme. He observed that the Japse. at Amoy would be equally inconvenient to the Fr. in Tonquin & ourselves in Hongkong. I said I wld. inform F.O. and MacD. [MacDonald]

What is Dub.'s object? He has been very insistent on seeing me about this matter. On the 21st I excused myself. He then sent Vignon round, & I asked Kidston to tell him I did not believe it. That however did not satisfy him.

24 [April] Sophora leaves beginning to burst forth. Elms already green. Ailantus buds visibly swelling.

25 “ Shaws went away by the early train. Conger and Mumm came to see me. The latter has told Dubail that he does not believe his story of the Japanese occupying Amoy. Gaiffier also came and I told him of it; he had not been let into the great secret.

26 “ Uchida came. He says he informed Tokio who said it was without foundation. The incident shows how nervous Dubail is, and that he has rather a blunt sense of smell for the probable. [Claud] Russell went away by the mid-day train.

27 “ Arrived a letter from Emma Sturges with the news of my poor old Aunt's funeral. There must be another on its way in the delayed German mail telling me of her death, wch. took place on the 13 March. Her last word was “Mercy!”.

28 “ Heavy rain during the night, which makes the third this spring.

30 [April] Got up and dressed this morning.

Czikann came to tell me that the Russian Ambassador at Vienna had expressed to Goluchowski the Russian opinion that China was not adhering to its engagement to remain neutral, and that a collective remonstrance with the Chinese Govt. was desirable.

1904

He was therefore authorized to join in any steps wch. the other foreign RR. [Representatives] might take with this object. At the same time he could give a warning to the Chinese Govt. independently.

I told him I had no instructions to counsel neutrality, but they did not include anything of the kind in consequence of a Russian request. That as far as I cld. see China was only too anxious to preserve her neutrality, and that it was Russia on the contrary that by encroaching on Chinese territory was giving provocation. It reminded me of the fable of the wolf and the lamb.

Gatrell came to say that the U.S. legation has heard that Russia has put all the western side of the Liao river under martial law, but has been unable to find out where they heard it from. When Conger was yesterday at the Waiwupu, he heard that news had come of a fresh outbreak in Kuangsi, wch. had however been crushed. Chinese think that even if they are enabled to recover Manchuria, difficulties will arise elsewhere, and that China is doomed.

Kaye came. Showed him corresp'ce about his mining concession, wch. rather excited him. I got Wilkinson in, and told him to arrange to see Wu Tingfang at the Waiwupu with Kaye and help him resist attempts of Govr. of Anhui to evade the contract.

Dubail came. Said with great satisfaction that China has recently given him definite assurances that she will not break her neutrality. As to Amoy, the knowledge that Dubail and I (!) are opposed to the loan of that place to Japan, has put a stop to what was on foot. He thinks Uchida certainly had asked for a piece of land there for a coal depot, and he seems to doubt whether the matter was as serious as he thought at first.

He has no instructions such as Czikann has recd. and had not heard of it.

I imagine he has been talking to Lienfang about Amoy, and has used my name!

Czikann also spoke abt. Lessar's unwillingness to meet Uchida, and wishes that if they meet they shld. not salute. I said this was not right. Uchida would certainly not say anything of a nature to hurt Lessar. I thought they need not shake hands but shd. bow. Cz. says it was under the impression resulting from the news of the loss of the Petropavlovsk that Lessar spoke in this way.

Mumm came. Czikann has told him abt. his instructions. He also has recd. teleg. that Lamsdorff had said to their Ambassador that China shd. be kept up to the mark fr. time to time. He has authority to speak in that sense. I told him of my reply to Czikann, and he observed that he too had no desire to pull the Russian chestnuts out of the fire. Ten days ago, tho' he had not known it then, the loss of the Petropavlosk had made the Chinese disposed to go for the Russians.

He talked abt. the arrangement he had seen in the South African bluebook by wch.

1904

coolies to S. Africa are to be sent on board British or Chinese ships, wch. looked as if we had made the Chinese suggest it. This was creating a monopoly, & his govt. might perh. protest. It was evidently contrived in the interest of British shipping.

I told him the agreement was signed & ratified, but as I had not the text, I could not say whether it contained this provision. Probably it did. But it certainly had not been suggested by us to the Chinese, nor was it contrived in the interest of British shipping. It was a humanitarian provision in the interest of the emigrants. Had it been an agreement betw. the Mining Cos. and Chinese coolie contractors no one could have objected, and as it was an agreement that concerned only China and the Transvaal, I did not see how any protest cld. hold good. The Govt. of Natal could if it chose enact a law that immigrants could only be brought in British ships, wch. wld. be analogous to the reservation of the coasting trade to the native flag, or to a law that imports fr. the colonies shld. only come in British ships. I reminded him that we cld. if we chose insist on immigrants to Br. colonies coming in foreign ships under the same conditions as our own. In fact to Singapore this was so. We could not in China exercise the right of consular inspection of foreign passenger ships, tho' it wld. certainly be desirable to do that if we could, rather than merely exercise the right of inspection in our own ports, & of imposing a fine if the law as to proportion of passengers to tonnage was not observed. But this was more likely to cause friction than if we inspected foreign ships at the port of departure.

He said they were particularly alive in Germany to anything that diminished the profits of German shipping. I told him their shipping trade had made such progress of recent years that they could afford to leave some pickings for us.

Dubail said that it was believed that a bombardment of Vladivostok is in progress today.

Hausser telegs. that the Japanese ask for a piece of land at Amoy and 1½ million taels in compensation for breaking up the camphor monopoly. I daresay the great story will reduce itself to something like this.

May 1904

1 May The elms are all quite green with leaves and seed-vessels, the sophora unfolding its leaves, the leaf-buds of Ailantus breaking, and the white lilacs in full bloom. Rain pretty heavy late in the afternoon.

2 “ High wind. News of the Japanese capture of Kiu-lien-chêng and Antung, 28 guns, 20 officers and other prisoners.

R. Bauld the agent of Vickers Maxim & Co. came to ask my advice abt. a transaction in guns he is negotiating with Yüan Shih-kai. I advised him to try & get the Military

1904

Reform Council to be the purchasers, then he cld. get an Imperial license authorizing the contract. Otherwise he would have to content himself, I thought, with the provincial guarantee.

4 “ Dined with Mumm.

5 [May] Dubail came again and we talked about the Russian statement that disquieting reports had been received as to China's attitude in Manchuria & elsewhere. He said that the Russians particularly objected to the great increase of troops on the boundary line, wch. are now 35,000 in number, all under the orders of Yüan Shih-kai, who is authorized to communicate direct to all the govrs. & viceroys on military matters. I observed that China had a good deal to complain of inasmuch as Russia had reoccupied the portion of Manchuria previously evacuated. If it could have been left as a buffer, all would have been well.

Dined at Czikkann's. Mumm volunteered the information that he had protested at the Waiwupu abt. the emigration of Chinese labourers to the Transvaal being confined to British & Chinese ships, & they had informed him that the article would be dropped. Also that the Germ[an] Am[bassado]r & Sec[retar]y [in London] had seen Villiers who had said the matter wld. be arranged & that we had no intention of creating a monopoly in our favour. Asked him whether he had any fresh instructions abt. Chinese neutrality, & he was debating with himself whether he shld. tell me or not, when I added that I had recd. such. He is fond of these little reticences.

6 [May] Went to Lessar and asked him for explanation. He says that after the loss of the Petropavlosk the Chinese lost their heads, and Viceroys telegd. fr. all parts of the country urging that war shld. be made. But that had passed off, and they had given satisfactory assurances here & at Petersburg that they wld. not violate neutrality. It wld. be unfortunate for them if they did, for the whole country wld. rise to attack all foreigners indiscriminately, and the end must be partition, a thing that was by no means impossible. I replied that it would be gradual, a first & a second & finally the annexation of Cracow to Austria. We agreed that it was as necessary in foreign interests that China shld. not go to war, as no distinction wld. be made betw. foreigners of one nationality & another. I told him that as the other colls: had recd. the same instructions I shld. act on mine as soon as possible, and he said he wld. teleg. this to Petersburg.

Went on to Conger, & found he has similar instructions. Has been in the habit fr. time to time of impressing the necessity of neutrality on the Chinese. He thinks however that it is the object of the Russians to provoke the Chinese into a breach of neutrality. He does not believe however that they wish to go to war, or that the Japanese desire them as allies, and I agree with him.

1904

Rev. S. Evans Meech and J.R. Liddell of the London Mission ¹ called. The latter gave me details of what had occurred in his district betw. R.C. & Protestants (mostly 'admitted inquirers'). I expounded my view that the Treaty gave us no right of interference in such a case, and said that personally I regretted the existence of Art. VIII. ² But I finally agreed there wld. be no harm in Liddell recounting the facts to Tsai Taotai, & that he might in order to break ground write an English letter to Yüan Shihkai, who wld. refer the writer to Tsai. I declined to fall in with Meech's suggestion that I should myself speak to the Chinese about it; & I told them what I did in Rome last year with the object of lessening the danger from disputes between Protestants and Catholics, and of the circular that was said to have been sent out by the Propaganda.

9 [May] Summer Palace so-called Garden Party. Uchida took me in his brougham ³, so that we were able to start at 7.30 instead of 7 like those who went in chairs. It took us about an hour to get to the Wan-shou-su, where the E-D rests on her way out and in, along the winding banks of a canal lined with willows. This place has been recently restored, and there are a succession of rooms decorated with porcelains & things of that sort, not great rarities by any means. Here we all collected, even Lessar, and embarked in three imperial barges towed by paddle wheel steamers, and proceeded at a majestic pace further up to the canal till we pass[ed] thro' a single high arched bridge and so entered the lake at the summer palace; then we skirted round the island wch. is fastened to the mainland by a 17 arched bridge, and finally landed in front of the courtyard where Du Boulay and Browning used to live in 1900. Then we went into the outer Court, just inside the main entrance; the side buildings were arranged for luncheon & here we deposited our sticks. The middle building of the three, the throne room, is where we had collected all the remaining curios & stored them. Here the E-D & E, into whose presence we were immediately introduced, were sitting as usual, she in the place of honour & he on her left a little in front lower. I had a good look at her; and found her decidedly plain; the mouth very large and twisted towards the left. But her voice is pleasant, and her smile really good. The Doyen made a little speech, wch. his interpreter put into Chinese, then Chü Hung chi recd. a written paper from the Emperor containing his written speech in Chinese,

¹ Probably Rev. James Dunlop Liddell of the London Missionary Society at Tientsin, father of Eric Liddell the Scottish international rugby player and winner of the gold medal in the 400 metres at the Paris Olympics in 1924, commemorated in the motion picture *Chariots of Fire* (1981).

² Article VIII of the 1858 Anglo-Chinese treaty of Tientsin read: "The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with."

³ brougham: a horse-drawn closed carriage with a driver perched outside in front.

1904

with wch. he sidled down to the foot of the steps & read out to us; then this was translated by a Chinese into French. Then we ascended the dais by the middle stair, & stood in two rows, while the E-D. exchanged little compliments abt. health & so-on with the Doyen. She did not speak to any one else. Then we bowed & redescended. I took care to get in front of her to make my bow, & recd. a gracious smile.

After this we immediately proceeded to lunch, Chü Hung chi and Nat'ung entertaining the heads in the right hand building towards the lake, Wu Ting-fang and Lienfang the juniors in the other hall. There were over 100 it is said, and the chairs were uncomfortably crowded together. Prince Ch'ing excused himself on the ground of tooth ache & did not appear. There were no toasts. After lunch we got into the barges & were towed round to the marble boat at the other end of the Wanshoushan front, where there was another repetition of fruit & sweetmeats.

Most of us walked back through the grounds by the border of the lake to the point where we had originally disembarked. There were a few fine moutan [tree peonies] in full bloom and some bushes of double yellow briar. Very hot day, & very boring throughout. The most intelligent of the colleagues had their carriages & chairs sent round to the summer palace & went home from there. Uchida & I returned in the barge. We were 1 hr. and 52½ minutes in getting back to Wanshou ssu, having left at 2.45, and got back to the Legation at 5.45.

Asked him abt. Dubail's story that Japan is to get a large piece of land on the N. side of Amoy island, but he denied it, & said it was part of the same story as before. I said that I had merely repeated to him what I had been told: of course it evidently was desirable that China shld. not do anything contrary to neutrality. Also told him of the instructions I had recd.

10 [May] Mumm dropped in for a gossip. Complains of Czikann who is becoming ga-ga [senile], and is much influenced by Dubail. The Fr. Legation have no manners, and two of the juniors went to the garden party in quite unsuitable costume.

11 “ Rained briskly during the night and again the morning. Some strange incidents occurred yesterday at the ladies' garden-party. The Conger party were much in evidence. The E-D tapped the buxom Mrs. McConnell on the cheek and said she was too young to have such a big daughter. There were a good many foreign ladies from Tientsin who looked on the whole function as a sort of peep-show.

12 “ Went to Conger & showed him Little's last letter of the 9th abt. Russians at Newchwang. He has later news from Miller that they are returning their troops to the place.

Also spoke abt. the German apptmt. of a 'membre suppléant' wch. I said was irregular: if the Germans wanted it they ought first to have consulted the rest of the Powers. He

1904

seemed to agree with this.

Mumm came, evidently to talk abt. it, & after I had explained my objection said he wld. refer the point to his govt. if I wld. put it to him in such a way that he wld. not be obliged to use his own words. I said I wld. write him a private note rather than take the matter up officially. I wonder whether he has seen Conger and heard fr. him what my views are.

R. Walter fr. Wei hai wei who is apptd. Emigration agent for the Transvaal called yesterday & I had him to dinner with the Bowers. He had no papers & in fact till I saw him did not know that the apptmt. had been made. F.O. have been worrying me all these days abt. getting the convention approved by 'the Throne' after having left me severely alone for a fortnight under the belief that the whole thing was settled, & told me not to move in the matter.

Cockburn's baby Francis Claud christened. Carnegies arrd. & put up with me.

13 “ Morrison, who returned last night from Nagasaki, came to see me; He says the Japanese temporary base is Thornton Hwan, & that they have cable communication with it. The “Haimun” had a Japanese ‘wireless’ on board, who saw all the messages sent off, & was in communication with Admiral Togo. Another Engl. paper had hired a small steamer commanded by a German, who used to give all the news to the German consul at Chefoo to be telegraphed to Mumm. They found this out, & when the moment came for renewing the charter, refused to do it, & referred the owners to the German consul.

Edmund Davis & Nathan came. The former has come out fr. England to see whether he cannot get hold of the Canton-Kowloon line, in wch. Thuys is ready to take $\frac{1}{3}$ interest. The B. & C. Corporation are trying to get a guarantee from the Hongkong Govt. for the portion thro' British territory. I told him all I know of the matter, & that I had advocated the concession being taken away fr. the B. & C. Corpn. & given to any other group that was ready to construct. But I was not in favour of letting in the Belgians, wch. means the King. They talked abt. the B. & C. Corpn. & the Shanghai-Nanking line, & Davis said the $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions worked out to something like £12,000 a mile, the double of what it ought to cost. I told him how the B. & C. Corporation had played with the final contract, wch. they really did not care about. Then there was some talk about the affairs of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co., & I told Nathan that the memorial of Changyi reporting what he had done in 1900-01 for the approval of the court did not seem to me to have explained that the intention was to turn the Co. into a foreign limited liability Co. We spoke of Joostens, & his prevarication about his relations with Chang-yi, the amount of Belgian money in the C.E. & M. Co. & his language abt. Col. Thuys, who Davis says constantly recd. letters from Joostens showing that they were on the most intimate terms.

Conger came. Said that he had got a letter fr. Miller confirming statement that the

1904

Russians had not evacuated Newchwang. We again spoke of the German 'membre suppléant' for the Whangpu, & I said I wld. show him my letter to Mumm, also told him of the dft. protocol abt. glacis, and Lessar's absurd behaviour in regard to Uchida, wch. C. condemns as strongly as anyone.

R. Walter in the afternoon and we discussed various points in his instructions about indentured coolies.

To Lessar abt. Newchwang. He said Russians wld. not evacuate unless Japanese came to take possession. In no case wld. there be fighting. I explained to him solicitude of H.M.G. as to possible disorder in the interval, & he said he wld. telegraph to Alexeieff to have precautions taken for the protection of foreign life & property.

14 [May] Uchida came. Says he is told by his Govt. to repeat to the Chinese Govt. that it is absolutely necessary for them to observe a complete neutrality; he has advised them [the Chinese government] to write to the Foreign RR. at Peking, to teleg. to their representatives abroad & give renewed instructions to the Viceroy & Govrs. to preserve order. He was told to inform me of this, & intended to communicate also to Dubail & Mumm.

The Japse. squadron has bombarded Dalny [Dalian], exploded some of the mines and cut telegraphic communication. One of their torpedo boats engaged in removing mines was blown up & seven killed, 7 wounded. Knows nothing abt. doings of the army.

Ducat who came, says that Brewster saw siege guns & 2 batteries of howitzers at Chinnampo, wch. are evidently intended for the attack on Port Arthur.

Dubail came. Told him what Uchida had said to me, with wch. he professed himself highly satisfied. Lienfang had said the Waiwupu wld. address a letter to the Foreign RR. He had told him this was better than writing through the Doyen. The mention of the latter led to a discussion between us as to the limited character of the functions of the Doyen, regarding wch. he expressed the opinions which I hold. As to Russia in Manchuria, he thinks they have not more than 50,000 real Russian troops at the outside, the rest being Siberian levies, and that all the talk about their strength on land has been 'bluff'.

To Prince Ch'ing with Carnegie, Cockburn & Wilkinson. With the Prince were Wu Tingfang and Tsêng. Delivered my message from Lord Lansdowne abt. neutrality, with wch. he seemed very contented. He remarked upon the brilliant success the Japanese had gained in the war. I also spoke abt. the reactionary character of the Foochow officials, asked whether Nanning was to be opened, a delay of five years having taken place, and mention of the Fuhkien camphor monopoly.

15 [May] Rain in plenty again this morning and nearly all day.

16 " Lew Yuk lin, an ex-Secretary to Legn. in London called to tell me that he was apptd. by

1904

Yüan Shihkai to frame scheme for an opium monopoly. A person much interested in Chinese affairs, who did not wish his name to be disclosed, had written to Lord Curzon proposing to meet wishes of Govt. of India, and if he consented an official wld. be sent fr. China to Simla to negotiate. I said that of course Chinese opium must be treated alike with Indian, otherwise India wld. object. He said their idea was to make a contract with India to purchase a certain amount of opium annually, so that Indian revenue wld. not suffer. To regulate the cultivation in Yünnan, Kueichou and Szechuen, and prohibit it elsewhere. I mentioned morphine of wch. the manufacture and sale wld. he said be prohibited.

Fine specimen of *Catalpa Bungeana* in full blossom betw. Chien mên and Shunche mên a little way north of the wall. Norris has one also, and there is one at Lung fu ssu. My purveyor of trees says it does not flower until it gets a trunk three or four inches diameter, so it will be some years before ours blossom.

17 [May] Boyce-Kup brought me railway receipts & outgoings for six months, ending March 31 last, & also a memo. of the present state of negotiations for starting Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. as far as Wusieh. He showed copy of letters he & Cordes had written to Tang & Liang about Tientsin-Pukóu rlwy. abt. a month ago, in accordance with the new arrangement, & said that the tables were now turned, as it was he who had to urge on Cordes instead of being pressed by the latter. Told him that if it became necessary for me to take action, I shld. require to be made acquainted with all the negotiations carried on hitherto by himself & Cordes, & especially with the draft agreement referred to in the recent memo. signed by the Chinese Central Railways Ltd. & the Germ. group, on wch. his last letter to Tang & Liang was based.

Hinted to him that as the Chinese Govt. only paid us silver, we might find it necessary to pay interest on the Rlwy. indemnity in the same metal.

Morrison came to ask that I wld. try to get the prohibition on the "Haimun" going N. of a line fr. Chemulpo to Chefoo removed. He said that they had been loyal to the Japse. staff thro'-out, & had sent no telegs. but those censored by Comr. Tonami, who was placed on board by Ad[miral] Togo [Heihachirō]. He thinks the prohibition was due to a difference of opinion betw. Togo and the Japse. Genl. Staff.

R. Walter came to say that having got thro' his exams. he wld. go to Tientsin tomorrow. He has not yet recd. either the form of contract for indentured labourers nor the résumé of the Convention wch. F.O. telegd. he wld. receive fr. Ld. Milner.

Weihai wei posts. He says [J.H. Stewart] Lockhart, who is mono-autocrat of the place really contemplates inflicting a fine on people outside the walled city from going there to post their letters. It seems absurd & unreasonable to him as well as to me.

19 [May] Conger brought a letter of Miller's to read wch. confirms other reports as to the

1904

Japanese having landed near Kai-chou. Told him what Warren had written to me about the Viceroy not having promised to appt. a delegate to the Conservancy Board, and of Goodnow & Siffert having had a rowing from their colls: for concealing the Viceroy's proposals abt. the conservancy. Told him my reasons for greatly doubting whether the Chinese wld. really carry it out, & found that he also is not disposed to listen to any proposals from the Viceroy as long as the Chinese Govt. does not comply with the protocol. Expressed to him my feeling that the Russians have invoked the aid of the powers in administering to the Chinese a warning agst. violating their neutrality, in order later on to cite them as witnesses agst. China when she finds it convenient to call her to account for her attitude.

Morrison says the Board of Commerce have en[gaged?] a Japse. named Kutani as adviser, and the Japse. Legation are greatly pleased. Is very much annoyed with the Japanese general staff for not removing the restriction on the movements of the "Haimun" wch. they have chartered at a cost of £6000 without being able to make any use of her.

Gaiffier lent me some papers sent up by Siffert wch. show that acc. to the interpreter used by the U.S. & Belgian Consuls-Genl. in their talk with the Viceroys the latter did promise to appoint a delegate, though reluctantly; he also talked to them abt. his Scheme and later on sent it to the Consuls, who seem to have agreed to forward it to the Dipl. Body without discussion.

He spoke about the necessity of the neutral powers taking steps to confer upon the absurdly wide extension given to contraband of war by the Russians, e.g. in the case of cotton, wch. is a hit at India & Japan, also abt. the weakness of China in undertaking to do for the Russians the belligerents duty in restraining transport of contraband of war.

Dinner to Nat'ung, Hu Yü fen, Lien fang, Wu Ting fang and Tsêng . Wu remarked to me on the strong language of my Note about export of rice from Chinkiang, in wch. I had said China was uncivilized. I asked if he had read the English version, & he said he had been unable to find it. (Prob. Cockburn has sent it in separately, as seems often to be done). Told him that I thought I could agree to his proposals about trade mark registration fees, but he said the whole thing was hung up by this new Japanese adviser, who wants to make it more complete. (I suspect the Japanese is a pedantic prig). He says the Supao case has been settled, by the younger man being condemned to 1 or 2, & the older to 2 or 3 yrs. imprisonment, to count from the time of their arrest, & that this has been authorised by the Waiwupu. That one of his colleagues without consulting him had telegd. 'something under ten years or less', wch. was absurd. He talked also abt. Hwangpoo scheme put forward by the Viceroy. I told him what my objections were & that I thought many of the colls: wld. take the same view. Any proposal to be substituted for

1904

the Protocol must come fr. the Chinese Govt. to the F.R.R., not fr. the Viceroy to the Consuls. This he said was 'red-tape', but afterwards admitted that the W.W.P. was very averse to putting itself forward in the matter, & running the risk of a snub.

20 [May] To Dubail to ask if he had any confirmation of what Wu told me last night about the Supao sentences. No.

Indemnity. Russia is about to make a communication, falling into line with Joostens' proposal. And Fr. Govt. proposes consuls shld. be added to the Bankers' Commission for the purpose of fixing rate of exchange.

Whangpu. Fr. Govt. never gave him instructions in regard to the proposal of Mumm, Conger & self but have telegd. new Chinese proposals in two articles, wch. are identical with what have been communicated to Consuls by Viceroy. Told him of my objections, & that the V.R. must appoint his delegate before any proposals can be considered.

Uchida says Hatsuse a battleship sunk ¹ by a Russian floating mine 10 min. S.E. of Laotieshan, and Kasuga ran into the Yoshino in a fog & sank her: both disasters last 15th. Only 300 men saved in former case, 90 in the latter. Went to the Cottage in the afternoon with the Carnegies and Kidston, and stopped till Monday morning.

23 May. A.W. Bash came. Seems depressed abt. his own prospects and is going off to Japan after sending his wife home. Says that Dubail having applied for a rlwy. concession into Szechuen, for wch. he said money was all ready, was refused; Nat'ung & Wu Ting fang said this was necessary in consequence of the promise given to us & the Americans.

Dined with de Gaiffier and played bridge.

24 " Mumm brought back dft. Protocol abt. the glacis & we read it over together. Also agreed to join him & Conger in refusing to entertain the Nanking Viceroy's proposals abt. the Hwangpu until the Conservancy Board established by the Protocol of 7 Sept. 1901 is completed by the apptmt. of a Chinese delegate for shipping. Mumm has had corresp'ce with W.W.P. on the subject. He wrote informing them of the apptmt. of Knappe (& Schellhoss) to wch. they replied that it did not matter, now that the Viceroy had made proposals. He has not telegd. to Berlin abt. the objections I made to Schellhoss as 'membre suppléant', because the subject cannot be sufficiently explained in the limits of a teleg. but he is going to write. Goltz has gone to Chinanfu, as the Consul has left there, ill, &

¹ "On 15 May 1904, the battleships *Hatsuse* and *Yashima* sank off Port Arthur, immediately after striking mines. That meant that the Japanese Navy lost one third of its six battleships in an instant." It was suspected incorrectly that the battleships had been sunk by Russian submarines, but there were no such submarines in the vicinity. The Russians sent a small submarine from St Petersburg to Vladivosotok by the Trans-Siberian Railway in November 1904. (Chiharu Inaba, 'Military co-operation under the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-05', Ch. 4, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922*, ed. Phillips Payson O'Brien, London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004, pp. 71-72.)

1904

Radowitz is laid up, so he is very shorthanded. Asked him what view the Germ. Govt. took abt. the opening of Chinanfu to foreign commerce. He replied that personally he had always thought it must come. Wrote despp. to F.O. abt. this subject & also the German apptmts. to the Conservancy Board.

Dubail came. His object was to find out what view I took of the Viceroy's propositions; he very likely has been cognisant of them all along. Told him that the proceeding seemed irregular but if the V-R nominated his delegate & the Chinese Govt. appointed him, then I wld. not oppose the consideration of the project if it we[re] brought up before the Board by the Chinese members. He pretends that the present constitution gives the Board a right of interfering in the Fr. settlement, as to wharves &c. but refused to point out wch. article had this effect. He says however that the French Govt. will never allow this to be done, wch. means of course that he has been giving them mischievous advice, to disregard a protocol wch. they have themselves had a share in preparing & in drawing-up & signed.

25 “ Meeting of Conger, Mumm & myself at Congers at wch. we agreed to the language we wld. use abt. proposals of Wei Kuang-tao regarding the Hwangpoo Conservancy Board.

Thunderstorm in the afternoon. Went when it had cleared up to Sir Robert's garden party.

26 [May] To Na-t'ung & endeavoured to convince him that we have a right to appt. a Consul at Kashgar & that it is in the interest of China that we shld. do so. m.f.n. clause. Similarity of Fr. convention abt. Mêngtze & Japse. abt. Chángsha; no good in converting Kashgar into a Russian consular preserve; adduced cases of Chêngtu & Yünnanfu in point. Said that he would look into the case, & I replied that I wld. send Waiwupu a note to assist him in examining the points.

Russians have worried them a good deal about neutrality; 10 Japse. in Eastern Mongolia wch. is under jurisdiction of Shêngking, travelling with passports given a year ago. Demands on Tartar-general that he should order measures that the Japanese wld. certainly protest agst. as violations of neutrality. Had been asked by Lessar to come and see him abt. alleged intention of China to lend Amoy; also Lessar had written a Note to inquire whether it was true that England was going to hand over Weihaiwei in order that it might be given to Japan; to wch. they had answered that the British lease was as long as the Russian lease of Port Arthur. The R[ussian]s had also sounded them abt. taking charge of Newchwang. I advised that some one under the jurisdiction of the Tartar-general shld. take over charge; he said that wld. be the Taotai of Shanhaikwan. Does not know at how much the Russians have fixed their claim for the extra-mural railway. Dubail offered in writing funds for Szechuen rlwy, offered & rejected.

Mumm came to tea & said there had been a meeting betw. Cordes, Boyce-Kup, Tang &

1904

Liang abt. the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. at wch. the latter had refused to agree to separate agreements. Told him I had not yet heard, but in order to take any action must obtain more information abt. previous negotiations than I have at present.

27 May Took dft. Protocol abt. the glacis to Lessar & left it with Conger. In the afternoon to the Cottage with Mumm, v. Citters & Gaiffier; & showed dft. to the two latter.

28 “ Coming back Mumm talked again abt. the Empress Dowager's birthday, as to wch. Paris had put a question at Berlin. He finds Dubail disposed to recommend presents, but himself is of opinion that an address from the Diplomatic Body & a complimentary letter from the Head of State enclosed in a handsome casket wld. meet the case. Lessar seems to be indifferent, & rather inclined to wait upon others. I said I agreed with him, for I knew people in England had no wish to gush over the E-D.

Went to Uchida, who gave me a sketch showing the capture of the forts on the neck at Kinchou. I spoke abt. E-D birthday & told him the above. He said Townley had approached him on the subject last year, but then the celebration was postponed. He wld. have to write to Tokio abt. the matter, but his own feeling wld. be against presents.

30 “ Came in from the Cottage, where I had been since Saturday with Kidston.

Call from Rev. G. Cousins, Rev. W. Bolton, Commissioners of the London Missionary Soc. with Rev. S. Evans Meech. The first was spokesman, and brought up the question of the frequent conflicts betw. Roman Catholics and Protestant converts, in which the latter fail to obtain justice from the Chinese authorities. Some of their leading converts had asked sanction to arming themselves in self-defence, wch. obviously the Commissioners could not give. I said that if the converts came to me, being a layman I should certainly advise resistance, but Mr. Meech said that if a man in self defence killed another, Chinese law wld. hold him guilty of a crime. I said that I had only spoken in jest. I had often heard complaints of such conflicts, and if a concrete case was brought to my notice, I wld. ask the Chinese Govt. to see that justice was done. The Commissioners said that in many cases the R.C. missionaries were ignorant of the proceedings of their converts; all the more necessity therefore for going to the Chinese Govt. Even the Fr. Minister had not complete authority over the R.C. Bishops, and they were among themselves independent. The only society in China I knew of that had a single head was the China Inland Mission. The London Mission for instance had no central authority. Rev. Cousins replied that this was the case; there were six groups. Mr. Meech was the secretary of the northern group. I enlarged upon the necessity of the missionaries not acting directly with the Chinese officials, and recalled what I had said at the meeting in London (at wch. it appears Mr. Bolton was present). I got out my circular and gave it to Mr. Meech to read, and explained the occurrences with the Bishop Moule which had given rise to it. The Comrs. had heard

1904

of the circular. I said that I had abstained from making it public, because it seemed to me better in the interests of missions that these subjects shld. not be discussed in the public press. There was often a good deal of recrimination in the press betw. R.C. & Protestants wch. gave occasion for the enemies of missions to speak evil of them. I drew a distinction betw. political missionaries and evangelical missionaries wch. it seemed to me, I said, very necessary to emphasize. I wished the missionaries to refrain from address[ing] themselves to Chinese officials, and constituting themselves the guardians of the Treaty. To maintain treaty rights was the duty of the consuls and the missionaries.

Mr. Meech said he thought this question might be discussed usefully by the Diplomatic Body, in view of the serious trouble affecting all foreigners to wch. the conflicts alluded to might give rise. I replied that I was averse to consulting colls: who had no interest, either official or personal, in the mission question, & that beyond the Fr. & American & British Ministers there were none that cared abt. the question.

Mr. Cousins went on to say that they wanted their property to be transferred to the London Missionary Society Corporation. I referred them to Fulford to say whether the transfer could be registered. Mr. Meech said the American missionaries had got their land so registered by the Chinese officials, & it was a legitimate inference that English missionary societies could do the same.

Mr. Cousins lastly said that in Hunan and Szechuen any foreigner, whether missionary or layman, was accompanied by an official guard, which was an inconvenience. Some explained it by the necessity the officials were under of acting up to the responsibilities cast on them in consequence of the Chênchou affair, & thus that it was merely a token of regard. He hoped I would do something to obtain a change. I said I wld. take the first opportunity that presented itself.

31 “ Uchida brought back the draft protocol. I took it to Gallina, who accepted and then to Czikkann.

Hillier came abt. a loan of \$1 000,000 asked for by the Viceroy of Canton to help him to tide over difficulties apprehended in consequence of a new plan of buying salt direct from the producers, instead of leaving it to the salt-merchants to buy after obtaining a license, on wch. they paid a tax. There is leakage, because the merchant having obtained a license for 1000 bags, say containing 60 catties¹, takes that no. of bags containing 80, and the tax on the 20 catties is divided betw. seller & buyer. He says the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. loan is to be brought out shortly at 96½.

Dubail left with Carnegie a proposal wch. seems aimed at doing away with the

¹ catty: any of various units of weight used in southeastern Asia (especially a Chinese measure equal to 500 grammes)

1904

expropriation clause of the Hwangpoo Conservancy Règlement. (It turns out to be connected with a proclamation of the Taotai of Shanghai regarding expropriation of land owned by foreigners for the Shanghai-Nanking railway).

June 1904

1 June Went to tea with the Kayes.

2 " To Gaiffier, to persuade him if possible to accept the glacis draft protocol unaltered, and at last he gave way.

Mumm came to tell me the result of his talks with colls: about the E-D's birthday: all but Dubail are against presents. Wrote a desp. to F.O. on the subject.

He asked whether I had heard from Boyce-Kup abt. the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway. Told him I wld. write & stir him up.

Dubail had given him the memo. abt. expropriation for the Shanghai-Nanking railway.

Gave him some papers about extradition between Hongkong & Canton, and Weihai and Shantung.

Glacis. He proposes to get the plan fr. Czikann and go over it one day with me.

Whang poo. Dubail has got the circular in his hands, and has telegd. to Paris for instructions. Mumm said to him he hoped that there would not be the same delay as with regard to the Anglo-German-American proposal of Jany. last, & Dubail faintly protested agst. the imputation.

Mumm amused me greatly by emitting the opinion that there is very little intriguing at Peking among the colls: Certainly he says [there is] less than in the time of Gerard and Cassini. I did not even smile, but thought of the German intrigue in Oct-Nov. 1902 about the evacuation of Shanghai, which I shall never forgive nor forget.

Sent Protocol abt. glacis to Czikann for circulation and asked him to send it first to Gaiffier.

Dubail came in the afternoon to explain the memo. abt. expropriation which he left the day before yesterday. Told him I had no information, but wld. write to S'hai.

He talked abt. E-D's birthday, and mentioned carpets & porcelain, but said all he desired was to act exactly as everyone else did.

Indemnity. Fr. proposal to create a supervising Committee of consuls to control the rate of exchange. Agrees that it wld. have no influence on the result, & that the Russians ought to accept the Joostens proposition. My proposal for fixing the the rate by public tender wld. result in a 'knock-out' amongst the banks. This it seems to me is contrary to the argument

1904

previously advanced that the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank would get the whole business.

3 June Lt. R.A.W. Robertson of the 31 P.I. who is a friend of Cathie Wilkin came up to Peking, and lunched with me. He is now stationed at Tongshan.

Lic. Hermann Hülle, recently apptd. to the I-hsio-kwan, called with a book on Japanese crests fr. Rudolph Lange of the Oriental Academy in Berlin.

4 “ De Gaiffier to read quite an old desp. fr. Brussels abt. the views of the different govts. with regard to the Joostens proposal. That led to the indemnity being discussed, and to the rlwy. question. I reproached Belgium & France with having demanded an exorbitant indemnity & he confessed that they had included in it a sum of several million of taels which the Chinese had engaged to provide for the construction of the Luhan, but had not paid over. I protested agst. this, as it was not a debt arising out of the Boxer troubles, and was therefore precluded by the terms of the agreement as to indemnities. I believed they & the Fr. had included loss of interest, loss of profit and so on. That 3/5 of the Luhan capital was Fr. and that the Fr. Minr. of Finance had claimed it as a Fr. railway. I accused Jadot & the Luhan of carrying on a bitter war agst. the Peking Syndicate. He said that when he was in charge during Joostens absence in Japan he had proposed to Townley to construct the Paotingfu-Tientsin railway half & half, but when Joostens returned the subject was dropped. I said that of course we cld. not consent to that. It was quite a friendly conversation, but I told him a bundle of home-truths.

5 [June] Heavy Shower of rain this morning. A week ago there were two thunderstorms, one in the middle of the day, the other at 8 o'clock in the evening.

6 “ Almeida brought the glaxis circular, wch. had been sent to him by mistake. He wanted to know what the Dipl. Body would do for the Portuguese Legation, seeing that the Chinese maintained that no Legn. cld. be built outside the Quarter. I said that I did not share the Chinese view. The Legn. quarter belongs to the Powers who signed the Protocol (to wch. Portugal did not adhere), and the Portuguese had a right to establish their Legn. where they chose. He said in that case Portugal cld. refuse to agree to the 5% effective import duties. I replied that it is impossible to eat one's cake & have it. That two courses appeared to be open to them, to address the diplomatic body & claim a share of the quarter, on the ground of the Protocol, and of course every one wld. refer it to his govt. Or he might go round to the colls: & try to get a piece of ground by amicable arrangement. He laughed & admitted that neither of these ways wld. lead to anything and that still there was no third. Rode “Snowflake for the first time”.¹

7 “ J. Boyce-Kup came. Will send the Chinkiang-Pukow papers as soon as he gets a copy

¹ The quotation marks are given here exactly as Satow wrote them. Was the horse or pony called “Snowflake”?

1904

of the dft. agreement they are going upon from Cordes. He showed & left with me some papers about the difficulties H. Keswick has had with Shêng about the Shanghai-Nanking railway. Also said that Keswick wrote he was credibly informed that Germans & Chinese were applying for a railway from Shanghai to Hangchow, and would I lodge a protest. I said that I had read all about it in the Hsin wên pao, and had telegraphed to Warren. I thought that Govr. Nieh had the application in his hands, and that he said it clashed with that of J.M.¹ & Co., but the latter not having taken up their concession it prob. had lapsed. I thought the matter could be dealt with locally.

Hu Yüfên came to ask me to recommend him to Nat'ung for the vacant governorship of Hupei. Promised to take opportunity of doing so.

Cockburn saw Nat'ung who spoke about Kashgar consulate. He had recommended it to Prince Ch'ing, who is unwilling to run the risk of annoying Russia at present, but later on prob. wld. not object. So they intend to reply that the m.f.n. clause does not apply in such cases.

R. Walter came up at my request, and we agreed what the text of the emigration contract ought to be. He has not yet got the last emendations wch. are promised him by Perry.

Lunched with Gaiffier and dined with the Rojestvenskys.

9 [June] [Margin: Hillier came. I read to him the corresp'ce Boyce-Kup had left with me.]

F. Perry arr[ive]d. fr. Tientsin rather late. He brought fresh copies of the Contract for Labourers proceeding to South Africa. Told him I was awaiting a telg. fr. F.O. about Chin wang tao, & showed him the draft convention corrected up to 15 April, wch. he says May had not recd. up to the time he himself left Hongkong. Also he wants to make Chefoo a port of embarkation and to send coolies from Wei hai wei, abt. wch. Lockhart is very hot. Told him I cld. not at present move in respect to either; the first step, after notifying the Chinese Govt. wld. be to ask them to let the Viceroy of Canton know that the conditions of emigration were such as people could accept, so that his proclamation agst. cld. be withdrawn. At his suggestion, sent by him to Walter, my draft copy of the Convention with schedule.

11 “ Dubail came. Told him my conversation with Almeida about ground for a Portuguese legation in the Diplomatic Quarter, and the Doyen's slip in sending round the glacis draft protocol to Corean & Portuguese legations. He maintains that the Japanese lost 7000 men at Kinchou. Has no confirmation of newspaper reports of fighting at Port Arthur, nor has Lessar. Circular about Belgian proposal for settling the indemnity question, he had recorded on it that he concurs. Said I had it in my box for consideration; had told H.M.G.

¹ Jardine Matheson.

1904

that its adoption by Russia was necessary before anything else could be done.

Hwangpu Conservancy. He has not yet recd. it. (It is highly prob. that he has been the person who advised the W.W.P. to send it). Told him I had not yet made up my mind, as I had not yet seen the translation.

Lister Kaye came to ask that I would get the Mining License for him & forward it to him at Shanghai. I remonstrated with him for leaving Peking without it, & for losing patience just at the critical moment. Was it a matter of life & death? It seems he had taken passage for himself & wife by the "Shengking", & did not wish to miss her. However, eventually he promised to stay till it is issued.

Very hot day.

- 12 [June] Mumm says that he has it confirmed fr. an authoritative quarter that the "Yashima" is a total loss, but all on board saved. The Japanese do not wish to let it be known until after they have taken Port Arthur. He believes it to be a fact that Kuropatkin is retiring on Moukden in face of Japanese superior numbers.

Orderlies are Ptes. Oldfield and Beaumont.

13. [June] Signature of the glasis protocol and plan of the legation quarter by RR. of Powers who signed the Protocol of 7 Sept. 1901.

Mumm, van Citters & Gaiffier appted. committee to frame a constitution and byelaws for the legation quarter.

I had a talk with M. afterwards about the Chinese Note respecting the Whangpu conservancy, wch. he thinks is a consequence of his last Note on the subject aided by Dubail's advice in all probability. The Chinese idea of taking funds fr. the Customs is of course inadmissible, as the whole revenue is already pledged for foreign loans and indemnity. But apart fr. that he thinks that we have no guarantee that any fresh arrangement wld. be carried out in good faith, and it must take a long time to discuss and settle the details and to get everybody into line, so that he is averse to the project. I said that I hoped H.M.G. wld. persuade the Fr. Govt. to throw over Dubail, & make him agree to our proposal of going ahead without the Chinese delegate. He remarked in the most innocent way that D. was always trying to make mischief betw. us, as if he himself was not constantly playing the same game.

- 14 " To Sir Robt. [Hart] abt. the recent letter from the Foreign Board in reply to my note protesting agst. their action in regard to export of contraband of war. He said they had mixed up two things.

Talking of P.O. matters he said the Treasury were to give Tls. 720,000 annually for the administration, wch. however wld. continue to be a branch of the Maritime Customs. The separate rule of Frenchmen led to undesirable arrangements being made, e.g. the

1904

correspondence betw. Yünnanfu & Chungking was forwarded by way of Fr. missionary establishments. I told him that explained how a letter fr. Wilkinson that came viâ Chungking reached our consulate there with marks of having been opened. As to the missing despp. for Têng yueh, as they had been traced as far as the Fr. P.O. in Shanghai, I was satisfied that they had gone astray in French hands, and told him of the desp. to Shanghai posted here, which arrived with marks of having been slit open along the top. It was inconceivable that this shld. have been done betw. the Legn. & the Chinese P.O. & the only conclusion was that it had taken place while in the hands of people over whom M. Piry exercised authority.

Uchida says Kuropatkin is marching S. In the afternoon to Nat'ung. Kashgar, the export of contraband of war, Empress Dowager's health, Tibet, Hu yu fen's desire to go to Hupeh as acting govr.

Heavy rain with thunder while we were at his house & on the way back.

15 [June] Salis Schwabe. Told him what I did yesterday with Nat'ung about Canton emigration, & said perh. I wld. send a teleg. to F.O. abt. the matter of Weihai before acting here.

Mr. Harlan P. Beech of the Yale Mission & Rev. Dr. Arthur Smith came. Told the former that I had sent home Playfair's recommendation & had as yet no reply fr. F.O. as to dividing the Chênchou indemnity betw. the Y.M. and another American missionary institution.

16 " Gaiffier came & talked abt. the Belgian indemnity proposal & Lessar's attitude of refusal. G. Jamieson came. Asked him to lunch for tomorrow.

17 " To the Cottage with the Rogestvenskys and Gaiffier, quite cool N. wind up to sunset.

18 " Back from Cottage. G. Jamieson to lunch & showed all the Szechuen railway corresp'ce with F.O. & Hosie, including telegs. up to date. Arranged abt. the electric lighting of the house & grounds with Cowan [of the Office of Works]. Conger came: showed him rough dft. of a reply to a Chinese Note abt. Hwangpu Conservancy, written after a conversation yesterday morning with Mumm, & promised to send him a copy when finally drafted.

23 " Came in fr. Cottage.

Mumm. We talked abt. the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. & I promised that as soon as Boyce Kup sends me the dossier & I have read it, I will let him know, so that he may give instructions to Goltz. I read him B-K's last letter, explaining that the delay in furnishing the papers was due to the necessity of making a Chinese translation of the last German dft. I remarked that the B. & C. Corpn. ought to have stipulated that if two separate contracts were to be signed, the B. & C. Corpn. shld. have the right of building fr. Chinan-fu to the Yangtze. He did not like this much. I then talked to him abt. the bridge at Tientsin, & tried

1904

to get from him a promise that the Germans wld. not let it be landed in their concession, but without complete success. He undertook however to look into the matter, & I let it be seen that I felt one good turn deserved another, tho' I did not put this into words. He complained of a teleg. sent to the "Times" by Morrison, attributing to Germany a desire to see Yüan Shihkai upset because of his opposition to German railway schemes in Shantung and Chihli.

Went back to the cottage.

25 [June] De Gaiffier and his countryman Delcoigne, who has for the past year been at Söul as adviser to the Corean Foreign Dept. came to the cottage to stop the night.

26 " Came back to town.

27 Almeida came to give me a teleg. fr. [Jose de Azevedo] Castello Branco. He said that the Chinese had not sent war vessels to Macao to put pressure on the Port Auth: One had put in there with machinery broken down on her way fr. Hongkong to Pakhoi, a second went to take her place in performance of that service on wch. she had been proceeding, & the 3rd was to tow her back. They had all now left. The inhabitants of Macao are ill-conditioned people, who got up a fuss abt. the visit of the Chinese ships in order to annoy the Govr. He read me a teleg. fr. Castello Branco to the effect that the Portuguese Govt. consented to give up the mandarin who had taken refuge there, but only at S'hai or Peking, because they cld. not deliver him at Canton, as that wld. have the appearance of yielding to Chinese menaces, & the Secy. was also to stipulate that the mandarin shld. be neither executed nor tortured, & that a Portuguese official might be present at his trial. Almeida thought this proposal was likely to make the tension still greater. The negotiations at S'hai abt. the Macao-Canton rlwy. had not even begun, and those for the commercial treaty hung fire, because Portugal proposed to leave out of it the arrangements abt. establishment of a Chinese Custom house in Macao itself, in order to save the treaty fr. non-ratification, but was willing to agree to this by an exchange of notes. This the Chinese opposed, & he himself had had some hot discussions with them on the subject.

It was agreed that he should go to the Waiwupu tomorrow afternoon & come here to tell me the results, & that I wld. ask for an interview for a later hour.

He talked a good deal abt. C-B, of whose discretion he seems to have but a low opinion.

28. June Rain more or less all day. Since yesterday on a diet of milk & sodawater wch. makes me feel very weak.

July 1904

1904

2 July To Uchida abt. Russian civil police at Newchwang.

4 July. Hon. Geo. Peel and Hesse, the London Manager of the Eastern Extension Telegs. arr[ive]d. After lunch they told me of the American plan for laying a cable from Manila to Shanghai and the German-Dutch combination for the cables from Java thro' the Spice Islands to Yap and thence to Shanghai, wch. they are not opposing, and of the French cable landed at Amoy without Chinese consent, wch. has done no business, because the Russians wld. not consent to a continuation being landed at Port Arthur. Also of the report of Lord Balfour's interdepartmental committee wch. solely recommended a cable of 1300 miles being laid betw. Colombo and the Cocos Islands. They had been compelled to work in alliance with the Gt. Northern, as otherwise all the China traffic wld. go on thro' China & Russia and Ruin them.

Lessar came to say that Alexeieff having recd. information that the Espiègle was going to Newchwang, had given orders that she shld. be refused a pilot & had reported to Petersburg. He asked me if she cld. not be stopped pending arrangements betw. Petersburg & London.

I explained to him that [H.A.] Little had been instructed to inform Grosse: that I had asked the Admiral to let her lie at the bar, but he had ordered her to Newchwang. I agreed however to ask the Admiral [Noel] to stop her if possible, & also to teleg. to Chinwangtao on the chance of her not having left.

He declared that they had heard fr. several sides that the Japanese wld. land there in 4 or 5 days, but I do not believe this myself; I told him I knew nothing of such an intention. Little had expressed to me his concern lest there shld. be an interval betw. a possible evacuation and arrival of Japanese, wch. wld. be taken advantage of to loot by disorderly characters. I cld. not see any objection to her lying at the bar, wch. is in the open sea. This is the result of Noel's impulsiveness. I had asked him to send her to the bar; he replies by ordering her into the river.

5 July Went to Hart. Told him of my Notes to the Chinese Govt. abt. Gibb, Livingston & Co's lead & Ilbert's flour. Added that the Chinese Govt. had misapprehended the meaning of the Russian list of contraband being communicated to them, wch. was only for their information; but he says they asked that exportation of such articles might be prohibited.

Parr . He has telegd. that there is a prospect of Kowloon for him, unless he thinks he had better stay at Simla. I repeated to him that if Parr ceased to be a negotiator we ought to be officially informed. As far as I cld. see the Tibetans were now proposing to ignore the Chinese resident in the negotiations, as they had in fact disregarded his authority fr. the beginning.

1904

Shanghai Conservancy. Told him my views abt. the Chinese Note. If the Chinese were bonâ fide, something might be arranged, anyhow, it was originally an American show, and I meant to take a back seat in any future discussions.

Canton river obstructions. He says [F.A.] Morgan's proposal was to sell the materials & let them be taken away by the purchasers. But the present Comr. Tyler says this wld. not do, as they wld. only remove the saleable portions without completing the work; & he proposes that it shld. be paid for out of the tonnage dues. Hart has therefore telegd. for an estimate of the cost, wch. is necessary to have, before he can form an opinion on this point.

To Dubail. Expropriation for rlwys. He says his consul-genl. did not accept the Chinese proclamation, hence its having been referred to Paris. I asked him how he proposed to proceed. His idea, it seems, is that we shld. send instructions to the consuls to propose to the Taotai modifications based on the memo. he communicated to me. I asked that he wld. inform me what points of the Taotai's proclaim[atio]n he wished modified, and in what sense.

Hwangpu conservancy. In ans. to question, he said he had sent it home. Told him my objections to the scheme, and doubts whether any arrangement cld. be made based on that, as it did not provide for restricting the appropriations from the river. He suggested that the consuls might be given a general power of superintendence. I replied that consular interference was what had militated agst. the present scheme of Annex 17: originally it was a committee of men of business, but the introduction of consuls representing their govts. had been fatal, bringing in the official element and international rivalries.

Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. In the afternoon to Waiwupu, where I had a long talk with Lienfang abt. Shêng's obstructiveness. There were a couple of secretaries, who knew a great deal more than he did. I spoke very strongly agst. Shêng, & his bringing up fresh demands after everything had been agreed to. They had informed me that instructions had gone to Chang Têyi to sign the bonds, & had then sent counter-instructions without informing me. I wanted a categorical reply to my Note of July 3 asking that instructions shld. be sent to him to sign bonds, leaving the points in dispute to be settled afterwards, & if I did not receive it within 48 hrs. I shld. inform H.M.G. that they refused. I wld. not hear of his consulting Shêng; that did not concern me. I wanted a reply fr. the Chinese Govt. Shêng was intolerable; he had always made difficulties for us, and opposed British subjects in every way, while entertaining every proposition made to him by the Russians French & Belgians. I read to him Warren's teleg. abt. his obstructiveness being perh. explained by his idea that there was money in it, and the last teleg. instructions fr. F.O.

1904

wch. were much stronger than my note to them.

He promised to see Prince Ch'ing tomorrow morning & repeat to him all I had said; personally he thought it quite reasonable that the bonds shld. be signed at once & these matters discussed afterwards.

Peel & Hesse went away by afternoon train. The former presented me with his book on "England's enemies".

7 July. Gallina came to call. He says he declined the St. Petersburg Embassy because private affairs render it necessary for him to stop at home for a year, & he even offered to resign the Service. But that has not been accepted. He is to be succeeded by Baroli, who comes from Lisbon.¹

In answer to an inquiry I told him that I had sent home the new Whangpu scheme, devised by the French to the F.O., and had replied to the Waiwupu pointing out that they had made a mistake in proposing to devote Customs revenue to the river improvements. I told him of my reserves regarding the Règlement for the Association.[?]

8 [July] Uchida brought me his reply or that of his govt. rather, abt. the treatment they wld. accord to the Russian civil police who might remain at Newchwang. It is of so drastic a character that I told him I had better not communicate it to the Russians, as the only result wld. be to make them withdraw Grosse & the police along with the troops, leaving the town utterly unprotected [from looting etc.].

I told him of my Notes to the W.W.P. [Wai Wu Pu] abt. contraband of war, of Odagiri's very cautious letter to Hobson in wch. he carefully refrained fr. asking that permits for flour to Newchwang shld. be refused. He chuckled, & said it did not matter now, as the Russians would not now be long at Newchwang. His idea was that having occupied all the passes and placed themselves across the line by wch. the Russians must advance to the relief of Port Arthur, they wld. do nothing more for the present.

Morrison brought Ralph Walter to call. Asked them to the cottage.

Lessar sent me a ciphered telegram that [H.A.] Little had given to Grosse on the 5th for transmission to me. I wrote him a polite note of thanks pointing out that it had been 3 days en route & expressing a fear that there must be a break somewhere in their telegraph lines. This produced another from Little also sent thro' Grosse, on wch. was written 'repeated by order of the Civil Administrator', wch. Lessar no doubt had put on it by his field teleg. in order to explain why it had not reached me before.

Went to see Conger, and asked him abt. gunboats on the Poyang Lake. He read me Pr.

¹ The Italian Ministers at Peking were: Marquis Giuseppe di Salvago-Raggi (June 26, 1899 – September 24, 1901); Count Giovanni Gallina (April 5, 1902 – December 5, 1904); Carlo Baroli (December 5, 1904 – November 19, 1906).

1904

Ch'ing's letter abt. the Villalobos going there & his reply, wch. was to the effect that their gunboats must go everywhere to protect U.S. interests. Told him my objections to Lessar's laying claim to a part of the trottoir [pavement, sidewalk] alongside his Legation, & that I was going to make a parallel claim if he insisted. We agreed that the plan & protocol having been signed, Lessar cld. no longer lay any such claim. Told him also abt. Lessar's proceedings in regard to Little's telegrams and the difficulty that had arisen in reference to the "Espègle" entering the river at Newchwang. He says he hears fr. some one who came from Newchwang that the Japanese artillery is very formidable.

- 9 [July] Kamei came. He thinks that there will be a big battle at Liaoyang before Port Arthur is attacked, as the emplacements for the siege guns take some time to prepare. There must be 8 divisions under Oku and Kuroki (I suppose they are waiting for the arrival of [Commander-in-Chief] Oyama [Iwao] and [Chief of the General Staff] Kodama [Gentarō, 1852-1906]).

Bower says he thinks they are transporting big guns & mortars belonging to their coast defences, some 300 or 400 for the bombardment of Port Arthur.

Morrison, Ralph Walter & Kidston with me to the Cottage.

- 10 " Lunch at Natung's country cottage. Conger, Coolidge, Williams, Uchida, Matsui, Tei & Nabekura of the Specie Bank, Mayers & myself only from this Legation, Lienfang, Li Shêng-tê and our host.

- 12 " Came in from the Cottage for the Bag.

Hillier came. Bevis has asked him to get my opinion abt. the answer they shld. return to Shêng. I said that acting as I was on instructions, I cld. not offer advice, tho' I thought the best thing was to acknowledge his letter & take note of what he said as to work not beginning till these two questions of the apptmt. of the engineer in chief & rules for guidance of the Board of Commissioners [were settled], but to avoid committing themselves. He said he wld. offer them his own advice, wch. wld. be not to agree to postponement of commencing work, but adding that they had better consult London.

Dubail came to say that Lessar is at last authorized to fall into line in regard to Joostens proposal for settling the indemnity; if the Chinese shld. accept, but propose that the compound interest be remitted; as D. & I had instructions to consent to this, we cld. then declare it.

I teased him [Dubail] abt. the Russian newspaper that had complained of his unfriendly act in proposing that the terms of peace shld. be settled by a Congress. He said he had never mentioned the subject to any newspaper man & that the corresp[onden]t (whoever he was) had made up the story out of his own head. He agreed however that this must be the end of the present war. I suggested that Germany was ogling Russia and

1904

would be found to have taken sides so strongly that she cld. not be a mediator, wch. rôle wld. devolve upon France. He said with equal politeness that the good relations between England & France wld. enable us jointly to find a plank across wch. Russia & Japan might come together.

He actually asked me whether there was any truth in the newspaper reports that I had asked for the opening of Hainan: he cld. not believe it, for the F.O. wld. certainly have told Paris beforehand. I told him there was no truth on the story. I had seen 1° that I had asked for the opening of Huichou; 2° of Kiungchou. Now I had not mentioned either to the Chinese, the first being included in Art. 8 of the Mackay treaty, the other was open long ago. He said [he] had not telegd. anything abt. it to Paris, preferring to ask me first, but he had done so in regard to the reports that we were going to acquire Chusan.

He says Mumm some time ago went to the Waiwupu & declared that whatever China gave to Russia in respect to Manchuria Germany wld. claim in Shantung.

Gaiffier came to tell me of Lessar having given way; L. pretends it was he who had converted his Govt. I counselled him to see the Note wch. Lessar declares he has sent to the Doyen, before accepting his account of it, and expressed my preference for a Note Collective, because then we are certain that the Chinese get only one text.

Dr. Cochrane came to thank me for having got a promise of 10,000 taels for his medical school from the Empress-Dowager. I said I must also make a contribution, before asking Prince Ch'ing or Yüan to subscribe.

Hillier returned in the afternoon to show me his telegram, in which he advised the Corporation to draw Shêng's attention to a clause wch. makes it necessary to begin work immediately after the loan is issued, but just before dinner he wrote to say that the Chinese Minister in London had informed the F.O. that the loan could be issued, and that he would not send it.

Goltz came to tell me that the German Legation had both spoken and written about the separation of the contracts, and that it would be sufficient if I wrote to the Waiwupu to that effect. He did not think it would much advance matters.

Gaiffier has a story that Lessar wrote a Note to the Chinese Govt. yesterday, or a few days ago, saying that they committed so many breaches of neutrality, allowing the Japanese to receive supplies of provisions etc. that it would be preferable to have a state of open war [between Russia and China], & that this had created great consternation at the Waiwupu. I said I thought this was nothing new.

16 July. Mostly in bed with 'summer trouble'. To the Cottage with Prof. Jenks, Kidston & Carnegie.

We have discussed his plans for the reform of the Chinese currency, & establisht. of the

1904

gold standard. Of the details I cannot express any opinion, but so far as I understand them, I approve, & am anxious to see them carried out. I understand that a loan of four millions sterling would suffice, and that the profit to the Chinese would be some four million taels annually. I agree with his view that to secure the scheme being properly worked it must be in foreign hands, & said I cld. see no objection to an American being the head. He wld. be Director-genl. But Parliamentary considerations wld. necessitate Gt. Britain having a share in working it out. He replied that a National Bank of China, with headquarters at Peking, wld. be an essential part, & he wld. propose an Englishman for the head of this institution, with say at Hankow a Russian to begin with & a Japse. at Shanghai. Then there wld. be the Superintendency of Mints & the Accountancy-genl. wch. shld. be given to other nationalities, & say a Frenchman for the last. That wld. leave some place for a German. For chief banker I said Whitehead had been spoken of, but not recommended by us, & that Addis (of whom the prof. has a high opinion) wld. be our candidate.

I also said that the scheme shld. be started if possible before the end of the war.

25 July. Came in from the Cottage where I had been since the 16.

To Waiwupu with Cockburn, saw Natung & Lienfang.

Newchwang news discussed. Na said it was their intention to send a man there as Customs Taotai, who would be under Yüan Shihkai as regards collection of Customs revenue, but otherwise under the Govr. Genl. of Mukden. This is Wên Yun who has been some years in Kansu, but before that had occupied important posts and they have great confidence in him.

Murder of Belgian Bishop near Shih-nan in Hupei, S. of the Yangtze. They showed a telegram from Chang Chih-tung acc[ording] to which some Protestant converts had gathered together a gang of ruffians, killed the Bishop and his brother and carried off a third. Conversation ensued on the disputes betw. R.C. & Protestants. I said that complaints reached [me] from all parts of the country that the Pro. never cld. get justice from the officials where the other party was R.C. Na said this was because the R.C. were more numerous. I said that this was not the cause; it was owing to the fact that we did not allow our missionaries to interfere in yamên cases, whereas the Chinese govt. some years back had actually granted to R.C. missionaries the right of going to the yamêns on behalf of their people. But it wld. become my duty to demand of the Chinese Govt. that they shld. give such instructions as wld. ensure Protestants receiving justice at the hands of the officials. I had written to Li Hung-chang that if Chinese faithfully observed Art. 8 of the Treaty of Tientsin I shld. never have any occasion to remind them of it. I wound up by advising them in dealing with the present case not to give away a province, nor railway nor mining concessions. Na said that in that respect things had altered a good deal since a

1904

few years back, & the Fr. Minister's note bringing the murder of of these 2 missionaries to their notice was couched on very moderate language.

Tibet. Made communication abt. the desirability of the Amban ¹ at Lhasa being instructed to assist in negotiations being brought to an end speedily, and offered to send a telegram for them.

Na then proceeded to talk abt. the Note wch. he had learnt fr. Gaiffier was coming in regarding the indemnity. He said G. had given him to understand that the arrears up to 1940 would not pay interest, but I told him that was not my view of the proposed scheme, and I declined to hold out any hopes that the Powers wld. make this concession. Na asked whether we still adhered to our offer to accept silver for nine years. I said that as they had never even acknowledged the Note in wch. this offer was made, I considered that it had dropped.

26 [July] Morrison came. He had recd. a later teleg. than we had abt. the approach of the Japanese to Newchwang yesterday afternoon. Was inquisitive about the notification of Chefoo as a port of embarkation for labourers under the Convention and the new Hwangpu conservancy proposals.

Conger came. Showed me a report fr. Martin the U.S. Consul at Nanking abt. the proposed wharfage dues, & I approved of M's reply that nothing could be done without the consent of the diplomatic body, and acquainted him with the instructions I had sent to Sundius.

Trade marks. Told him of the modifications I had proposed to the WWP in their draft regulations for registration, wch. he thought reasonable. He has not yet recd. a report fr. Shanghai, & so has not yet replied to the Chinese Govt.

Manchuria . A newspaper correspondent who has escaped from Liaoyang by way of Shin-min-tun says that the Russians have not more than 125,000 men to place in the fighting line, & that they are outnumbered. Morrison says the Japanese 4th army has been landed at Takushan and marched up north under Marshal Nodzu. Kuroki is trying to envelope Kuropatkin's left wing & cut him off from Mukden, & there has been fighting in the vicinity of the Liaoyang since the 24th. The Russians have been driven out of Tashichiao to the N[orth]. The Liao is in flood, and the Japse. are trying to drive the Russians up agst. it.

27 July To Uchida & gave him some information abt. Newchwang capture.

Trademarks. complained to him that the Shang-pu [Board of Commerce] apparently influenced by their Japse. adviser, refused to accept my amendments to the rules, & insisted on memorializing at once. He defended him rather weakly, but promised to give

¹ Amban: the Chinese Resident at Lhasa.

1904

good advice.

To Hillier, who told me of a Frenchman named Chazalon, up here after concessions, with unlimited credit fr. the Société Générale.

To Conger, & told him what I had said to Uchida abt. trademarks. He said the W.W.P. were urging him to reply, but he had refused to do so until he recd. his report fr. Shanghai.

Gaiffier came. I had written to tell him what Natung had said abt. his statement regarding compound interest on the arrears of the indemnity, & what the Note said. He feels pretty sure the Chinese will ask to be let off, and then the thing will be held up for another year.

Tientsin-Paoting rlwy. He wanted to discuss a compromise by wch. the Luhan & the B. & C. Corp'n. shld. each build half. I refused absolutely.

See letter to F.A. Campbell of 28/7. ¹

28 “ Hillier came. Putting together the pressure that is being exercised by Bous d'Auty on Hsi-liang, the presence of Chazalon here with unlimited credit & the murder in Hupei, he is afraid China will give railway & mining concessions in Szechuen. I consoled him as to rlwy. by telling him what we had secured in the way of a promise, but as to mines we cld. not compete, as the Yangtze Valley Co. took no steps to utilize their concessions. Told him what I feared was the cause of the murder of the three R.C. missionaries. The S'hai-Nanking loan issue left 63% in the hands of the underwriters; it came out just as the news of the “Malacca” being captured by the Russians sent Consols down 2 points.

Dined with Prof. Jenks. He says the present disposition of the Chinese Committee with whom he has been conferring is to adopt an uniform silver currency, and that they are evidently unwilling to put themselves in foreign hands to the extent wch. is necessary in order to inspire foreign confidence. He expects to leave in about a week, after daily conferences.

29 [July] Hu Yüfên came abt. an official who was dismissed never to be employed again for his share in the evil doings of 1900, whom he, Ma Yü kun & Chiang Kuei-ti wished to see reinstated. He said he had mentioned it to Mayers. I promised to look into the matter.

Hu says Japanese cavalry have been seen near Mukden.

August 1904

2 Aug. Was at the Cottage from 30th July till this morning, in continuous rain without any sunshine, & today came in by the 9 o'clock train.

Goltz came. Talking of the recent refusal of Tang & Liang to discuss the question of a

¹ See PRO 30/33 14/14. Satow's private letter book for December 1903 to September 1904.

1904

separate agreement for the Tientsin-Chinkiang line, he said he did not see what could be done. I suggested jokingly the occupation of Chefoo, but he said that sort of thing was no longer possible, in the same tone. As to the change to Pukòu, it was suggested by Chang-yi himself in 1898, he being then the Chinese negotiator.

Hillier came & we talked over the rlwy. indemnity. He is in favour of retaining the interest on the surplus, to make good our loss on exchange & informing the Chinese Govt. that we do this for the adjustment of exchange. The Taotai does not even pay in taels the amount due acc. to the Protocol.

3 “ To Dubail. Indemnity. Told him the arguments in favour of a compromise with the Chinese Govt. as to the compound interest on arrears, wch. I wld. use if the expected counter-proposal was discussed in a meeting of the colleagues, & he said he wld. support me. This I presume means that he wld. leave me to do the talking & merely play echo.

Mixed Court. Said I had copy of a Note fr. Delcassé ¹ to [British ambassador Sir Edmund] Monson ², promising to send instructions & I repeated the contents. He said he had recd. them a fortnight ago. Asked him for a copy of the Note in wch. Rochechouart had withdrawn his signature from the approval he had given to the Rules of 1869, wch. he said he wld. look for, & how long had their Courts been going. He replied “fr. 1864”, but on getting the dft. of one of his despp. to Paris, it appeared that the date was 1869 and that it had been going “34 years”. He pretended that the 9 was not distinct, but it was clearly what was intended.

As I was going away he said he had a trouble in Hupeh, missionary murders (the Bishop & two others fr. Ichang). The Chinese tried to make out that it was a row betw. Catholics & Protestants, but he had told them he did not care who had done it, and they must punish the criminals. I said that fr. what I heard the Bishop had accused certain Protestant inquirers of being members of a secret society, & it seemed prob. that the murder was their way of revenge. I had it from a highly respectable Engl. missionary. From all sides I heard accounts of Protestants suffering at the hands of R.C. missionaries, who intimidated the officials. I had sent a circular last year to the consuls abt. intervention of our missionaries not being allowed & had taken every opportunity of impressing this principle on individual missionaries. He rejoined that he also had sent a circular to the R.C. Bishops, but presently it turned out that he had merely said that young & inexperienced missionaries were not to go to the yamêns, only Bishops & elder men.

¹ Theophile Delcassé (1852-1923), French Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1898-1905. He helped to foster closer Anglo-French relations during his ministry, and was one of the chief architects of 'Entente Cordiale' of 1904.

² Sir Edmund Monson, 1st Baronet (1834-1909), British Ambassador in Paris 1896-1904.

1904

However he professed the greatest desire to prevent disputes, & hoped I wld. always give him an opportunity of settling them. I said that it was of the greatest importance to prevent the occurrence of troubles such as had happened in Uganda.

To Conger, & told him the arrangement I had made with the Shang-pu about Trade-marks. He said they had been at him again abt. his reply, & he had written to them thro' Miller that he had referred the matter to Shanghai, & that if they memorialized without waiting he wld. refuse to accept the regulations as an execution of the U.S. treaty in that respect.

Chefoo settlement. He has sent me to read a desp. fr. the U.S. Consul-general. It appears that Lenz, the Germ. consul alone opposes. Cld. we not put pressure on Mumm. I said I thought we could. Clearly the object of the Germans was to turn Shantung into a sort of Manchuria, & that they regarded the establishment of an international settlement there as interfering with this aim.

6 Aug. Conger came. Chefoo settlement. I suggested that Fowler shld. be told to ask each of his colls: to address his Minister, and when we knew they had done this, he & I might address a letter to the Doyen asking him to bring the question of an international settlement before the Dipl. Body.

Trademarks. His merchants have made a number of inadmissible suggestions, and he has consequently written to say that if the Dept. of Commerce accepts my suggestions, he will be satisfied.

Hwangpu . As a result of corresp'ce the WWP. have stated that Anhui and Szechuen opium revenue will find the 460,000 taels. If this satisfies Washington, then the only question will be what guarantees will be given for the proper & speedy execution of works. Washington does not care how it is done, provided it is done properly, tho' personally he thinks our proposal wch. the Fr. declined acceding to, of constituting the Board whether Chinese delegate apptd. or not was the best.

Miller reports on good authority that the Russians at Port Arthur are now driven inside their last line of defences & that the Japanese have 360 guns mounted for bombardment. Morrison says Russo-Chinese Bank has brought an action agst. the "Universal Gazette" for libel, in the U.S. Consular Court, the newspaper being registered there as the property of a U.S. citizen, but Goodnow, who witnessed the transfer demands that the power to sell be produced to him as proof of the transaction, and if that is not done will refuse to hear the case, so that the opportunity of producing evidence to damage the B[an]k will be lost. A campaign has been carried on agst. it here in the columns of the Shuntien pao, thro' the editor (or manager) Komura, nephew of the Jap. Min. for F.A. wch. has had the effect of causing the withdrawal of many deposits. The idea now is to get the Univ. Gaz[ette]

1904

registered in the names of C.J. Dudgeon & J.O.P. Bland, and to borrow either Tls 10,000 or \$10,000 to buy a new press and further improve the paper, and they want help, say £500, on wch. 6% interest wld. be paid. Tsêng wld. continue to be the real proprietor & director.

Hillier says Natung is in favour of Jenks' plans for reform of the currency, but Lu Chuan-lin is hostile, declaring himself opposed to putting things under foreign control. They have had an experience in the case of the Customs, wch. is entirely ruled by Hart, & he does not wish to extend this.

Met Goltz on the wall & told him that Prince Ch'ing had replied to me refusing to sign two separate agreements for the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. G. thinks nothing is to be done but to wait till the B. & C. Corpn. have finished their survey & then to negotiate a joint Agreement.

9 [Aug.] During the night there was a thunderstorm with heavy rain and high wind, which destroyed some of the older elms in the carriage park & greatly cooled the air.

[Jose de Azevedo] Castello Branco who came back last night called. He telegraphed to Macao the day before he left Shanghai to surrender the fugitive mandarin to the Canton authorities. He has drafted & agreed to his commercial treaty, with the exception of one article abt. the free export of rice to Macao, for supply of the 85000 Chinese who live there. He wants 600,000 piculs.¹ The Chinese negotiators will not give more than 200,000 or 300,000 & that not by Treaty, but by a secret note. They have done this for Japan, he says, in that way. As Shêng & Lu could not accept the article, he has come up to Peking to interview the Wai wu pu about it. The railway agreement has made no progress. Shêng wanted him to agree that 60% shld. be for Chinese investors, but he told them that there was no possibility of preventing the Chinese holders parting with their shares, except by agreeing that transfers shld. be only registered at Lisbon. He reproached them with conceding the Yünnan railway to the French, who only wanted it for facilitating the conquest of the province, while to Portugal, wch. cld. create no danger for them they refused this short line. Spanish Govt. have offered part of their legation ground to Portugal for fr. 125,000, it is not large enough, & he does not see why they shld. want money for a piece of land wch. cost them nothing. He has advised his govt. to refuse, and will try to persuade the Chinese Govt. to give him on lease a palace outside the Legation quarter. The French still make difficulties about the exchange of Hainan for Heungshan as a mission field, & his govt. holds out. He declares that a Japse. success in the war seems

¹ Any of various units of weight used in southeast Asia and China and equal to 100 catties, especially a Chinese unit equal to 133 1/3 pounds (about 60 kilograms). [Malay pikul, to carry the heaviest load a man can carry.]

1904

to him to present fewer dangers for Portugal & the Powers than the triumph of Russia. But France & Germany are decidedly in favour of the Russians.

10 Aug. To Prince Ch'ing with Cockburn: Tsêng interpreted. I asked how things were getting on in Manchuria, & he replied by saying that Reuter's telegs. reported great slaughter of the Japse. I said that from very good information (Bower got it from Col. Aoki) I believed the Japse. had taken Shwangtaikou a very important position on 28 July after three days fighting, and later had gained possession of Fêng hung shan a ridge fr. wch. they cld. bombard the Russian positions, and it was believed that Port Arthur could not hold out long. He asked what my ideas were as to the final outcome. I said that no one could predict the ultimate result of the military operations, but as far as the present there were no signs of the tide turning in favour of the Russians. Suppose Port Arthur taken and Mukden occupied by the Japanese troops: that wld. not necessarily force the Russians to make peace. For that the Japse. wld. prob. have to advance as far as Harbin and endeavour to seize a piece of Russian territory. The Prince rejoined that Russia was too far off for that. I said no, there is Vladivostok. Tsêng observed that they had not had it more than 100 years. I said no, it was about 50. The Prince agreed with what I had said. I then continued by observing that the termination of the war wld. not be followed by an ordinary treaty of peace betw. two combatants, because the real object about wch. they were fighting was the future of China, and all the Powers interested in China as well as China herself must have a voice in settling the terms. Tsêng evidently did not like the way I put it, for he substituted "Far East" for "China" in interpreting. This the Prince also approved of.

Missionary murder in remote corner of Hupei. I explained that Chang Chih-tung had put things somewhat incorrectly when he said that it was the result of a quarrel betw. R.C. & Protestants. The Protestants so far as I knew had not been in any way concerned in it, but fr. what I had heard, some ruffians had taken advantage of a dispute betw. the adherents of the rival churches to commit the murders. What was going to be the redress given? Had the murderers been captured?

Pr. said they had not been taken, nor were their names known. The responsible officials had been deprived of their buttons, & investigation was proceeding. Dubail had suggested that compensation shld. take the form of the erection of a hospital. I had said that I supposed there wld. be a money indemnity, so much for a bishop, so much for a priest, beside punishment of the criminals.

Tibet. I said it had given me much pleasure to forward their teleg. of 27 July to the Amban [the Chinese Resident in Lhasa since 1723], and this morning I had sent off another ciphered telegram for them. It was much to be desired that the Amban shld. assist in bringing about an understanding betw. the Dalai Lama & Younghusband. We

1904

understood that the D.L. had retired to a monastery in the vicinity of Lhasa to pray. At present the Tongsa Penlop of Bhutan was acting as mediator. Pr. agreed that the Amban ought to act, and observed that the Chinese Govt. had recd. no teleg. fr. him.

[I imagine that Younghusband is not particularly anxious to facilitate the transmission of ciphered telegrams betw. the Amban and Peking, nor to have him putting in his oar].¹

Camphor monopoly in Fuhkien. When it was started two years ago I had officially protested to no effect. Camphor belonging to British Subjects had been seized and no redress given. It was with great satisfaction that I had learnt by a report recd. fr. H.M. Consul at Foochow this morning that the monopoly had been abolished. But the Japanese in the province were still acting in a highhanded manner, encouraged by the Japse. Consul, who refused to receive the official letter intimating to him the abolition of the monopoly.

Pr. Ch'ing said they had complained to Uchida on the subject, who had replied that the commerce of both Formosa and Fuhkien was interested, and it ought to be arranged amicably. The expert had been dismissed. The Viceroy understood what required to be done. I observed that the last viceroy was responsible for the muddle, and would have to repay the loan of \$200,000 and the \$100,000 presented by the expert to the provincial hearing. His financial arrangements had been unfortunate, not only in this question, but with regard to the Arsenal. Pr. said the latter affair had been arranged, after he had appealed to Dubail's old-standing friendship.

Jenks' currency scheme. I spoke in praise of it. Prince said he had conversed with the Prof. and found him to be a very clearheaded man. But the Chinese govt. did not think it wld. be well to proceed at once to establish the gold standard. First they must get an uniform silver coinage, and later on they might adopt gold. I replied that it was true that the English and German committee that had discussed the question with the American Commission when it visited London & Berlin had taken this view, and I myself had also been in favour, having in my mind the experience of Japan. But recently as the result of conversations with Prof. Jenks I had come to the conclusion that he was right, and that it wld. be more economical to go gold at once. It would only be necessary to raise a loan of £4,000,000, and the profits wld. far more than cover the interest on the loan. I also thought that China shld. not delay, but seize the present moment for adopting & carrying out the plan. [But I do not think I produced any impression on the Prince's mind.]

Hu Yü-fên. I said a friend of ours was very anxious to get a provincial governorship. Pr. Ch[ing] looked puzzled, and asked whether it was Wu Ting-fang. I said no. He looked puzzled for a moment, said Who?, but suddenly with a gleam of intelligence stroked his own beard to indicate some one who wore a similar appendage. I said that's it. He replied

¹ This and the next two comments in square brackets are Satow's own.

1904

that he was well-disposed to Hu, and done him several good turns, and in fact had saved his life when Tung Fuhsiang wanted to take it. Unluckily, the unwillingness to appoint Hu came from a higher quarter. I enlarged upon the services wch. Hu had rendered in 1900 and 1901, and then left the subject.

I asked how Tung Fuhsiang was. The Prince said: "He is dead. At least we believe so."

Going away I asked when Wu Ting fang was coming back. Prince said they had telegd. to him, & he had replied that he wld. return when his health was restored. I expressed the hope that he wld. remain at the Waiwupu.

Outside I told Tsêng that I found it very convenient to have Wu at the Board. He replied that the Prince was too great a personage to occupy himself with Foreign Affairs, and left them entirely to a gentleman entirely ignorant of French or English (Natung), with whom the position of Wu was very difficult. I reiterated that Wu was very useful in his position at the Board. [The story is that Mumm is adverse, and wld. like to have a German-speaking official in his place.]

11 Aug. Morrison came. Says that Lessar yesterday told Conger of an assault delivered by the Japse. on the 2nd, in wch. they left 10,000 dead on the field. The Russians went out to carry water to the wounded. The stench of decomposing bodies was so intolerable that the Russians had to retire from two positions, wch. the Japanese did not attempt to occupy, nor did they remove their wounded. I said I thought this story was incredible. It seems Lessar professed [claimed] to have recd. [received] it from Mukden.

Tsêng wld. consent to the Universal Gazette being transferred into the names of Dudgeon & Lawr[Larm?]. Nathan and Perry are willing to find about £500, and if he cld. put up another £500, the rest could be obtained at Shanghai.

Conger came. He repeated Lessar's story wch. he said was evidently untrue. He had heard of the Russian destroyer having reached Chefoo, and rumours of a naval battle.

Hwangpu. He told me of his Govt's reply that they had no objection to the funds wch. the Chinese Govt. offered, but they wld. not agree to do more than let their rights under the Protocol remain in abeyance while a proper scheme was elaborated & carried out. If that was not done they wld. insist on the Protocol. He was going to write to them what the U.S. govt. had said. I told him I had heard nothing fr. the Chinese abt. it, but thought H.M.G. wld. be disposed to take the same line, and asked him to let me see his corresp'ce with the Waiwupu, in order that I might teleg. to H.M.G. how matters stood. By last bag I had recd. copy of a memo. given by Lord Lansdowne to Cambon urging that instructions shld. be sent to Dubail to join the rest of us in insisting on the Board proceeding to work with or without the Chinese Delegate.

1904

Told him I had spoken to Prince Ch'ing abt. Jenks' scheme & recommended it. He had seen the Prince on the 9th & talked in the same sense. But they had talked of establishing silver currency first. He had said to Prince that the U.S. had lost a great deal by their own hesitation before adopting gold. Yesterday he was at a dinner given by Jenks to Lu Chuanlin & the other members of the Chinese Commission at wch. Lu had argued strongly agst. the scheme till he was driven into a corner by Jenks. Lu showed greater ability than he had attributed to him, but he was evidently very anti-foreign.

I began to say that I thought that China was not on intimate relations with Japan, & instanced [=gave as an example] the abolition of the camphor monopoly. He said that when it was established he wrote to the Wai wu pu that it was contrary to the article in the Fr. Treaty, but as no U.S. citizens were interested in that business, he had not been obliged to make any specific representations. I went on to say that evidently the apprehensions of those who thought China wld. be dominated by Japan were wrong, for there was a fund of obstinacy in the Chinese character. He said that the Japanese wld. certainly do their best to get everything their own way if victorious. But if Russia were beaten, then France wld. be able to act on her own account & wld. join the other Powers in preventing any single one from occupying a predominant position. The U.S. certainly wld. take that line, & England too, whose hands were no longer tied by the Boer war. Certainly the future of the Far East must be settled by all the Powers in conference.

R. Bauld took up an hour of my time this morning abt. his gun, wch. he is trying to get Yüan Shihkai to adopt. The Mitsui Bussan Kaisha [company] are working with him, but they are also trying to get a contract put thro' for Japanese guns wch. are cheaper & can be laid down at Tientsin quicker. But just now they are prevented from concluding it by the uncertainty as to Port Arthur & Liaoyang, and have asked for a fortnight's delay. Yüan is therefore turning elsewhere, & Krupp's people are in the field with a gun that costs abt. £900, is as regards recoil & rapidity of fire about twice as good as the Vickers-Maxim gun, but twice as dear. If I cld. help him by getting Prince Ch'ing & the Lien-ping-chü to give a hint to Yüan, that might have the effect of overcoming the recommendations of Yüan's Military advisers, a Japanese & a Chinese officer educated by Krupp. If he made a contract with Viceroy Yüan, would I write to the Chinese Govt. & say that it wld. be regarded as an obligation of the Central Govt. I said I cld. not do this, unless by instructions fr. home. I recommended him to make his contract not with Yüan as Viceroy, but as vice-president of the Lien-ping-chü, and put in an article stipulating that the contract will be officially communicated to the Legation (for the sale is to be on credit). He complained that Germans got more assistance than English. I retorted that H.M.G. must be asked by his superiors to give me instructions, & I shld. carry them out.

1904

But I did not think they wld. give instructions of the sort. The only interest the British Govt. cld. have in the matter was that if a British Co. sold arms to the Chinese, they could get information; on the other hand they wld. have to provide men and arms at the expense of the nation to fight the Chinese provided with arms, so the advantage to them of pushing the sale of arms by Vickers-Maxim was not great. It was often said that Br. Consuls & Ministers did nothing to help Br. commerce. These accusations we took as part of the day's pay. As a fact I had done more for him than I had ever been asked to do for any other B.Ss. except in purely financial matters. However, if he wld. send me two sets of what he wants to be transmitted, I wld. give them unofficially to Prince Ch'ing & the Lien Ping-chü.

Telegs. fr. Chefoo abt. arrival of a Russian destroyer with refugees fr. Port Arthur, and later on that she is being interned there. Also telegs. fr. Tokio that the Russian squadron left Port Arthur yesterday morning, and that a battle ensued about 22 miles N. of Shantung promontory, result unknown, but Retvisan this morning seen anchored four miles from shore between Port Arthur & Dalny. On the 9th Japanese guns hit Retvisan & Pobieda lying in Port Arthur & set on fire. That it is thought may account for the sortie. Acc. to Togo the Russians got the worst of the fight, and dispersed when darkness came on.

12 [Aug.] To Uchida with a paraphrase of Tokio telegs. abt. the naval engagement. He had not recd. so much detail. He told me that he had heard fr. Chefoo of the dismantling of the Russian destroyer that went in there, and that she had been carried off by two Japse. destroyers. I remarked that it was a breach of neutrality. He also said Novik & Askold and a destroyer were believed to have taken refuge at [German-held] Tsingtau.

Camphor in Fuhkien. I reminded him that 2 yrs. ago I had told him that H.M.G. regarded the proposed camphor monopoly as contrary to Treaty, and that I had instructions to protest to the Chinese Govt. Our people went on buying camphor up country, wch. was brought down under transit pass, & got seized either by Chinese officials or Japanese acting under orders of the expert. We had made complaints & claimed compensation, & now I heard that the Chinese Auth: had revoked the monopoly & dismissed the Japse. expert, but the Japse. Consul (Nakamura) had refused to receive the letter from the Foreign Board announcing this. The Japse. in the province had come into collision with coolies transporting camphor, & revolvers had been used on both sides.

He said the Chinese auth: had behaved in a very high-handed manner, & the consul had returned the letter conceived in h-hd. terms. The Waiwupu had spoken to him on the subject, & he was disposed to arrange matters in an amicable manner. He had sent the Japse. consul at Amoy to confer with the Auth: at Foochow. The Japse. govt. had not accepted the view that the arrangements were contrary to Treaty. Whatever had been done

1904

by Japse. in the way of seizing camphor had been at the orders of the Chinese, & they were not acting independently.

I said that the only amicable settlement that appeared admissible to me was that the expert shld. be paid whatever was due to him & that the cancellation of the monopoly shld. be upheld. The U.S. Min. had also, acting independently, informed the Chinese Govt. that the monopoly was contrary to Treaty, but as no American merchants were concerned in the business, there had been no complaints. China was placed in a difficult position betw. the Japse. on one side and ourselves on the other. Of course I quite understood that the [Japanese-controlled] Formosan govt. wished to keep up the price of their camphor.

U. asked what the Br. claims amounted to. I said, a few thousand dollars, but the question of damages wld. be influenced by the way in wch. the monopoly was disposed of.

He confided to me that the Japanese military authorities believe Kuropatkin to have a larger force at Liaoyang than what the Japse. themselves have, and that in all the recent fighting the Russians have been numerically superior.

O'B-B. [O'Brien-Butler] telegraphs a highly sensational account of the manner in which the two Japanese destroyers carried off the Russian. On their arrival at 3 a.m. an officer & interpreter went on board to interview the R. commander, and invited him either to come out & fight or surrender. He refused to do either. Then having given some order in Russian, he seized the Japanese officer round the waist and jumped into the sea with him, while another officer did the same with the interpreter. Then the Japanese sailors attacked the Russian crew and drove them overboard. At a quarter to 4 there was an explosion, blowing the mast out, but the destroyer still floated. Then the Japse. slipped her anchor, passed a line on board & towed her out of the harbour.

Dubail came to dinner, & expressed the opinion that this proceeding will do the Japse. much harm & raise a great outcry. He says three Chinese vessels were lying at Chefoo and did not interfere! As to Novik & Askold at Tsingtau he greatly doubts it, the informant being Japse. He also says that according to despp. brought by the Russian destroyer, 10,000 Japanese dead on the defenses of Port Arthur, Russian losses 2500. No dead are interred, and the stench is frightful. This seems a re-echo of what Lessar told Conger a few days ago.

- 13 [Aug.] Telegd. from [Admiral] Noel [Commander-in-Chief, China squadron] that a Russian destroyer had been wrecked off Shantung promontory and the crew interned at Weihaiwei. Wrote a note to Lessar telling him this & to offer to procure any other particulars he might wish for. In the afternoon he came to call & thank. Says the "Cesarevitch" is in Tsingtau much damaged, Ad. Witoft & ten other officers killed, many others wounded. Novik also

1904

there. He thinks the rest of the battleships must have got away to Vladivostok, where they will be of more use than at Port Arthur; suppose 3 of them managed to do that. He gave a somewhat different version of the Chefoo affair, but did not speak with much indignation of the Japse., tho' he said they fired on the crew of the destroyer when they were in the water. (Seeing that it was before dawn when it all took place, this must have been a futile proceeding. But he significantly said there were two Chinese men of war in port, who did nothing. Of course China must be made responsible. These Chinese ships had left port about a fortnight before & had been cruising some where in the Gulf, but returned a day or two before the Japse. came in.

Warren at 6.30 reports four large Russian ships off the Saddles waiting for coal, and two Japanese ships with torpedo-boats at the East Saddles. Reuter says St Petersburg reports "Kasuga" sunk during the fight, but Togo reports 'no serious damage to ships'.

14 " To Conger, who takes the same serious view of the Chefoo incident, but has no news from Washington of any steps that may be taken. Told him of Lessar's observation yesterday, wch. he said was perhaps intended to mean that this affair wld. be added to the account to be settled with China at the end of the war.

Mayers to Na, who showed him a civil note from Lessar, stating that the Cesarewich and a torpedo-boat wld. go from Tsingtau to Shanghai & expressing the hope, sarcastically no doubt, that no incident wld. be permitted there such as had occurred at Chefoo in the presence of 3 Chinese men of war.

Conger's view is that Japan ought at once to disavow action of officers commanding her two destroyers and send the Russian back to Chefoo. I said I entirely agreed with him; he was the only coll: that I cld. speak to on the subject, my position being a delicate one on account of the alliance. I had intimated my opinion to Uchida & telegd. to F.O. & to Macdonald, so thought no more was to be done.

Kamimura reports naval combat in the straits of Tsushima, in wch. Rurik was sunk & the other two Russian cruisers retreated northwards damaged.

Conger said Goltz had asked him whether it was true that we were negotiating an exchange of Weihaiwei for Chusan. I said I knew nothing abt. it. If any of the kind was being done, it must be in London but I did not believe it.

15 " Conger came to show me a copy of Sah's report, in wch. he says he cleared for action & did all in his power to prevent the Japse. from carrying off the Reshitelni. Lessar's acct. of his Note of yesterday to WWP in desp. to F.O.

Morrison came. He thinks the Japse. have committed a great blunder. Told him what I had said to Uchida, & that I had telegd. to F.O. & Tokio. Also that the Chinese meant to ask Japan to disavow their officer and give back the destroyer. He says the officer in

1904

command of the two Japse. destroyers is the head of the flotilla. We looked up the Wachusett & Florida case in Calvo & found that the U.S. made a very complete apology to Brazil.

M. writes later that Conger asked him whether it was true that we were negotiating in London about Chusan & Weihai.

The Japse. Legation has put out an official acct. of the Rishitelni affair recd. fr. Tokio wch. looks false, and will certainly not be believed.

17 [Aug.] Little Koidzumi of the Kokumin [Shimbun] came. He said he had just come back fr. Newchwang, where the French flag was still flying over the Administrative building, on the ground that it had been Grossé's residence. I agreed with him that it was not worth while to give annoyance to people's feelings for so small a thing and that it had better stay there. He talked abt. the Reshiltelni affair cautiously. Thought the Russians had put up the Chinese to addressing a complaint to Japan abt. the seizure. I said I thought not that, but the Russians wld. no doubt blame the Chinese for not having maintained their own neutrality. It was a mistake to suppose that the 24 hrs. rule was a generally recognized one of international law. We had first made it during the time of the American civil war, and some powers had followed it, but not all. Each neutral power made its own port rules. Borrowing his phrase, I said it was a pity to hurt the general sentiment for the sake of a miserable destroyer, and being pressed I said the best thing for Japan to do was to restore the destroyer and censure the officer, but of course as representing the ally of Japan I had to be very careful abt. giving an opinion.

Dubail came. His consul-genl. at Shanghai is in a stew abt. the Askold, which has gone into dock to be repaired. Odagiri demands that it shld. be disarmed. Had I heard anything? I said no, for [Pelham] Warren is a cool headed man who never gets flurried. I felt sure he had not opened his mouth. In the case of the Mandjour some newsmonger had telegd. home that he had intervened, but it was not true. However, I wld. teleg. & ask him how things are going.

D. said that he had no orders fr. home to say anything to the Chinese abt. the Reshitelni affair. Had he recd. any he wld. have at once told me. Nor had he opened his mouth to them at all, not having seen a member of the Waiwupu since the affair (wch. does exclude the possibility of his having said something thro' Kahn). I remarked that acc. to what Lessar told Conger, the former had sent a very violent note to the Chinese. D. said it was the case, & he thought it a mistake. One could be firm without using strong language.

Trademark regulations. He objects to art. 20 wch. acc. to him implies that when a foreigner is deft. [defendant] there shld. be a mixed court trial. I said I wld. look into it. I

1904

had no great objections myself to the regulations, having obtained some modifications that had been suggested by our commercial attaché. But the important thing was to protect trademarks, not agst. Chinese, but agst. foreigners by agreements such as existed betw. France & England &c.

Hu came in the afternoon to ask advice abt. some rifles taken away fr. 8 Russians who came on board the train at Chinchou, apparently deserters or refugees fr. Port Arthur. I advised him to keep them till the war was over & then give them up to the Russians if they asked for them.

Affair at Koupangtzu a few days ago when some 30 or 40 Hunghutzes [bandits] & a Japse. wanted to take two Chinese out of the train, but were prevented by 4 or 5 Englishmen, while the railway guard stood by & looked on. I advised him that the Chinese troops shld. fire on Hunghutzes, & if a Japanese being among them got a bullet thro' him, that was his affair.

Shld. the railway auth: forward cipher telegs. for Uchida from Shanhaikwan to Yingkow. I said that as long as no one knew of it, he might, but he shld. ask Uchida to extend their military wire to Newchwang.

He regretted that Pr. Ch'ing had not told the truth when he said to me the other day [see August 10] that it was the Empress-Dowager who wld. not give him a governorship. It was Prince Ch'ing himself who was agst. him, for he knew that in the Grand Council the other day, the Prince made fun of him for having asked me to recommend him. He asked whether I wld. not take an opportunity of telling Natung that he had not asked my help. I said that wld. be difficult, but I had not told the Prince Hu had asked me, but I enlarged on the services he had rendered at the time of the troubles. [I certainly did not bring the matter before the Prince very discreetly, it must be confessed].

Col. Yang. Wld. I not allow Genl. Ma to privately memorialize & get a rescript in his favour. I said that if it came to my ears, I wld. have to make a protest. But shld. I object if it was done without my knowledge. I repeated what I had said, & added that I was bound to my German coll: not to consent to any more remissions of the 1900 penalties.

Gallina told me confidentially that he has it fr. a Russian sufficiently highly placed to know, that the Petropavlosk was blow[n] up by a mechanical mine discharged fr. the shore, by or by the orders of a man who was in command at Port Arthur before Makarof came out, & who was accused of having plundered the public chest to the tune of 300,000 rubles. He has since been sent to Petersburg to be tried for treason. His name is . Seems too wicked to be possible.

Yesterday Mayers saw Na at the W.W.P. & told him fr. me that it was no use my speaking to Uchida abt. the Chefoo affair, as I had already done so, and that I had telegd.

1904

home I wld. refer them to the American case of 1864, concerning wch. they could obtain details fr. Conger. Na agreed that I cld. do no more; as to the American precedent, Yüan had informed them of it. He gave Mayers copy of their Note to Uchida & of Lessar's violent note, but unfortunately only the Chinese version.

18 [Aug.] Uchida came to see me. He looked rather shy & embarrassed. After sitting down, in answer to a question, he said that on the morning of the 16th a message had been sent to ask the garrison of Port Arthur to surrender, & also that a safe conduct for non-belligerents to Dalny had not been offered. The ans[wer] was expected to be given yesterday morning. We touched on the Reshitelni question, & he said his govt. were prepared to justify their action, on the ground that Russia had previously violated the neutrality of Chefoo by establishing wireless telegraphy there. I said I understood fr. MacD. [Sir Claude MacDonald] that this was the view of the Minister of Marine. Of course the matter was in the hands of the Govt., & they were assisted by an excellent adviser in matters of international law [H.W. Denison]; however, my private opinion was that a violation of Chinese neutrality had taken place, & that the Chinese, if they had felt strong enough wld. have been justified in using force to prevent it. What a humiliating thing for a big & populous country to be placed in such a position. Uchida intimated that his Govt. wld. prob. consult London: he protested to the WWP at the time the Russians put up wireless at Chefoo, but they have no notion at all of international law, and he has always to explain the same thing over again fr. the beginning. We conversed abt. the Askold & I told him that international law allowed her to be repaired, that there was nothing in any book I knew of providing for dismantling & internment of ships, the only case recorded being Russian squadron in Tagus [in Portugal] after the Convention of Cintra [of 1808], which was taken to England & kept till the conclusion of the war by virtue of a special arrangement betw. the Br. & Rn. admirals. Every neutral can make whatever rules he likes for his own ports, our rule of 24 hours is quite modern, only 40 yrs. old, & has not been adopted by everyone.

Morrison came. Perry has been writing to him abt. the delays at Chefoo, while Japse. are allowed to engage any number for the Yalu. I pointed out that the case of labourers going to Manchuria free to do what they liked was not quite like that of indentured emigrants to S.A. bound by all sorts of restrictions which they were not properly aware of. If Chinese made delays, what shld. be said of the people in London, who to this day had not provided me nor any one else with the Indian Emigration Act mentioned in the schedule to the Convention, wch. it was absolutely necessary I shld. have!

Conger in the afternoon. We discussed the export duty on cigarettes, Nanking wharfage dues & Hwangpu U.S. conditions. As to No. 1 I explained my view that the new import

1904

tariff takes the place of the old; that Rule 1 abt. unenumerated goods operates on it, & that there is no other way than for them to pay on cigarettes exported the duty on imported cigarettes. 2° to adopt the amendment given [giving?] the consuls a voice in the dispensing of the funds; 3° that I would try to draft a scheme providing for raising money by bonds &c. & leave it to him to amend & obtain the Chinese adoption.

20 [Aug.] Warren telegs. that Chinese & Japse. may prob. ask him to interdict repairs to the "Askold", what shall he do. I replied that if the Chinese asked him, he must transmit request to Dock people, & not listen to anything either belligerent might say. The responsibility for observn. of Chinese neutrality rules rests with China. This teleg. cld. not get off till the following day, as it was drafted after dinner. Then I had it repeated to Tokio & F.O.

22 [Aug.] To Uchida & told him the instructions I had sent to Shanghai, & asked him whether the Chinese in July had informed him that they had altered the rules as [to] the belligerent ships of war. He said no. However, he had recd. instructions to demand of the Chinese that they give 24 hours notice to the destroyers & 48 to the Askold to leave Shanghai, as the latter had been there long enough to get repaired. I told him I [had] heard fr. Warren that she cld. not cross the bar for another ten days. He gave notice acc[ordingly] to the Chinese govt., fixing noon yesterday as the moment fr. which these periods shld. begin, or else to disarm. Jap. Govt. have every desire to respect the foreign settlements at Shanghai. That was why they allowed the Mandjour to be disarmed, and proposed to follow the same precedent in the case of the Novik.

Genl. bombardment & assault of P[ort] A[rthur] was to begin on 20[th], acc[ording] to what Ijuin, who crossed fr. Newchwang to Chefoo, learnt fr. a Jap[ane]se destroyer wch. he met en route.

"Novik" sunk by two Japanese cruisers in Korsakof Bay, in attempting to pass the straits of "La Perouse".

Met Conger in the street, who said Goodnow telegs. that the Russian Consul-general refuses to order the Askold to leave or to disarm. The Dock where she is lying is next door to the Standard Oil Company's stores.

Dubail came. He said that in consequence of a teleg. fr. Ratard, he had instructed him that the consular body, to wch. the Taotai had appealed for assistance, that the question of making the belligerents observe Chinese rules was not for the consular body, but for the Powers, if they chose to intervene.

I told him what I had said to Warren, & that I had heard nothing of Taotai's appeal. Warren wld. certainly be very cautious, as he had been told in connexion with the "Mandjour" case what attitude he was to observe.

1904

He referred to the Chinese rule 20 of the Trade mark regulations, & said he was quite satisfied with my suggestion. The regulation is a great advance on anything we have had before. After all, it is not Chinese who imitate trademarks, but Japanese & Germans.

As to the "Askold", the Russian refusal to disarm is due to the proceedings of the Japanese at Chefoo in the Restitelni case.

23[Aug] Natung came to ask advice abt. the situation at Shanghai created by the demand of the Jap[ane]se that the Askold & Grosovoi shld. be ordered to leave at noon today. I told him of the instructions I had sent to Warren to transmit to the Dock Co. any order agst. making unnecessary repairs wch. the Taotai might ask him to convey, & also that I had heard that the ships cld. not get across the bar before the 27th, by wch. date the repairs wld. also be finished. He showed a note from the Russian minister of yesterday, writing that ten days more are necessary for the repairs, & also a rather confused teleg. fr. the Taotai abt. the various orders that had been given & that he had addressed the Consuls.

I said to Natung that obviously it was the right of China to interpret her own neutrality regulations, and to fix the date by wch. the repairs must be finished and leave the port. She must not allow either of the belligerents to dictate to her in such a matter, nor could she divest herself of her own responsibility. I also read to him the teleg. fr. Warren giving an acct. of the consular meeting. The consuls cld. not take any decision in the matter, nor could the F.R.R. All they cld. do was to inform their govts. who might, if they chose, address representations to the belligerents. A great thing was to gain time. He then said he shld. split the difference between the Japanese & Russians, & instruct the Taotai to declare that the Askold & Grosovoi's repairs must be finished by the 28th & leave at once. He wld. also teleg. to Tokio to their minister to so inform the Japse. govt. He asked whether I thought the Russians wld. go on the 28th. I said no: they wld. prob. insist that she was not fit to go to sea, and hold on till the 10 days were expired mentioned in Lessar's letter & then say there was not enough water on the bar, so as to have ten days more. I pointed out that disarmament was not provided for by their neutrality regulations, in the hope of getting something from him abt. their private agreement with Lessar on this point, but without success. (but there was no such agreeet, the idea arose fr. a mistranslation of Lessar's Note abt. Reshitelni).¹

In the afternoon came a teleg. fr. Warren to say that he had been asked by the Taotai to direct the Dock Co. to stop work at noon. I at once had a note written to Natung to tell him this, and a reply came back that the Board had telegd. to ask Warren to tell the Dock Co. they need not stop work, but that repairs must be finished by 27th, & also to give the Russians up to noon 28 to clear out. Notes had also been sent to the Japse. & Russian

¹ As is often the case, this remark in parentheses seems to have been added later. The ink is darker.

1904

Ministers and a teleg. to the Chinese Min. at Tokio to inform the Japse. Govt.

In my conversation this morning with Na I spoke about the Poyang Lake incident and tried to get him to understand that the firing having been given up, there was no reason for having stopped "Snipe" from going in. But he was evasive. Also complained that orders about indentured labourers had not yet reached Chefoo. He wrote in the afternoon that he had found a teleg. of Aug. 22 fr. the Govr. of Shantung that he had recd. the schedule & sent it on, so there was nothing more for the Waiwupu to do.

25 [Aug] Conger tells me he went to see Lessar, who was in a very excited state. Said China had clearly thrown in her lot with Japan, & Russia wld. not refuse to regard any part of the country as outside the belligerent zone. She had many old scores to settle with China, one of which related to Ili [Kuldzha]. He thought this sufficiently important to teleg. to his Govt. Lessar also inveighed agst. the Powers for allowing their consuls to meet at Shanghai & discuss the "Askold" case, as it encouraged the Japanese. C. asked him if his consul was present, wch. he admitted. C. then said that the consuls had merely met & reported, without taking any part, & he imagined most of the consuls had been instructed to leave the matter alone.

Lessar also said they had feared the Japse. wld. attack the Russian consulate & wireless station at Chefoo. C. asked if they really had one there, and he said yes, certainly, but it could not be got to work. The French also had one on their island, six miles away! L[essar] did not feel confident that the Japanese wld. not try to seize the "Askold" in spite of the order from Petersburg to disarm her. Yesterday I telegd. to F.A. & Tokio that I heard on excellent authority that Uchida said the proper thing to do was to land a party & seize the "Askold" in dock, but I did not tell Conger this.

26 [Aug.] [Professor] J.W. Jenks came to say goodbye. ¹ He is very pleased with Chao Er hsun [趙爾巽], who has recently been apptd. Acting President of the Board of Revenue vice Lü Chuan-lin, who has been shunted to the Board of Works, apparently with the object of getting rid of him. It seems as if Chao & other influential persons in the govt. are favourably disposed towards his plans, but say they must consult the Viceroys.

As a result of inquiries I gathered from him that if the Chinese Govt. invited him to become "controller" he wld. make an agreement with them for three years certain, with optional extension to five, & that he wld. accept a salary of \$25,000 gold. I said that I thought 1° that the "controller" ought to be an American, 2° that the American ought to be himself, and that personally I would do all I could to promote these two points.

¹ Professor J.W. Jenks of Cornell University, a Commissioner of the Commission on international Exchange of the U.S. In January 1904 he visited China and submitted his proposal for prompt adoption of the gold standard. Chang Chih-tung opposed this and proposed the silver standard, which was accepted by the Qing government.

1904

27-29 At the Cottage.

30 “ v.d. Goltz came to ask me what had been done with the Russian sailors who landed at Weihaiwei. I told him I knew absolutely nothing, except fr. a newspaper that they had gone in the “Humber” to Hongkong. I conjectured that they wld. be treated as the sailors of the “Variag” & “Korietz” were. I cld. not tell me[sic. him?] whether they had taken an oath not to serve again during the war. International Law did not provide for the internment of ships of war or sailors.

31st [Aug.] Yokoyama Magoichirō ¹ called. He landed some time ago at Dalny [C: Dalian J: Dairen], and went from there to Tashichiao in a party, mostly on foot, taking nine days to reach Kaifung. Cld. not tell anything about the state of things at Port Arthur, but thought it must fall.

Japse. bulletin today announces a battle S.E. of Liaoyang on the 26th & 27th, and occupation of Anshantien. Yokyama says the 4th army with Nozu landed at Takushan and advanced to Tomuchêng.

Lessar came with a teleg. fr. his consul general to say that Pitzipio had written a private note to him saying that at the request of the Taotai & by instructions fr. me he had intimated to the Dock Co. that the repairs of the “Askold” must be stopped. Now certain repairs were necessary to enable her to lie in the river: she had been disarmed.

I said that I had sent instructions to Shanghai to transmit any instructions fr. the Taotai to the Dock Co., but I knew nothing about the nature of the repairs, nor whether the “Askold” had been disarmed. I had not even asked for information fr. S’hai [Shanghai]. My instructions to S’hai had been approved fr. home. China had made her own rules of neutrality & must interpret them herself. We cld. not allow a Br[itish] Co. to stand in the way of the Chinese regulations being carried out.

He said that this implied that in peacetime the Chinese cld. extend it to the repairs of foreign ships.

I replied no, it was merely in wartime, & in relation to belligerents. In my view extraterritorial rights must give way to the rights of a neutral Power to inforce its own regulations. We cld. not inquire whether the Chinese order to stop was reasonable or not; that did not concern us.

He said Lienfang had promised that the repairs shld. be allowed, but the proper

¹ Yokoyama Magoichirō 横山孫一郎 (1848- ?) co-founded a translation company called Yakubunsha (訳文社) in Yokohama in Meiji 5 (1872) with Yano Jirō; also co-founded Ōkura Gumi (Co.) with Ōkura Kihachirō in Meiji 6 and later opened the London branch. Director of Teikoku Hotel and Dai Nippon Hotel. Yokoyama is mentioned in Satow's diary for September 11, 1895; he called on Satow on July 6, July 28, and September 9, 1896; and March 11, 1897. They dined together at the Teikoku (Imperial) Hotel on April 8, 1897. (See *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow*,

1904

instructions had evidently not been sent. The Chinese did not carry out their promises, & began to hint that there wld. be a day of reckoning.

I suggested that one never got anything out of the Chinese except by writing to them.

He then complained of the customs enforcing neutrality agst. Russia & in favour of Japan. At Chefoo they prohibited export of provisions to Port Arthur, but allowed them to go to Dalny & Corea. I replied that the Chinese had made foolish rules forbidding export of contraband of war, wch. was contrary to the rules of intern'l law: the owner took the risk & it was for the belligerent to effect the capture en route.

He said Austrian Govt. had prohibited export of govt. stores, & that the Consul at Shanghai had also refused to allow exportation. I replied that as regards Govt. property that was a matter of course, but with respect to privately owned goods, I thought the consul was wrong. The Chinese had taken a wrong view of their duty, & at the request of the Russian military agent had refused permits for tin-lead to Japan, wch. everyone knew cld. not be used for warlike purposes. After some talk abt. the indemnity, in wch. I said the Protocol was badly framed, he took his leave.

September 1904

1 Sept. Uchida came with the report of recent fighting near Liaoyang. It says that their losses in taking a hilltop at the point of the bayonet were great and pitiable to see.

We talked abt. the "Askold" & I told him my conversation with Lessar. He had asked the Chinese abt. the Note they wrote to Lessar on 14 July abt. disarmament of fugitive ships. As he had not seen Lessar's note abt. the Reshitelni incident I promised to lend him our copy of the Chinese version, and later in the day sent it to him.

Mutual protection of trade marks. He asked what were the arrangements made with France, Germany & Italy, & when. I promised he shld. have them.

A few nights ago Lessar sent Kolesoff in a great hurry to Lienfang to say that a number of Japanese destroyers and a cruiser had appeared off Chefoo & landed 700 men in disguise. He was afraid they meant to attack the Russian sailors interned there. The whole story was a myth.

Kodama had requested him to find out whether as allies we cld. prevent junks from using W.H.W. [Wei Hai Wei] as a base fr. wch. to carry provisions to Port Arthur. I said that our view of the duties of a neutral govt. wld. not allow of our doing this. It was for the belligerents to do this.

To Dubail and gave him memos. (1) abt. the reports that had reached me of the

1904

hostility of the Belgian missionaries in Hupeh to the C.I.M. & (2) of the new case betw. Bishop Moule & Reynaud at a place in Chekiang. He showed me report abt. a fortnight old from Casenave at Ichang on the murders. These are attributed to members of a secret society, with the leaders of whom the sub-prefect of the locality was on very friendly terms. It completely exonerates Protestants. Says the idea of the Chinese officials was to wash their hands of the affair, by attributing the crime to disputes betw. the adherents of the two churches. D. said that he had sent instructions to all the pro-vicars not to interfere in cases before the yamêns! Query, will they obey.

As to reparation for the murders, he is demanding (1) punishment of criminals (2) dismissal of officials in fault (3) erection of a hospital for sick without distinction of creed (4) honourable interment of the murdered missionaries (5) compensation to native Christians, a few hundred taels. Is not demanding any money payment for the lives of the murdered missionaries.

Russian sailors at Chefoo. It is prob. they will be conveyed home by a French ship after giving an undertaking not to take part in the war.

2 Sept. Uchida brought back the Chinese version of Lessar's note, & showed me that there was no mention in it of the internment of ships, and gave me also a copy of the note of July wch. he had recd. doubtless in common with Lessar, abt. internment of troops crossing west of the Liao [river] or into Mongolia. It turned out to have slipped into the translation made for me by an accident.

The Japanese prob. took Liaoyang yesterday, but the news is not yet official.

In the afternoon distributed some rather belated Queen's Medals for S. Africa to 49 of the Sherwood Foresters who had been in Mounted Infantry battalions: some few had landed in S. Africa only a fortnight before the end of the war. It seemed unequal, when others had trekked & fought for over a year. In the speech I made to them I compared this to the pay given to the labourers in the vineyard, those who had borne the burden & the heat of the day getting no more than those who were engaged at the 11th hour, but it was justly done, because they all had an equally good will to labour & fight.

3-5 At the Cottage with Major G.B. McAndrew, Lincolnshire Regt.

5 G. Jamieson came. We agreed that for the present we shld. confine ourselves to writing a Note asking that orders might be sent to Honan to recognise his agreement with Shêng about working the railway, and that he should put on paper the history of his negotiations with Shêng during the past year for the sale of the rlwy. to the Chinese govt., smelting works &c. with a view to a long & strong Note insisting on Prince Ch'ing's original promise being fulfilled.

6 Sept. Conger came to see me, and at his request I said I wld. dft. a Note to the Waiwupu

1904

informing them that H.M.G. were willing to consider their scheme for the Huangpu, and put into it all I could of the draft agreement he & I have framed.

Cigarettes export duty: he has written to the I.G. [Inspector General, Sir Robert Hart] to inquire on what grounds the Customs now claim 5% ad valorem, and it is possible that he may agree with my view, if the I.G. shows good reason.

Lessar's scare about the supposing[supposed?] landing of 700 Jap. soldiers disguised as merchants at Chefoo to attack the Russian Consulate, very much what Uchida had told me. Five p.m. one day Lienfang came, and said they had telegd. to the Taotai to ask for information & cld. get no reply, so pressed him to ask Fowler. Conger did so, & the result was a teleg. that he believed the story to be doubtful. In fact there was nothing in it.

Chefoo general settlement scheme. Told him I was writing to Butler for draft regulations & a plan of boundaries. He said he thought these had been furnished in 1900, & wld. look them up. I said all I had been able to find was a desp. fr. MacD[onald] to Chefoo throwing cold water on the scheme, on acct. of German opposition.

To Natung's private house with Carnegie & Cockburn.

Labour fr. Canton province to S.A. the WWP. note of yesterday complaining about irregular & unauthorized recruiting. I told him I had telegd. to Canton for information. (It seems to me that the Agreement with the Viceroy abt. emigration fr. Wuchow must be taken as implying that there will be no recruiting from Canton province).

Tibet. I said negotiations were going on well & had prob. approached a termination. It was proposed that Amban shld. sign a sort of acceptance on behalf of China, as soon as he cld. get instructions. Wld. they send him authority.

Na replied, as I had expected he would, that the Amban must memorialize & then when he recd. the rescript he wld. be able to sign.

I pointed out that we were anxious to finish & withdraw, also that the arrival of the mission had greatly strengthened the Amban's position, who before that had not been able so much as to get one mule for transport. I also said that the Dalai Lama was on his way to Sining in Kansu. Na replied that he was only one of three such dignitaries, the other two being as he believed somewhere near Jehol and Ninghsia, but of the exact localities he was not certain. The D.L. of Tibet on reaching Sining might be received by the monks (I suggested of Kumbum), but only as a distinguished ecclesiastic. He could not exercise any authority outside Tibet.

We talked abt. Lessar's scare. Kolessoff had woke[n] up Lienfang in the middle of the night, who sent round to him, & he had himself to desp. a teleg. to Chefoo. The Taotai who knew nothing of the matter applied to the Russian consul. The latter who had heard of it only from Lessar was on the point of coming to him for information. Finally the

1904

Taotai reported that only one Japse. destroyer had appeared off the mouth of the harbour & had gone away again. It appeared that a number of Japanese merchants had recently arrived at Chefoo in anticipation of the fall of Port Arthur, whither they hoped to go & establish themselves. So all that could be made out of it was that Lessar had had a nightmare. One result however was that the Russians proceeded forthwith to dismantle their wireless telegraphic station.

Na then talked abt. the difficulty they were in as regards the crew of the Askold & Grosovoi, 700 men. The Taotai proposed to divide them betw. Foochow, Hankow, Tientsin & Chefoo. That seemed a bad idea, especially as regarded the last two places. Shanghai was unsuitable. The difficulty in the way of interning them in any place in the interior was that Chinese officers wld. not understand how to treat them, and would be either too lax or too severe. What had we done with the crew of the destroyer wrecked near Wei hai wei.

I said the best solution appeared to me to get the Fr. Govt. to take charge of them with the consent of the Japanese. I wld. endeavour to find out what we were doing with the destroyer's crew.

Wei Kuang-tao & Li Hsing-jui's change of post. I asked how that would be. He said that he doubted Li's being able to undertake Nanking. He is 80 years of age, and is not sober after his midday meal.

7 [Sept.] Almeida came with teleg. fr. Castello Branco to say that the Portuguese Govt. positively refused to let Orisen[?] be recognized, & asking me to make other arrangements. They fear for the fate of the Treaty if the opposition could allege that the right of the Chinese to have a Customs officer at Macao were recognized even in this indirect manner. I said I wld. in that case find another person, perh. in a month's time, and at my request he promised copy of C-B's teleg.

8 “ Morrison came. At his request I told him what Conger & I are doing about the Hwangpu, but confidentially, and that at present I was holding my hand in respect of the Poyang Lake.

Li Shêng-tê & Ching-kang have been talking to Hillier abt. an opium monopoly, to be worked by a British Syndicate in conjunction with Chinese capitalists.

Major Nathan came. At his request I promised to let Yüan Shih-kai know through Fulford that the proposed terms of accommodation with the C.E. & M. Co. seemed such as he shld. accept. Tientsin govt. wants to borrow Tls. 2,000,000, & he may perh. arrange it for them, if they are reasonable abt. the mines. Tang has put out a notice abt. recruiting at Paoting, but he is not disposed to make any fuss about it. I replied that Tang could only allow recruiting in the circuit of wch. Tientsin forms a part, and that Paoting

1904

was certainly outside.

- 9 “ Wu Tingfang came and sat for a long time. He began by telling me there is an idea afloat among the higher officials of sending a special mission abroad to represent to the Powers the right of China to have a voice in the settlement of terms between Russia & Japan. I said that this was an unwise idea. If they had such a man as wld. be fit to execute such a mission, wch. I very much doubted, the best thing they cld. do with him was to keep him at home as Minister for F.A. [Foreign Affairs]. When the belligerents are tired of fighting & peace negotiations are on the tapis, then will be the time for China to put forward her claim to be heard. To do so now wld. be premature, just as their notion of recasting the Administration of Manchuria & apptg. a Taotai to Newchwang before the end of the war was premature. They cld. not receive fr. the hands of Japan what the latter had conquered from Russia without placing themselves in a hostile position to Russia. Even if Japan offered it to them they ought not to take it. As for the terms of peace, the opening of negotiations was still far distant, but I felt certain that when that time arrived England & America wld. insist on their voice being heard.

He said that the “Askold” men are to remain on board, and cld. not say what arrangements wld. be made for their getting leave onshore.

Gave him a copy of the neutrality proclamation, and showed him from [W.E.] Hall & [Henry] Wheaton [text books on international law] that there is no precedent for disarming a belligerent ship taking refuge in a neutral port, and that neutrals can make their own regulations as to admission or exclusion. We had last July told both belligerents that we wld. not admit them to W.H.W. [British-occupied Wei-hai-wei].

He suggested that the facts as to Reshitelni ought to be ascertained by a commission consisting of the Taotai and Comr. of Customs, & particularly to ascertain the truth as to (1) disarmament (2) coaling.

Then he went on to talk about Tibet. He had seen part of the proposed agreement, firstly 8 and later 2 articles: they had the effect of converting Tibet into a vassal state of Gt. Britain, as she was to bind herself not to do certain things without our consent. I inquired whether China's agreement with Russia not to do certain things in Manchuria without Russian consent made China a vassal of Russia? That the proposed articles were innocuous. He talked a great deal abt. “Mr.” Younghusband, & showed that the Reuter teleg. announcing that the mission wld. leave Lhasa on the 15 Sept. was noticed here, & seemed to suggest that Y. wld. have to go away without signing. I hinted to him that the Amban had been set on his feet again by us. He abused Yütai as a Manchu, ignorant of foreign affairs & incompetent. So I sent a teleg. of warning to F.O. & India.

Hillier came. He quite shares my view abt. the demand of J.M. & Co. for a

1904

commission on the rlwy. indemnity, & showed me a short paragraph in the Shuntien pao abt. the matter wch. evidently came fr. Hu Yüfên or his entourage. He mentioned the proposed opium monopoly & said the project was still in its embryo.

Drafted a Note for the W.W.P. embodying the conditions necessary for handing over the Whangpu Conservancy to the Chinese Auth: & sent it to Conger for him to read.

10 [Sept.] The so-called Capt. Lionel James, Times correspondent, first on board the "Haimun" with wireless telegraphy, and then in Manchuria with the 2nd batch of correspondents, called with Morrison. He was at the fighting before Liaoyang, and rode in there on the 4th inst. The pass promised him by the Japanese not being ready, he got on horseback on the morning of the 5th, and with Lewis an American correspondent rode to old Newchwang, whence he got to new Newchwang and came down by train. He speaks highly of the Japanese soldiers, and of Japanese organization, but considers that Kuropatkin had made his retreat in good order and that little has fallen into the Japanese hands as booty, and they had only taken 16 prisoners. Kuroki was evidently in a tight place, and a division had to be sent off to his aid, while at the same time Oku's army was ordered up to attack Liaoyang from the south. They hurled themselves fiercely at the Russian defences & were terribly mauled. Speaking of Nanshan, he said the defences were such as could be constructed in 24 hrs. by a force of 15,000 men, and were not so formidable as the Japanese made out. I have heard fr. several people that he is now strongly biased agst. the Japanese, having at first been greatly in their favour. I took the opportunity of saying to him that H.M.G. ought not to have sent out two Lt.-Generals and a large number more military attachés (18 in all) wch. they did without asking the Japanese if they liked it, and that it must necessarily be a great trouble to feed & accommodate so many, as Europeans expected comforts such as Japanese generals in the field dispense with.

11 [Sept.] Lt. Col. C.D. Brice (Duke of Wellington's Regt.) who commands the Chinese regt. at Weihai called. I gave him my opinion abt. the impolicy & needlessness of embarking S.A. labourers at Weihai as well as at Chefoo, and especially starting the matter when the Chefoo arrangements were not yet completed.

12 " Dubail came. He had been to see Lienfang and talk to him abt. rumours of unrest in the south of the province, tho' fr. the Jesuits there he had no news. But prevention was better than cure.

He talked abt. the Hupei murders. The Chinese Auth: had given up the pretence that the crime originated in a quarrel betw. Catholics & Protestants. Seven of the guilty were to be executed, about the same number imprisoned. One official to be dismissed for good from the service, two others to be placed on disponibilité [the reserve list]. As to the money part of it, he wld. leave that to be fought out locally, and finally arranged betw.

1904

himself and the Waiwupu. I said I had heard fr. Ichang that Casenave was talking of 600,000 taels. He admitted that this wld. be reduced, and finally said that his figure was 150,000 taels: say 100,000 for the hospital, 40,000 for a chapel and 10,000 for the native Xtians. The Belgian govt. wld. have liked something for the relations of the missionaries, but that he did not admit. He had his regular tariff, 10,000 taels for a bishop, 5000 for a missionary.

Diplomatic quarter. He talked abt. the municipality as already agreed to, but I said I had no instructions at present. We were in accord that some one must be paid a salary to look after the roads and police. Hitherto Kahn had been at the head of the latter, but he was going away & the Fr. Legn. cld. not spare any one. I said neither cld. we, tho' we might put some one on the committee, also I doubted whether we cld. spare any soldiers for police purposes. It seemed to me better to dispense with their aid, as we shld. have to do eventually when the Legation guards were withdrawn.

Liaoyang. He said it was un échec [a setback] for Kuropatkin, but a serious matter for the Japse. who wld. find their difficulties increase as they got further from their base.

Sir George Scott, Bishop Scott and Piry called. I asked the first to dinner for the 15th, but he seemed to wish to leave before that. He is on his way to England. Coming up overland fr. Hankow he had met the Rev. Jonathan Goforth of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, who talked about the unrest & the flight of the Holder mission. He said the 15th of the 8th month was to be the fatal day. I remarked that we had not had the alarm from Goforth & that Dr. Arthur Smith & Chapin, American missionaries had condemned the Holder mission's readiness to take to flight.

14 [Sept.] Sir Robt. [Hart] called. He talked about the question of his successor. Bredon has been ordered up here by him with the rest of the Customs headquarter staff, and if he comes Sir R. will regard him as his candidate for the succession. I have written a full account of the conversation to Lord Lansdowne. My object was to disabuse his mind of any idea that I wished to hasten his departure or had any hand in the instructions that were sent to Townley in January 1903.

[Margin: Asked Sir Robt. abt. revenue of Newchwang Customs. He said the Japanese had been asked to pay over from time to time, & he understood the question had been referred to Tokio. I developed my theory that what the Russians had refused to Chinese, the latter cld. not accept from Japan, as that wld. be departing from a neutral attitude. They must wait until the end of the war.]

He also talked about Weihaiwei, and this also I put into a private letter to Lord L. Westriver steamers: desire of shipping Co. to be allowed to report for Wuchow at Samshui instead of Kongmoon. He said that this would be arranged in the new regulations shortly

1904

to be issued.

Canton river obstructions, will be removed. Dynamite by the "Bulysses". Told him of the note I had sent to the Waiwupu by the instructions of the F.O. He said that at the outset the Chinese had been obliged to take what was a wrong course for fear of Russia, and that he welcomed such expositions of the law from the foreign legations.

Archie Little's Szechuen concession for mining coal in conjunction with Chinese. Hillier came to say that he had recd. a letter fr. Little stating that he was asking me to telegraph to him at Hongkong whether to come up to Peking or not. I said I was not disposed to give advice one way or the other, but privately I thought it possible that by doing so he might be able to arrange his affairs just as Lister Kaye had done. Later on in the day having recd. a similar letter myself, & meeting H. on the wall, I learnt fr. him that he had written to L. that I hesitated to give him any advice on the point, but in H's own private opinion he wld. do no harm by coming here first, as it was after all not very far out of his way to Chêngtu.

To Natung. Talked about making Wei hai wei a port of embarkation from Shantung, supplementary to Chefoo, and said I did not know whether WHW wld. agree to an inspector being sent there. Of course it was outside the Convention. N. said they had not recd. any report on the subject from Choufu, but he wld. look into the matter & see whether the convention absolutely prohibited embarkation elsewhere than from a Treaty port. If it was possible, he wld. report to Prince Ch'ing and they would ask Choufu to give information about Lockhart's proposals. He volunteered information that a subprefect had been apptd. inspector at Chefoo and that he is on the spot, but he did not remember the man's name.

Then he broached Tibet & asked me if I had any news. I said that I heard the agreement had been signed on the 7th, but the text had not reached me. On the 2nd Yutai had telegraphed the text, but apparently viâ Tachienlu, as it did not come over the Indian wires. He inquired whether the conditions presented any difficulties, to wch. I replied that I did not know. I explained that the agreement had been signed by all the leading Tibetans; wch. was necessary because they had repudiated the previous agreements made betw. the Indian Govt. and the Amban. There was attached to it a confirmatory declaration to be signed by the Amban on behalf of China and a clause providing for ratification by the Emperor of China and King of England. That had not been signed, because the Amban had not recd. authorization. The reason for signing with the Tibetans without waiting for Yütai was that they were in a hurry to see us depart. I presumed however that the Chinese govt. had recd. an earlier draft; could he tell me whether there were any conditions that presented difficulties, using his exact language to me. His face clouded, and he said they

1904

presented grave difficulties. I did not ask what these were. He added that they had telegraphed to Yutai asking for explanations, but this he said as from himself, as it was not decided whether they should enter on the subject with me, and he was not authorized to discuss the agreement. I replied that I too was not authorized.

This language of his confirms what Wu Ting-fang said to me a few days ago.

Hwangpu . Gave him a sketch of the note I am sending in on this subject, & particularly mentioned the original proposal to provide the cost out of Customs revenue. He said they had interchanged views with Conger on the subject, & it had been decided to mention the opium revenue of Szechuen & Kiangsu. Lü Chuan-lin wanted to give the mere guarantee of the Board of Revenue, but Na had told him that foreigners wld. require something more definite, wch. had quite surprised the old gentleman. Lu was not accustomed to deal with foreigners. For instance when the indemnity was being discussed Lu was of opinion that there was no hurry, and the Foreign Ministers should be told that the question whether it was to be paid in gold or silver could be taken up five years hence. Na had told him that was nonsense. The Chinese Govt. might propose to postpone it for five days, or even five months, but 5 years was impossible. I said that perhaps Na's strong language had something to do with Lu's giving up the Board of Revenue. He also observed that the final proposals wld. have to be referred to the Shanghai Taotai, to wch. I made no objection.

War . He asked whether I had any news from Mukden, telegraphic communication was broken. I had none to give him. He thinks the place where Genl. Sakharoff and his 3000 men were made prisoners was a few li S. of Mukden. Acc. to his information the Japanese were only 20 miles fr. Mukden two or three days ago. The Russians he believed were making a stand, even at Tiehling.

Going away asked him abt. the proposal of the Viceroy of Nanking and Govr. of Suchow to change the route of the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. he said Shêng telegd. that he had settled everything with the engineer in chief, and of course there cld. be no change. The W.W.P. considered that question was off their hands, so also that of the provincial arrangement for traffic on the Peking Syndicate's railway. A fortnight ago Shêng telegraphed that he thought he was dying, so he hastened to finish off all his business, but he was since much better again.

Chiang Kuei-ti came abt. his friend general Yang, on whose behalf Hu had spoken to me several times. I said Hu had given quite a correct account of our conversation. It was impossible for me to consent to his sentence being modified, or to say, as suggested by him, that I wld. not object provided it was done 'unbeknownst' to me. So he had to go away, but it must be admitted that he took my refusal with a very good grace.

1904

15 [Sept.] Left a card on Wu Ting-fang and on the Pirys.

von Claer came to call, and expressed his surprise at the change of opinion in England reported by Reuter after the taking of Liaoyang. I said it was due to the bias of a newspaper correspondent, who was offended with the Japanese on account of the way in which he and his confreres had been treated, not allowed to get nearer than 4 miles to the firing line, and limited to a small no. of words for their telegraphic despatches. He said that Oyama ¹ had beaten Kuropatkin, ² and nothing could be clearer. He thought the Japanese had waited for the last moment before the arrival of the Russian reinforcements that left Kazan about the middle of June: they wld. be six weeks on the way. The Japanese declare that they can always manage to outnumber the Russians at any point. However, at Liaoyang they were only 12 divisions (including 4 of the reserve) while the Russians had 15. Cannot understand the Russian report of 40,000 casualties, & thinks the object must be to deceive the Japanese. Where the latter will feel the pinch later on is in the matter of officers. The Russians have an unending supply to fall back on in the cadres of the Army Corps wch. are not mobilized. The Japanese have no such reserves. Their men are intelligent, and can be made into soldiers in three or four months; an officer cannot be trained under the same number of years. Russian soldiers are below the Japanese in point of intelligence. They have a better field gun, perhaps the best in Europe, but cannot turn it to account.

17 Sept. Major Nathan came to tell me that Dubail has opened his mouth very wide on paper as to land at Chin wang tao, asking for a very large price, moreover for a strip along the shore which wld. shut out ourselves & other people fr. access to it, leases for 99 yrs. and an undertaking that Fr. steamers shall not pay more than at Tientsin. I advised him to give a flat refusal to anything in excess of what Dubail had declared his readiness to accept at their last interview, reminding him that the Fr. occupation cld. not last for ever, and certainly not for 99 years. He said he also had some difficulty abt. buildings he was putting up for the labour emigration people, with the Japse. but these he hoped to overcome.

Geo. Jamieson came, & we sketched in outline the Note to Chinese Govt. abt. the Peking Syndicate railway agreement, & to ask for a decree ordering Shêng to sign without more ado, and rejecting the concessions in regard to coal that had been extorted fr. him.

18 [Sept.] Mumm came. He says that the rumours abt. the demoralization of the Russian navy, the small extent of injuries to the Cesarevitch and her full supply of ammunition are quite true.

¹ Oyama Iwao (1842-1916). General and Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese army in Manchuria.

² Aleksei Nikolaevich Kuropatkin (1848-1925). General and Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army.

1904

None of her guns were damaged in the fight of Aug. 10, but there were holes in her side thro' which a man could walk. She looked very much knocked about. Probably the shell that killed Admiral Witoft and wounded so many demoralized them. The crew are on board, the officers on parole, the wounded are in hospital.

Trademarks . He has recd. the same teleg. as I have from Shanghai urging that the mise en execution shall be delayed six months. They object he hears to the tariff of fees, and don't want the thing at all. I told him I was not in a position to ask the Chinese for further delay, as after consulting with Br. merchants thro' the commercial attaché and got some of their amendments adopted, I had agreed to their coming into force. As a matter of fact, I had always held that as agst. Chinese protection was not needed, and what was wanted was international protection by agreements such as we had with Germany, France and Italy. But I had been urged on the matter from home.

He said that Carlowitz & Co. wld. have to spend Tls. 175,000 if they registered all their trade marks.

Geo. Jamieson again. We agreed on a teleg. wch. he shld. send to his people, & he promised corrected draft of his rlwy. concession by the end of the week.

Conger came. He asked whether the Tibetan agreement in the papers was correct. I told him it was only a draft, and that I had not the text of the final document. As far as it went it seemed fairly correct, but badly translated. We also conversed abt. the Trade Mark regulations & the desire of the Chamber of Commerce to have their operations postponed. He had not recd. any teleg. as Mumm & I had. The amendments proposed to him by the American merchants were not admissible, except one, namely their suggestion was that registrations once made shld. be permanent. As in America it lasts for 30 years he had been willing to ask that.

Mumm arriving we thrashed out the question, & our friend is evidently going to seize the opportunity of acquiring a little popularity at our expense.

When Conger was gone he asked me whether the Tibet agreeet. published was correct. I laughed, & said that it had appeared in a newspaper conducted by the son of the editor of the Tsingtau Chinese journal, so he cld. easily find out. He said the Chinese (i.e. W.W.P.) told him it was pretty exact. He only wanted to inform his govt. who had no commercial interests there. I responded [margin: that the only person interested was my Russian neighbour. He said that it might be objected that it contravened the principle of the m.f.n. I rejoined that the Russians had done the same as to Manchuria, only they had not published their agreements. I am convinced Mumm will suggest to his govt. to put a spoke in our wheel by means of this clause of m.f.n.]

[PRO 30/33 16/7 ends, and 16/8 begins here.]

1904

21 Sept. Howard Swan, who says he has been at Taiyuan-fu College for six months organizing the teaching of English, called. Was at Suchow for six months previous, and before that in Japan. Very full of his way of doing it, also of Confucius & Laotzu: he says he has translated the latter. Thinks the names of the disciples in the analects are not of real persons, but symbolical. Seems the sort of man to take up the teaching of English in Tsêng's establishment.

22 " Li Chingmai [son of Li Hung chang] called. Speaks English well, 29 years of age. Hopes to get an apptmt. in Peking. The rebellion in Kwangsi and West river piracy provided with arms from Hongkong & Macao. Told him Sir M. Nathan had recently prohibited export of arms to Macao. He replied that when his father was Viceroy of Canton in 1900 he had great difficulty in preventing the smuggling of arms from Macao. The new gov. of Kwangsi, who comes from Kueichow, is his cousin, 46 years of age. The province has never been quiet since the Taiping rebellion. Canton used to get large portion of its supply of rice thence. Owing to the disturbances it has now to get it fr. Hunan & Kiangsi. Rebellion is kept up by soldiers deserting. Marshal Su never paid his men. He has been exiled to the New Dominion.

(contd.) Hillier came. Reports a number of carts, carrying 400,000 taels sent W. from Fakumên, presumably to purchase supplies in Mongolia, but it may be to get it out of harm's way, and be going N. The Russians reported to be gradually retiring from Moukden in five columns; the city quiet.

Gaiffier came in the late afternoon. Says he saw Na, Wu & Lienfang on the 17th and asked why they did not send an answer to the note of 27 July abt. the indemnity. They asked him if we demanded compound interest on arrears. They had calculated what it would come to, an immense pile reaching to Heaven. I observed that a compromise seemed not out of place, & that Dubail & I were ready to accept simple interest. Then he talked about organizing the salt likin, but I told him that in 1901 both Russia & England had declared themselves against any control of Chinese internal revenue. As to Customs revenue of Newchwang wch. he mentioned I told him that in my private opinion China ought to content herself with the status quo until the war comes to an end. He says [Belgian minister in Tokyo Baron Albert] d'Anethan writes to him in the most sanguine language about the eventual success of Japan, saying that she can put 500,000 men into Manchuria without distressing herself, but then he is very pro-Japanese.

Sept. 23 To Prince Ch'ing, who had with him Wu Ting fang, Cockburn & Mayers. To protest agst. Chinese refusal to sign adhesion agreement regarding Tibet on the ground that it ignored Chinese suzerainty. Prince said that since they sent off their telegs. (of 9 & 10) the

1904

Resident had reported receiving two letters fr. Younghusband, which completely removed all impression fr. their minds that suzerainty was ignored. They were content to leave the Tibetan agreement unchanged, but wished to insert in the adhesion agreement the assurances contained in Younghusband's two letters and something to attenuate the effect of Article II wch. acc. to the Chinese infringes m.f.n. rights of other Powers.

In reply to a question, said Y. was remaining at Lhasa for the present.

Went out to the Cottage with Carnegie, their little girl and governess.

- “ 26 Uchida came to ask about wharfage dues at Santu & Nanking. Told him our view that the former ought not to be levied, and that the consuls ought to have a voice in the disposition of latter.

He says they have not yet arranged with the Fuhkien Auth: abt. camphor monopoly.

Told him what I had said to the Chinese (i.e. Na) about leaving status quo in Manchuria untouched until the war comes to an end.

Wu's conversation about special mission. He says Wu came to him & said the idea was to send Pulun & himself to Europe & Japan to talk about rights in Manchuria. He replied that in Japan the answer wld. be the same as that given to Chang Yin huan & himself when they went to Japan during the Japan & China war, & that Russia wld. answer that she could not allow herself to be defeated by a small nation like Japan, & wld. spend her last rouble & last drop of blood in vanquishing her.

C.A. Lera Mexican E.E. [Envoy Extraordinary] & M.P. [Minister Plenipotentiary] accredited here as well as to Japan. Has come here to present credentials & will then go back to Tokio. Is of opinion that Japan will win in the end, so great is the want of organization, & the indolence and self-indulgence of the Russian army.

G. Jamieson. Showed him Note prepared for the Waiwupu about the Tsuchou-Taokao rlwy.

- 27 [Sept.] Came in from the Cottage. Howard Swan came abt. the teaching appointment at Peking University: gave him a letter to Cockburn.

Dubail. Had nothing to say, but that Casenave had settled for 140,000 taels in money for the Hupei murders. Asked him the story about Laribe's row with Chinese soldiers. It appeared that with the permission of the owner he had got on the roof of a house to photograph a pagoda (prob. the Buddhist monument inside the E-D's park) near the Peit'ang. A discussion ensued betw. his orderly and some Chinese soldiers, then blows with sticks. Laribe got off his pony, to help his man, and was attacked, and ran into the Peit'ang for help. Dubail went off in his carriage with the two men of his escort, rescued everybody & everything but the camera, came home & wrote a note to the W.W.P. Chiang Kuei-ti came next morning to apologize, & the W.W.P. wrote a letter of apology to

1904

Laribe. In the end he got one Chinese soldier punished with 400 bamboo strokes, another 200, & I rather think he said he had insisted on 5 years imprisonment for one & 2 yrs. for another.

To Conger, who thinks the Fr. orderly prob. began the row by striking one of the Chinese soldiers. He read a letter fr. W.S. Elliott one of the Harding Band to Dr. Lowry abt. the "Orchardists" in Taiming fu, and danger to foreigners. Told him of the French proposal to join forces for the Szechuen railway; he said he wld. teleg. to Washington; the Chinese had more than once given him an undertaking that American capital shld. have its share. I said Bash's people seemed to be the right ones. Told him B. had written to me abt. his plans for ousting the present people from the Yüeh-Han line, but I had taken no notice, as I could not help in such a matter. C. replied that Bash's principals had no desire to take up other people's lame ducks, but wanted an enterprise of their own.

Telegd. to F.O. my idea of the stipulations to be made by the China Central Rlwys Ltd. to prevent the Fr. group getting political or financial control.

30 " Mumm came. Told him that I had an inquiry from home about Trademark Regulations, and that I had telegraphed what had reached me in the way of objections; it all reduced itself in my mind to the desire that foreigners should be allowed to present their applications in English. J.W. Jamieson was to bring up the report of the Committee and was now on his way. I wld. send J.W.J. to see him and show him the report.

He asked abt. the Poyang Lake, and said that the Chinese Govt. had not adressed him on the subject. I said I had sent the whole corresp'ce home. There seemed to be no treaty rights to to carry out firing practice in inland waters, while on the other hand the right to enter them seemed clear. He said that he privately agreed with him as to firing in lakes, and had written so privately to his Admiral, who had not disputed it. At the same time he thought we shld. try to obtain it, as practice did not really inconvenience the Chinese. As to entrance of men of war into the lakes, a corresp'ce had taken place in 1890 betw. the Tsungli Yamên and the dipl. Body in wch. the former recognized that we had that right.

October 1904

- 1 Oct. Hewlett came up from Tientsin, and I went out to the Cottage with him and Eastes till Monday.
- 3 Oct. Without mosquito net for first time.
- 4 Oct. To Uchida, and asked him abt. W.O. [War Office] idea of withdrawing or diminishing troops. He is strongly against it, and wld. not be inclined to even ask the opinion of his govt.

1904

To Mumm. He also is of that opinion, & even if the troops were withdrawn from Tientsin wld. not recommend diminution of Legation guards, wch. he thinks keep the Chinese govt. civil. But as long as the war lasts it wld. not be advisable to make a change in either.

Told him, he having mentioned the Carlowitz scheme for rectifying the course of the Huangpu, that H.M.G. recognizing the uselessness of trying to overcome French opposition to Annex 17, had decided to accept the Chinese offer, provided that proper safeguards cld. be secured and the right of reviving the Protocol maintained. I did not see how Carlowitz proposal could be carried out independently of some such arrange[men]t.

Poyang Lake. He showed me corresp'ce bet[ween]. Knappe and the Taotai of Shanghai last completely abandoning the refusal to let ships of war go in provided they did not have gunnery practice. He is now trying to secure Chinese consent to this as well. Conger, he says, suggests that as firing is necessary for efficiency, that argument might be effectively used. He showed me also circular of v. Brandt in 1890 (May 26) to Dipl. Body enclosing dft. note to Chinese govt. abt. inland waters, and said there was a reply conceding our view of the matter.

Dined with Dubail to meet Lera. Asked him also abt. withdrawal of troops. He said that if the situation had been the same as that anticipated by me two years ago, he shld. have entirely concurred in my suggestion, but the war had changed all that, and any alteration of the situation wld. be misinterpreted by the Chinese. Lit a fire in the drawing room.

5 Oct. Telegd. result to F.O. and added that the retention of the troops wld. give us means of pressure on Chinese Govt. to make them execute the Protocol as regards the Indemnity & Huangpu Conservancy.

To Prince Ch'ing with Cockburn & Mayers. He had Wu with him.

Spoke about Audience for the Admiral, the rumours of anti-foreign secret societies in S. Chihli, N. Honan & W. Shantung. The Court was coming in today, & he wld. try to arrange for Saturday. Measures had been taken by arrest and execution of some of the ringleaders.

Huangpu Conservancy my Note. He said the condition abt. revival of international board if the works were not properly carried out was hard on China. Who cld. guarantee there wld. not be a landslip for instance. He had therefore sent the project to Nanking, & if the V.R. agreed to it, he wld. then address the other colls:

Peking Syndicate railway. On this question he seemed disposed to the idea that [G.] Jamieson shld. go on negotiating with Shêng, who was to be stirred up by a teleg. But I said this wld. not do. Shêng had wasted 14 months over an agreement similar to that of

1904

the Chengting Taiyuan line, wch. had been settled in two or three months; this was because he introduced questions that had no connexion with the railway, in order to squeeze concessions out of Jamieson in regard to mines, etc. I wld. not sanction Jamieson having anything more to do with him, & the Pr. then said they wld. teleg. again to Shêng, & if his reply was not satisfactory, he wld. designate Wu, as in the case of the Anhui mines (Lister Kaye), to discuss with J.

Tibet. As Younghusband had left Lhasa on 23rd Sept., & the F.O. had not responded to my request for fresh instructions, this subject, wch. was the real object of the interview could not be discussed to any purpose. However I tried to bring him to book about the discrepancy betw. his language to me on the 23rd and the teleg. to the Amban on the 26th but ineffectually. He has evidently been well schooled by Chü Hung-chi and Wu into distrusting his own power of fence. However, he let out that Conger, Mumm, Dubail and Gallina had been to the Waiwupu, about Tibetan Agreet. also that the Japanese aims on Fuhkien are ranked by them as on a par with those of Germany in Shantung and France in Yünnan.

Sent off a long teleg. to F.O. reporting, & suggesting that the further negotiations for Chinese adhesion shld. take place at Calcutta for preference. In the evening wrote a long private letter on the subject to Lord Lansdowne.

6 [Oct.] Sir Robt. came. After other subjects had been touched on he recurred to the question of his successor, and the conversation will be found in a private letter I wrote to Lord Lansdowne.¹

Desp. to F.O. about interview of yesterday took up a great deal of the morning. H.A. Little who is acting at Newchwang, a short, dark, thickset opionated man, J.W. Jamieson the commercial attaché and J. Mackie of Jardine's lunched. We talked a little about the trademark regulations, as to wch. he said the crux was in Regn. 8(e): does it mean that marks wch. have been in use for more than two years will be protected without registration or not. I said no: what it meant was that such marks could not be appropriated and registered by another, but without registration there wld. be no protection against piracy. J.W.J. takes a more rosy view. It was suggested that a Note shld. be addressed to W.W.P. assuming J's interpretation to be correct, and asking them to confirm it.

It appears that several of the members of the Committee of the Ch. of Commerce who were to prepare a report for submission to me instead of setting to work went off shooting during certain Bank holidays and among them was the German proposer of the Committee!

¹ Satow is consciously referring to his private letter books here, apparently expecting researchers to check them. See PRO 30/33 14/15, September 1904 – June 1905.

1904

Dubail who dined this evening said he had recd. a teleg. fr. French merchants of Shanghai urging postponement of date for Regns. to come into force. I said I shld. be delighted if the efforts of Mumm & himself were effectual. He replied that he had no instructions, but either had (or wld.) suggest it to the Waiwupu. Lera the Mexican colleague also dines. He is going back to Japan on the 18th but Wollheim, an old fellow of 76, whom I had known in Yokohama as Cons. Genl. & Ch. d'Aff. is on his way here to act in the latter capacity.

- 7 “ Tels. fr. F.O. approving my language to Prince Ch'ing and saying that they are consulting with India abt. locale of negotiations.

Admiral Sir Gerard Noel arrived, with Capt. Hon. Walter Stopford, Comr. Bentinck, Flag Lt. Escombe, Secy. Parker, Capt. Tudor of the “Cressy” and Capt. Molloy R.M.L.I. Mid[shi]pm[a]n Pennefather.

- 8 “ Audience for the Admiral of Emperor & Empress-Dowager at Palace at 10 a.m. The above officers, excepting Pennefather, Carnegie, Kidston, Cockburn, Mayers. I took the opportunity of presenting Carnegie, having explained it beforehand to Prince Ch'ing. At the foot of the dais we successively made our addresses, then Prince recd. fr. the Emperor his written reply, wch. Wu Ting-fang interpreted. Then Carnegie was presented, and we were motioned onto the dais. The Dowager was in the seat of honour behind the table, the Emperor on a lower seat to her left, not behind the table. The first talked to the Admiral, then to me, and went backwds. & forwards fr. one to the other, asking about his journey up here, how long it had taken, when he was going back, our health, my labours to strengthen friendship betw. China and England, finally winding up with a message for the King & Queen, saying that she hoped they wld. long continue in good health &c. We left the house in chairs at 9 and were back at 10.30. A light chair was provided for the Admiral as well as for myself. Pr. Ch'ing, Chū Hung-chi, Natung, Lienfang, Wu and also Chang Pohsi were all there.

- 9 “ In the afternoon Noel, Stopford, Carnegie and I walked along the wall to S.W. corner, then to the P'ing tze môn and back through main streets, 3 hrs.

- 10 [Oct.] Conger came to read me a report from Newchwang abt. seizure of Br. st[eamer] Sishan by Japanese naval authorities. One Spitzel an American citizen and another arrested by the Japanese and apparently sent to Sasebo as prisoners of war; they came up on board as passengers from Hongkong, but are owners of ship and cargo. They had not made any complaint to U.S. consul. Seems good reason to suppose that Port Arthur was the real destination of the ship. Conger told me a story about the “Unison” wrecked not long ago on one of the Miaotau islands, wch. he had from one Johnson of the American lightering Co. at Tientsin; she was full of provisions, but got on a rock; her cargo was transferred to

1904

junks, and possibly fell into the hands of the Japanese.

Trademarks. He does not seem to be much impressed by the objections raised by his countrymen, and from the German Grüne or Gröne who was up here lately to see Mumm on the subject he gathered that the Shanghai merchants don't wish at all to have any regulations or to be forced to register. They are quite satisfied with things as they are. I gathered that he is by no means disposed to fall in with the idea of postponing their operation for six months, but when he receives the American objections, if there is anything in them, will telegraph for instructions. Dubail told him on the 8th that he had been instructed to inform the Chinese govt. that he protested agst. the regulations being brought in to operation, as nothing was ready, and if they were applied, the Chinese govt. wld. be held responsible for any damage to Fr. interests that might result. I told him what I had recently written to Sir Robt. abt. the impossibility of my moving to set aside the Regns. & agreement to date unless I got instructions from home to do so.

Whangpu: told him my conversation with Pr. Ch'ing on the 5th. He does not seem to be very sanguine as to the result of our action. Either Wu or Tsêng told him some time ago that the French were determined to prevent the protocol coming into operation, and he thought they might rely on the disposition in order to put off agreeing to any other arrangement.

Mumm was dining this evening. I told him I wld. send the report of the committee of the Ch. of Commerce as soon as it arrived, & that I knew the only object of the Shanghai merchants was to get rid of the regulations altogether. He did not quite like this.

Tibet. To Sir Robt. I told that H.M.G. had not quite made up their minds whether they would negotiate here or at Calcutta, but for my own part I had no desire to have my finger in the pie, and wld. like Tang to do it. He says T. is to spend the whole next fortnight in reading the papers. My object is that if he sees anyone of the Waiwupu betw. this and the 12th, Tang may learn that his mission is not yet accepted. Asked abt. Bredon & Hippiisley. He said if the former did not come to Peking, his pay wld. stop and the latter was going on home leave to the U.S.

In the afternoon Noel, Stopford, Carnegie and I walked down to the Temple of Heaven, and went over the whole thing. I was much struck with the magnificence of the wide spaces so well planted with *Sophora japonica* and junipers, far more than with the buildings. All the metalwork which adorned the gateways when we were in possession in 1901 has disappeared, and the bronze brasiers that surrounded the Tientan [Temple of Heaven], carried off by Chinese & Japse. after it was restored to Chinese guardianship have not been replaced.

I also told Mumm that I did not think the note of 30 June 1890 to the Tsungli Yamên

1904

abt. foreign men of war visiting the unopened ports really settled the question. The 2nd para. of that note was disingenuous, because it put on the Chinese note of 23rd June a meaning wch. it evidently did not possess. The Chinese on their side had been guilty of a similar piece of disingenuousness, because after quoting Art. 52 of the Tientsin treaty in full, they went on to say that ships of war cld. not enter unopened ports except in pursuit of pirates or under stress of weather, ignoring completely the words "coming for no hostile purpose".

11 Oct. Dubail came, said he had a teleg. stating that a letter of congratulation to the Dowager had left Paris in 30 Sept. wch. he was to present if his other colls: delivered similar letters. He said the Chinese wished such letters to be presented, and had in fact sounded him on the subject. I observed that one of our colls: must have told them such a letter was coming. We agreed that we need not refrain from presenting, even if some of the smaller powers did not send such letters.

He also informed me that acc. to a teleg. fr. Paris, the F.O. & Quai d'Orsay had come to an agreement not to press the Chinese to appoint a delegate to the River Conservancy, but working with the U.S. to adopt the Chinese proposal. I observed that I [had] no great confidence in the success of such an arrangement, 1° because the F.O. people did not understand the question 2° because Wu Ting-fang had told Conger that the Chinese offer wld. come to nothing because France wld. not agree to Annex 17 being carried out. It was in my opinion indispensable that we shld. retain the right of reviving the plan of the Annex if the Chinese failed to carry out their agreement, and I regretted the Fr. attitude. He said the Fr. Govt. wld. never consent to Annex 17 being carried out, but it might be modified. I asked what was their objection. He replied to the powers conferred on the Board. I said that amounted to objecting to the whole Annex, wch. left nothing to be modified. He said he wld. receive full information by post. I therefore sent a teleg. to F.O. protesting agst. the effects of this uncompromising attitude.

Asked him abt. rumoured removal of the Tungchou consulate [near Chefoo] to Nanning. He said the scheme was under consideration. Told him I had not been an advocate of opening Nanning, as it wld. not greatly benefit our Trade. To wch. he answered that he had opposed it, and I interjected "so amiably". However it is clear fr. what he now said that they are going to send a vice-consul there to look after a big school they have started.

Then I said: I hear you have denounced the trademark regulations. He replied that by instructions fr. Paris unsolicited by him (wch. I do not believe) he had informed the Chinese Govt. that the application must be put off for six months, in order to give time for reconsideration. Nothing was ready & Sir R. Hart said he wld. not be ready for a year. I

1904

said that personally I shld. be quite pleased if the Chinese agreed to his demand, wch. I cld. not myself make, unless by formal instructions fr. home, seeing that I had pressed the Chinese Govt. in accordance with my original instructions to lose no time in carrying out the Treaty Stipulation in regard to the enactment of trade mark regulations.

Stopford & young Pennefather went down by the morning train.

12 Oct. Noel and the others went down by the early train this morning. Last night the dinner party included Mrs. Parker the wife of the Secretary to the C. in C. and Mrs. Hardy, wife of the comr. of the surveying ship "Waterwitch". During his stay we have renewed old memories of 1867 and 1868, and I gave him an extract from my diary describing the wreck of the "Rattler", of which he was 1st Lieut. ¹

T'ang Shaoyi came by apptmt. at 10 o'clock. He has had his audience of the Emperor wch. was formal only. Prince Ch'ing told him he was to go to Tibet to settle matters and on his way to discuss one or two articles of the Agreements to wch. China objects: it wld. be shorter for him to go by way of India. T'ang objected that at the present season travel over the passes to Lhasa was impossible, and that before despatching him they wld. do well to ascertain whether the Indian Govt. wld. receive him. He had been told to come and see me. I replied that I had telegd. his apptmt. & also what Prince Ch'ing said to me on the subject, but had no answer. My expectations had been disappointed by Younghusband leaving Lhasa so early, that left us the choice of London, Calcutta or Peking as the place to open the discussion. The second seemed suitable, as then he would be in touch with the people most interested. The Russian relations c. Tibet had become more intimate than suited either us or China, tho' the latter apparently had offered no objection to the Dalai Lama despatching missions to Petersburg. T'ang said the Viceroy and he both agreed that Peking was the place for the negotiations. We finally came to an understanding that he shld. go back to Natung and say that I had informed H.M.G. of his apptmt. but had not yet recd. instructions. I told him that until Younghusband reached Simla and produced all his papers, wch. might be about 14 Oct. the question wld. prob. not be settled.

He also brought [margin: a message fr. Yüan to thank me for my friendly communication thro' Fulford about the C.E. & M. Co. He had told F. to let Chang-yi write to him a letter stating that he could not recover the property. But T. had seen that this was impossible for Chang-yi, as by that he wld. be placing himself entirely in Yüan's hands, so the case still remained where it was. I told him I was quite neutral in regard to it, but thought the action in London ought to be proceeded with, in order if possible to make Hoover and his pals disgorge.]

¹ This extract has been reproduced in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume 5, Global Oriental 2005, pp. 503-510.

1904

Kamei of the "Jiji" came to see me, and began to talk about the Tibetan question. He says Wu has been buzzing about trying to make himself important & it is he who has put into the ignorant heads of his superiors that they ought to make a great fuss over the suzerainty. It was he who suggested the apptmt. of T'ang, and he has thus got himself into the black books of Yüan and T'ang. It is a pity, he observed, that these people should be so unpractical, always grasping at shadows.

Fr. Kamei's tone I gathered that he is rather depressed abt. the progress of warlike events, and by the loss of the Ping-yuen coast defence ship whose sinking in Pigeon Bay by a mine is reported this morning.

Li Kuo-chieh 李國杰 grandnephew of Li Hung-chang, who has succeeded to Li Hung-chang's title of Marquis and has been appointed a Minister of the Presence called. He is a shy young man, speaking English with hesitation.

Dined at Uchida's to meet Lera. Misaki Kamenoske was there. He is a member of the House of Peers, manager of the Specie Bank and speaks English fairly. Spoke very hopefully of the outcome of the war.

13 [Oct.] Telegs. today report Kuropatkin assuming the offensive and driving in the Japanese outposts about Shaho.

Morrison came back. I told him about Mumm's interference in the Tibetan affair and Wu Ting fang's activity; that I suspect the latter of giving all the information to the press.

Hillier says that the Luhan acc. to Charles Denby wish to construct the Kalgan line & to give the contract to Pearsons. But he seems to have told Cockburn that there were Chinese capitalists at work, who were ready to put down 300,000 taels.

Mumm came to talk abt. the Chinese proposal in regard to the indemnity. He says everyone, including Lessar is in favour of accepting. I said I had telegd. to the F.O. and personally could accept all, and had recommended H.M.G. to agree.

Trade marks. He said he had read the letter of the Chamber of Commerce, & thought they asked too much. I said no doubt Shanghai people were a little unreasonable, but govts. had to humour them. I had telegd. home the details, in case they wished to protest, wch. I could not do without instructions. He told me the Chinese had sent him a memo declining to postpone; the Foreign Board is willing, but the Shangpu [Board of Commerce] refuses.

14 “ Dr. Cochrane came to ask that I wld. try to procure an interview for him with the Empress Dowager to offer his thanks in person for the munificent gift she bestowed on the Hospital. Promised to write a Note, & ask Prince Ch'ing if it could be managed. [Margin: Prince Ch'ing declined, saying that thanks had already been expressed in a fitting manner.]

Ch. Denby abt. the proposal of a Chinese Syndicate to employ Pearsons to build a railway from Peking to Kalgan. He said he did not know who were the Chinese capitalists

1904

at the back of the proposal, but was sure that it was not the Luhan. I told him that China was bound to both Russia and England to build it, if at all, with her own resources, and that if she made a contract with Pearsons, she [England?] wld. be sure to object. I did not think the Waiwupu would consent to officially notify the contract, as he proposed should be done, to the Legation. That being the case, he said he wld. tell his friends that the project must be abandoned.

Menzies also came; nothing particular to say.

Japanese Legation bulletin says that Kuropatkin's advance had been met by the armies of Ōyama and driven back, with the capture of 38 guns & limbers & 150 prisoners.

16 “ To Conger, to tell him that the Chinese govt. have refused to postpone the coming into force of the Trademark regulations asked for by Mumm & Dubail. He said he had telegraphed to his govt. on the matter and they had told him not to move in the matter. Also told him what Dubail had said to me on the subject of the Whangpu Conservancy, wch. was not in accordance with information fr. London, and that he had declared the Fr. Govt. wld. never consent to the Protocol arrangement being carried out, on account of the powers which it gave to the International Board.

17 “ Misaki Kamenosuke vice president of the Specie bank lunched. He is off to Newchwang and Liaoyang, presumably in connexion with the intention of establishing a branch there, of wch. the “Japan Times” speaks.

Japse. Legation bulletin states total number of Russian killed already ascertained to be 8850, and probably more to be found; total Russian casualties up to the 15th prob. 50,000. Misaki says Ōyama advanced his left wing, and made centre and right fall back. Then the Russians attacked, and were caught in the trap.

18 [Oct.] Dined with [M]umm, took in Mme. de Luca and sat on the l[eft] of Frau Truppel. After dinner I had some talk with him about the Cesarewitch. He thinks the loss of steering power at one period of the engagement was due to a shell entering the conning-tower and killing the steersman. It struck the outside, glanced upwards, and entered betw[een] the top and the side. The Cesarewitch was so far damaged that she could scarcely hope to reach Vladivostok. After disarmament had taken place the Russian captain wanted to effect repairs, but he refused to allow it, the ship being in their charge. Russian navy is below par, the officers chiefly drink. As for the fleet in Port Arthur it is practically done for, but of course the Japanese want to get it. He thinks Port Arthur impregnable.

19 Oct. Went to Sir Robt. and urged him for replies to my letter abt. regulations for inland water steamers & Haimun tonnage dues. He says he had suggested to the Waiwupu to put off the date of applying the Trade Mark Regulations, in face of the opposition of merchants & in view of the unprepared state of the Customs; he also proposed that the

1904

Shangpu shld. establish their head office at Shanghai. To this he got a reply that the U.S. Japse. & Br. ministers had constantly urged the preparation of regulations, wch. had been done with the assistance of experts, & tho' something might rest to be added hereafter, they were correctly framed. Moreover the date 23 Oct. had been agreed upon with these three RR. & cld. not now be altered. The I-G must go ahead. He said it was one of the best drawn-up letters he had ever recd. fr. a Chinese. As to the fee on transit passes &c. they were suggested by T'ang Shaoyi & communicated to him without any previous consultation. In replying he added a semi-official note warning them of the storm that wld. be raised.

Dubail came abt. transit pass fees, to ask my opinion. I said I shld. protest with all the strength of wch. I am capable of, and also agst. fee on desp. of foodstuffs by rail to Newchwang. I thought it better to act independently, rather than wait for the diplomatic body to move.

Indemnity. He could agree to the first two of the Chinese proposals and has telegd. abt. the 3rd, as the different Powers may have financial arrangements that would affect their acceptance of it.

Gaiffier came. He says all the colls: even Lessar, are personally disposed in favour of the Chinese offer & Gallina could accept the whole; the others must telegraph.

20 [Oct.] Oscar Buchheister, a German merchant of Tientsin, came to say he was agent for Armstrongs, & had been trying to induce them to send out a gun to offer to the Chinese thro' Yüan's man Liu at Paoting. With much difficulty he persuaded Armstrongs to take the matter up. He may perh. come to ask me for a letter, but he understands fr. his Chinese friends that I have already given an introduction of the same sort to Vickers Maxim's agent, and does not know whether that wld. preclude my helping him. I replied that it did not, I shld. give the same assistance to any British firm quite impartially. He said that was all he wanted to know, and was satisfied with thus having prepared the way in case he shld. hereafter have to come to me for aid.

Trademark regulations. He had heard that the U.S. minister had recd. instructions not to ask for postponement. Was I going to do anything? I explained that today only had I recd. instructions, that I did not expect anything to come of it, because I had after referring the trademark regulations to the British merchants at Shanghai, induced the Chinese Govt. to adopt more of their suggestions & finally agreed to a date for putting into operation. I had not consulted Tientsin, because it was well-known that Br. merchants there did very little in imports. The S'hai people, if they had at once written to their constituents at home could have obtained instructions before 23 Octr. whether to apply or not. I thought it prob. they had done nothing. The committee apptd. by the S'hai chamber,

1904

of wch. Mr. Brodesser was one, instead of going to work, had gone up country shooting. It must be remembered that the regulations and Art 7 of our Treaty only professed to give protection agst. Chinese infringers. I had early pointed out that something more was wanted, namely protection against foreign imposters. He interjected that the treaty provided agst. falsification by Japanese. I fetched it & showed him he was wrong. I continued by telling him of the advice I had given to deposit duplicate specimens at the two Consulates-General. But after all we did not really want what we had got; the demand was made by Shanghai merchants under a wrong impression of the benefits they would derive fr. registration. He said that in fact the report of the German Association declared that no regulations were wanted at. The latter had taken the English translation, criticised it in parallel cols. & sent it to the Germans at Tientsin, who had criticized the criticisms. German firms at Tientsin had emancipated themselves from S'hai control, and imported Manchester goods direct. If the regulations were complied with Carlowitz & Co. wld. have to spend 50,000 taels in registration fees. I said people had talked of big firms having to spend 10,000 to 20,000 taels, but this was very vague, and I should like more precise statements. After this exchange of views he departed.

Mumm came. He asked abt. fees on transit passes, regarding wch. he had no direct information. Told him I had already protested. Then he said Morrison had let something drop abt. his having addressed observations in connexion with the Tibetan agreement abt. the m.f.n. clause, and he denied having done this. Wrote a private letter to Lord Lansdowne regarding the disclaimer.

Trademark regulations. Said I did not expect the Chinese to give way. He told me he had recd. a note fr. the Chinese declaring that the Japse. had on 5th asked to have the regns. carried out, and referring to the attitude of Conger & myself; told him of the advice I had given to merchants to deposit duplicates of their marks with the Consulates-general.

These two long interruptions in the afternoon of mail day kept me thoroughly occupied up to dinner time with private letters.

21 “ Emile de Marteau brought me a teleg. fr. his principals the Anglo-French Quicksilver Co. of Kueichou to say that they wanted him to apply for a railway concession from Changsha by Changte to Kueiyang and Yünnan fu. He left a copy also a map with me. I said I had no instructions. I thought the affairs of the Quicksilver Co. were in a bad way. He admitted this. They must have a railway to carry off their products. Wang Chih-chun[?] the ex-govr. of Kuangsi was the leader of the Hunan people in claiming the line his people now want to get: he has been sent to Shanghai to cooperate with Shêng. Then he talked about the Szechuan line. Hsi-liang has got up a committee, and given it 300,000 taels to start rlwy. with. They have made a beginning by planting stakes. Bous

1904

d'Auty wanted them to be stopped, but de Marteau said: "Let them go on." It is difficult to get the financiers at home to interest themselves in any small affair, however profitable: but if it is ten millions sterling they will bestir themselves, as the commissions are worth getting. He considers that "la China a été surfaite."

Morrison says the Shangpu are trying to get control of railways, and to oust not only Shêng, but also Yüan Shih-kai & Hu Yü fên. A man named Onyon (?) who was here lately, traveller for the great cotton thread people, says the Trademark regulations are excellent, and Br. merchants ought to comply with them.

22 [Oct.] Teleg. fr. F.O. saying that German Govt. denied from beginning to end the story in Morrison's telegram abt. Mumm's intervention in regard to Tibet. So I asked him to show me what he had telegraphed, and he wrote me a letter, saying that he had drafted one on the 14th then saw Mumm, inferred from his conversation on the subject that it was correct & sent it off. He saw Mumm again on the 20th who seemed perturbed, and declared he had never suggested anything to Gallina but that Conger having mooted the matter he discussed it with him. So I telegd. back to F.O. to look at my teleg. of 20 Sept. and repeated what Mumm said on the 20th expressing the opinion that the Germ. Govt. denial was too absolute, & that tho' part of Morrison's teleg. was perh. inference it was to be remembered that he had wide sources of information. Went off to the Cottage with Kidston & Pringle to stay over Sunday.

24 [Oct.] Morrison came. Says Mumm's denial is false; the records of the Waiwupu show that he did quote the m.f.n. clause to them. He sent off a teleg. on the 20th rectifying his previous statement abt. Gallina, but in such a way as to convey the impression that the 'coincidence' of his inquiry with Mumm's was remarkable. He told me Mumm had telegd. to Tientsin & Shanghai that the Trade mark regulations were postponed, thus taking all the credit to himself, whereas in Morrison's opinion the effect was due to our Note. I said I did not care who got the credit, provided the thing was done.

Mundy came to read some telegrams fr. Mukden about the fighting. The Russians have captured back from the Japanese an important hill on the S. of the Shaho. It is believed that the reason why the Board of Commerce are so insistent about the Trademark regulations is that they have hypothecated the revenue to be derived from fees. He asked about T'ang going to Calcutta. I said the matter was in abeyance.

Met Mumm, who told me yesterday he had sent a note to Prince Ch'ing asking for an interview abt. Trademarks and recd. a reply from his Secretary in writing that their coming into force was postponed. He then sent Krebs to the Foreign Board to inquire whether the necessary orders had been given, and found they had not. But armed with the letter fr. Prince Ch'ing's secretary he telegraphed to Tientsin & Shanghai the same

1904

evening. He saw Nat'ung & Lienfang at the Foreign Board this afternoon but could not ascertain whether the Board of Commerce had sent countermanding orders. Very likely the result wld. be a crop of lawsuits. I told him of my corresp'ce with the Shangpu, and that I was still awaiting a teleg. fr. F.O. with final instructions.

Casenave came. He returned a day or two again by rail from Hankow. Has been en mission inspecting consulates since he left France early in the year, and is now going on leave as Dubail does not. He admitted that Père Dero[u]in was what he called un homme imprudent, and that he had suggested to Dubail that he should be removed. But he added that Beauchamp was très-imprudent. His catechists admitted members of secret societies, of whom B. was not aware, and these people, when they found they got no protection, would turn agst. him. Within the next two years he wld. certainly be murdered. One of the murderers of Bishop Verhaegen on the occasion of his exectuion at Ichang uttered a warning not to eat the rice of the Protestants. Prob. the best thing wld. be that both Dero[u]in & Beauchamp shld. be withdrawn.

[Margin: Dr. E.H. Edwards, who has joined himself to the English Baptist mission at Tangnanfu came to call. Talked to him abt. the letter recently recd. fr. Sowerby and showed him the corresp'ce. He says the only point in the seven laid down by Timothy Richards relating to the Boxers & their misdeeds, was that the Chin. Auth: were to be recommended to keep a list of Boxers in the Yamên, and to let them know that they would be kept an eye upon. It is true a list of over a hundred concerned in the murders of missionaries & converts R.C. & Prot. was presented by Shen Tunho, and he said these wld. all be punished, but it was not a part of the settlement negotiated with Hoste , Orr-Ewing & himself. I explained to him my view that missionaries shld. confine themselves to preaching Christianity, & refrain from intervening on behalf of their converts.]

Walked with Kidston out to the S.E. gate of the Chinese city, then outside along under the wall to the Yung ting môn and so home, in 2 hrs. 85 mins.

Trade marks . Mumm came to read the main part of a letter from the Shangpu [Board of Commerce] to him, the gist of wch. was that I had promised to teleg. to H.M.G. not to press the postponement. I showed him the red note brought to Cockburn on Sunday, and that wch. he sent in reply, wch. did not bear out the construction put by them on my attitude. I said I had telegd. to F.O. that in my opinion they shld. not be put into force until the B. of T. amendments had been considered. Mayers heard at W.W.P. that Notes fr. them were being sent to him & me refusing to delay. Mumm repeated what he said on the 24th that but for my intervention, the Chinese wld. not have entertained the idea of postponement, and also laid stress on the fact that the Chinese confined their dealings to

1904

him & me, evidently with the idea of stimulating my amour propre and insinuating the notion that I enjoyed a special position. He said that not having any treaty stipulation on the subject, he was not in a position to put pressure on the Chinese Govt. but I contested this, and said that the m.f.n. clause gave Germany the same rights as ourselves fr. the moment our Treaty was ratified, and said to him that this was the argument I had used to the Chinese in connexion with the arrangements made by the Ch'ang-sha Auth. c. the Japse. consul relative to the limits of foreign residence at that place.

Audiences . He wanted to know whether I wld. support him in insisting that if the Chinese gave us a feast at the Palace on the occasion of the presentation of congratulatory letters the Emperor shld. be present. I replied that what I wanted at audiences [was] that the Emperor & Empress Dr. shld. not speak only to the Doyen, but to each repres've, & that at the Summer Palace audiences a separation shld. be made between the Dipl. Body & the ruck of visitors. He says Dubail has suggested to Lienfang that the royal letters shld. be presented in Peking, wch. wld. enable the Court to avoid giving us an entertainment. Mumm's activity in the matter of Trademark regulations is very striking, and I think he makes himself too cheap running about fr. post to pillar, and going so often to the Waiwupu.

Vitale dined. He said that Gallina could not imagine what had put into Morrison's head that G. had 'protested' agst. the Tibetan agreement. I asked what G. had really done. V. replied that when the translation appeared in the Chinese paper, he had given G. a translation, who told him to go to the W.W.P. & ask if it was authentically correct. What he wanted was to inform his Govt. So V. went there, & not finding anyone, he left a cutting with one of the secretaries: afterwards he saw Lienfang who said it was à peu près. [approximately correct] I remarked that if G. had put the question to me, I wld. have told him what I said, namely that it was a draft, not in all points the same as the agreement actually signed. When such questions were put at the W.W.P. they thought always there was something behind; they could not understand our European habit of going to the W.W.P. merely for innocent information. I told him the account Mumm gave to me of what he had said at the W.W.P. and that he had discoursed to me on the subject of the m.f.n. clause. Was it possible to suppose that M. had merely asked if it was genuine, and that he had only added that Germany had no interest in such a remote corner of China. (Morrison is clear fr. Chinese W.W.P. statements that he not only asked if the Chinese Govt. had signed, but also said the Powers had m.f.n. clauses & that Germany was one of these). I said that Germany had acted in a very unusual manner abt. the evacuation of the Yangtze, and that in 1901 strange things had occurred in uniting the colls: to vote agst. me in the conference & then when H.M.G. put their foot down, the same influences went

1904

to work and pulled them all round the other way. I did not mean by this any allusion to Gallina, who was not here then. When V. said goodnight later on, I asked him, in case G. spoke to him on the subject of Tibet, to tell him that I had no feeling whatsoever in regard to him on the subject.

28 [Oct.] Gatrell came, having returned from his long journey to Urga and Uliassutai, on which he set out early in May last.

30 “ Came in from the cottage, where I had been since the afternoon of the 27th with Carnegies & de Pelli for the races.

Uchida came; he says that fighting has begun again on the Shaho, with the capture of a hill by the Japanese on the 28th and that the preparations for a final attack on Port Arthur were completed by that date: some 28 centimetre guns have been mounted in the attacking batteries; he believes there is a desire to capture the place by the Mikado's birthday.

Nat'ung by appointment, to talk about postponement of Trademark Regulations. I gave him my reasons for thinking it ought to be done. He asked me to try and persuade Uchida, who is alone against all the Powers, to give way, and gave various information as to the manner in which the Board of Commerce [Shangpu] had vacillated. They had misled the Waiwupu, wch. was greatly disposed to give way to the proposals of the eight powers.

H.S. Wilkinson, C.J. at Shanghai came up to stop.

31 Oct. Went to Uchida as I had promised Nat'ung & tried to persuade him to agree to postponement. He argued that Japse. Govt. having urged the Chinese Govt. to put the regulations in force & having notified it to Japse. interested, who had made every preparation for depositing their trademarks and paying the fees, cld. not now ask for postponement. Tho' the arguments I used seemed to make a little impression, he uttered a remark to the effect that the matter had now become one apart from the mere question of having the regulations enforced; by wch. he prob. meant that it had developed into an international tug of war, or contest betw. Japse. & foreign influence over China; and that being the case his Govt. will not give way. If the Chinese shld. resolve to postpone, Japan will claim compensation.

On to Conger and showed him a letter from Sin Hsiwan[?] proposing to undertake inquiry into the claim of T.A. Lee to a road in the British concession of Hankow; after some hesitation he consented.

November 1904

1904

- 1 Nov. Meeting at Czikanns to discuss how the audiences for presentation of Royal letters to the Empress-Dowager should be arranged. We agreed that those who were provided already might go in a batch to the Palace and have their audiences in order of seniority. That those who had not, could wait until they received them, and then write letters asking for audience in order to present.

Letters of Chambers of Commerce about advantages of an uniform coinage for China & abt. Trademarks to be answered by a polite acknowledgment of receipt.

Letter fr. Nat'ung abt. construction of a road along the Ch'ang-an chieh and stationing police. We agreed to consent to his proposal, reserving our right to exclusive policing in case we shld. hereafter desire to exercise it.

Czikann inquired wch. of us had recd. authority to accept the proposed municipal regulations. It proved that Dubail, Lessar, v. Citters & I had not. & Gallina.

Conger mentioned a wish of the Chinese to have a strip 5 feet in width along W. edge of United States glacis for purpose of making a pathway. Agreed to.

Trademarks. Uchida said he had recd. Nat'ung's visit, but had not come to an agreement with him. I replied I was sorry, as instructions had just reached me to insist on postponement for six months.

Tibet. Teleg. to F.O. urging that Chinese adhesion shld. be negotiated at Calcutta instead of Peking, and that the Chinese are thinking of declaring Tibet a province of the Chinese Empire on the Empress-Dowager's birthday.

- 4 Nov. Wilkinson went off by the afternoon train. During his stay he has helped me with several knotty questions, such as Hankow Bund frontages, Haimun port-dues &c. I am sorry he is going to retire. Robt. Collier the new 3rd Secretary arrived yesterday.

- 5 Nov. Nat'ung came with a proposition to extend the time for making applications for registration of trademarks to 12 fr. 6 months and to do away with the fee of 5 taels, as a compromise wch. wld. have the same effect as postponement for six months: suggested by Uchida, who will not agree to postponement. I said I must ask instructions. Advised him to go to Dubail as well as to Mumm, if he wanted to put the thing thro'.

Tibet. Referred to their note asking when T'ang Shaoyi is to meet the Indian officials, said I had telegraphed, and he had better not start till I gave them an answer. T'ang was apparently anxious not to go, and wld. prefer to leave the burden of negotiations on my shoulders, while I preferred it should be laid on his. He said T'ang had gone to Tientsin and would not be back for another week.

- 6 Nov. Mumm & Dubail came to consult abt. accepting the Chinese proposal in lieu of postponement for six months. They dwelt on the fact that it was a tug-of-war betw.

1904

Uchida & the European representatives, and I agreed with them. Question was whether the Govts. wld. see this, or could be made to. They thought not. I said I wld. suggest to F.O. to consult with Paris & Berlin before giving me final instructions.

Nov. 7 Sent a long teleg. to F.O. exposing the situation as defined by the colls: and my own view that the Japse. had not behaved well in the matter.

Nov. 8 Lay in bed the whole day with a cold.

Nov. 9 Parade of guard at 10. All of us in full uniform with orders. I took the salute. Refused myself to colls: but Almeida came after lunch & told me a long story about the troubles that Azevedo had with his treaty and the railway agreement wch. he was to sign today, and the difficulty abt. importation of rice into Macao.

Ball of about 200 people of all nations, a good number fr. Tientsin. Archie Douglas the eldest son of my old friend Sir Robt. Douglas and his wife.

Sports in the afternoon. Hillier abt. the project of an opium monopoly, wch. wld. give China more than enough to pay the indemnity. Concocted a teleg. to F.O. & India.

10 Nov. Conger to talk about Trademarks negotiations, he having been asked by Mr. Hay to report. Drafted a teleg. to F.O. containing most important part of what he said.

11 Nov. To Prince Ch'ing with Cockburn & Mayers. 1° To warn him agst. the idea of converting Tibet into a province; 2° to insist on the Peking Syndicate's railway negotiations being taken out of Shêng's hands.

14 “ Mumm came about circular forwarding letter of the Tientsin Chamber of Commerce on new fees for transit passes, etc. We agreed to recommend joint action by the Diplomatic Body. Düring's scheme for rwly. from Shanghai viâ Chapu to Hangchow, and the letter signed “Yangtze” in the ‘Times’ of 24 Sept. He took it away with him, but said it was impossible that Knappé should have given such a guarantee as is there spoken of. I said I hoped it was not true, for I felt that to have to protest to the Chinese govt. agst. the action of another Coll: was harmful to the general interest.

Hillier brought his estimate of the sacrifice the Powers would have to make if they accepted the Chinese proposal as to the payment of the indemnity, showing that they give up £260,000 odd, and he said he was going to give copies to Mumm & Chao Erhsun. I said I thought the arrangements about interest on monthly instalments, and fixation of rate of exchange by taking the average of the daily rates during the month were not to be retrospective, as he had made them, and asked him to see Gaiffier about it.

Dubail came. He also spoke about the Tientsin taxes, & I told him of my telephone talk with Mumm. Trademarks: he has only recd. fr. Paris an enquiry whether the offices for receiving applications are open.

Père Dero[u]in. He has written to the Bishop recommending him to remove this

1904

priest. He professes great anxiety to work with me in these matters. On the general question I said that there was no doubt that missionaries were detested, not on acct. of Christianity in particular, but because they taught a foreign doctrine or system. It wld. be the same if a Positivist taught Comtessi or some one else the system of Herbert Spencer. He rejoined that the interference of missionaries in secular matters concerning their converts also excited hostility, and told me of a recent case where one of his consuls had asked the commander of a Fr. gunboat to call on the local officials and insist on their settling a case affecting the servants of a missionary. The latter had dismissed a servant, who had thereupon made trouble for his successor, and the missionary had called on the mandarins to do justice betw. the parties. On hearing of this intervention he had ordered the gunboat away, and had rebuked the consul. I said that the toleration clause in the Treaties of 1858 was the cause of all our troubles, for it had induced the missionaries to intervene in the most trifling cases of their adherents. He said he had sent round a circular interdicting this, and had informed the consuls that they were not to take up such cases without referring to the Legation.

I asked him about the case in Chekiang on wch. I had given him a memo. on 1 Sept. He said he had at once written to his consul in accordance with my proposal.

[Margin: Indemnity. Told him of Hillier's results. He says he has no doubt that he can accept it, but must get authority from Paris.]

Gaiffier came. He says that Hillier is right. In the first draft of the Chinese proposals some characters were omitted, and these made the whole retrospective. [Margin: (It was the translation that made the omission.)] Chao Erhsun has now sent an elaborate statement, wch. works out to the same result as Hillier's. He thinks that we can afford to accept it.

15 “ Rev. W. Murray came abt. the question whether he shld. build or not. Read him that part of Miss Gordon Cummings letter of 5 Oct. & we decided that he could build. As to the indemnity for the Mission, he was of opinion that there was nothing to pay back to the Chinese Govt. But later, having gone over the papers with Ottewill, I came to the conclusion that they must pay back the amount they had recd. for the premises now in their possession.

16 “ Mumm came. Told him that as to Cárcer's land I had merely put 'vu' [Fr: seen] on the circular, but that I thought we must stick to the plan we had all signed. He showed a Note fr. the Waiwupu to the Doyen giving up the 3 taels fee on Luchaos for transport of bullion into the interior for the purchase of merchandise, but maintaining that they had a right to charge on transit passes. I said I thought we must insist on the letter of the Treaties. Trade marks: he said that Washington had replied that they would look into the matter,

1904

and give Conger instructions to act as was most in accordance with U.S. interests. His own opinion is that if our govts. delay giving us instructions, we shall look foolish. I said I did not like to hurry them, lest they shld. take the wrong decision. Düring: their archives show that this man is said to have Austrian capital behind him, but he maintains that his coast line would not interfere with the B. & C. Corp'n. As to the letter quoted by 'Yangtze' in the Times of 24 Sept. it is quite certain Knappe had never given such a guarantee nor written to him abt. it, as he is represented to have stated. As to telling Düring that he cld. not be supported, it was difficult in the Legn. to do this so long as he did not ask; but he wld. call on Knappe for a report.

Mixed Court. I proposed that we shld. bring it forward again and ask the Colls: to join in addressing the Waiwupu. He has no objection.

Hillier came. New Japanese loan of £12,000,000 at 90½ brought out in America and England has been subscribed nine times over. As to the opium monopoly, his reply fr. London is favourable, but they want it to be under control of the I.M.C: he had telegd. that the Chinese will not consent to put more power in the hands of Sir R. Hart. He knows that the Belgians are offering a loan to the Chinese to enable them to pay the arrears of the indemnity, and hears Cordès has also appeared on the scene. With Mumm I also discussed the question of how much was to be sacrificed by the Powers in relation to the indemnity arrears, and he told me of a second circular fr. Gaiffier on the subject, wch. I had forgotten, showing that they demanded the retrospective action of their proposal for fixing the rate of exchange. We (M. & I) agreed that the banks had profited by having the money paid over in monthly instalments, while they paid the Powers only at the end of the half-year, so they had the use of the money in the interval, and also they had profited by fixing a rate of conversion lower than what could have been obtained in the open market.

17 [Nov.] Meeting of Dubail, Conger, Gaiffier & self at Mumm's to discuss ans. to a Note the Waiwupu has sent to the Doyen abt. the new fee on transit passes and huchaos for rice and bullion. Mumm recd. part of a report from Knappe, showing that of the revenue there obtained 20% is to meet the office expenses, 40% to go to Waiwupu, 40% to the Board of Revenue, proving that it is not merely to meet office expenses that the fees are proposed. We agreed to suggest to the colls: identic notes declaring these fees to be contrary to Treaty, asking for revocation of the notice and repayment of sums illegally levied.

18 “ Went to Bishop Favier, and got him to put his autograph on the fly leaf of the bound copy of his work on Peking wch. he gave me in the spring. He was in bed, and looked very feeble, but was quite able to converse. The country is tranquil, & he does not think the Empress-Dowager has any desire to try 1900 over again. Non bis in idem. [Not twice.]

Geo. Jamieson called; and told me about proposals of Shêng to acquire the whole of

1904

the Peking Syndicate's concessions. I spoke to him very strongly on the incorrectness of discussing such a question, while the negotiations for conclusion of the railway agreement, which have been placed in my hands, are still incomplete.

20 “ Nat'ung came about Peking Syndicate's railway. We arranged that Jamieson with either Cockburn or Mayers shld. go into the business with Lei of the Waiwupu [Foreign Board/Office], and ascertain how far any accord has been reached, after wch. we cld. decide the question whether negotiations shld. be terminated in Peking or otherwise.

He asked whether any instructions had come abt. trademarks. I said not. Then he told me Mumm had asked them to write him a note declaring that Lienfang and Wu Ting fang had assured him postponement had been decided, in order that he might be justified in the eyes of his govt. This led him to think M. was weakening and inclining to accept the compromise offered. In reply to a question whether they had written this Note, he said no, they wld. only do it as a quid pro quo. The Wai wu pu were in a difficult position: I remarked that it was certainly unfortunate if one could not rely on assurances given by responsible ministers.

Told him letter from E-D had arrived, and promised to write officially asking for an audience & sending names of those who will accompany me.

21 [Nov.] At Czikkann to draft a note abt. transit pass tax. Dubail said he had no[t] recd. any instructions abt. trademarks, and I told him what mine were. We talked informally about the indemnity proposals. Czikkann has some authority to accept but not all. We could not draft the note as the circular was still going its rounds.

Went to Mumm's & told him of my instructions; he has not yet recd. his.

To Waiwupu. Saw Chū Hung-chi, Nat'ung and Wu Ting-fang abt. audience for presentation of the King's letters to Empress-Dowager and Emperor. Explained that the F.O. had followed the precedent of 1894. Chū after reading translation of the two letters said it was extremely well composed.

Dined with Sherwood Foresters and played bridge till past one.

22 “ To Conger to propose that we shld. bring up the question of the Mixed Court Rules amendments again, and undertook to see de Almeida about the ridiculous objection he made at Beau's suggestion in 1902.

Talking of the indemnity, he agreed that the American Govt. had declared the money to be payable in silver, and now they intend to insist on being paid in gold because the others are.

Hillier brought me the calculations showing the results in loss & gain to the Powers if we agree to the new conditions for fixing the monthly rate of exchange and payment of interest on the monthly instalments, either, neither or both, being made retrospective. Sent

1904

them on to Mumm.

G. Jamieson came. Told him of the arrangements made for him to see the secretary of the Waiwupu. He says he is putting into the price of the railway all back interest on the capital of the [Peking] Syndicate, beginning from before the Boxer troubles. I warned him not to be too grasping.

Dr. Cochrane & Gray about the Lockhard Hospital, and scheme for raising money to complete it. Promised to invite Li Shêng tê, Wu Ting fang & Tsêng to be on the Committee.

Went to Almeida and talked to him about the Mixed Court. He said his objection was made by the instructions of Acevedo [sic] at the request of Beau. He promised to teleg. to his Consul-general at Shanghai tomorrow to inquire whether he had any objection.

23 “ Audience of Emperor and Empress Dowager to present letters of congratulation on the occasion of her 70th birthday (really her 69th) in the Ning Show Kung, wch. is where she lives, in the N.E. of the Palace, i.e. east of the Chien-ch'ing Kung, where the Diplomatic Body have their New Years and other formal audiences. This is a smaller Palace than the other, but much newer in appearance, all the tile decorations being perfect. The wall of the outermost court is decorated with a fine dragon screen in tile work of different colours. The hangings put up for the birthday celebrations were still in their place, and the greater portion of the inner court was carpeted with red felt. We were conducted into a waiting room on the West side, where tables were laid with refreshments, and the other colls: who had letters to present, Dubail, Uchida & the Corean were also assembled. With me were only Carnegie, Kidston, Collier, Cockburn & Mayers, but Dubail had a number of military men & so had Uchida. We were the first to be introduced. The King's letter to the Emperor was in an ordinary white envelope, with a seal covered with paper; that for the E-D was a roll of paper tied with blue ribbon, enclosed in a silver casket of rather mechanical embossed design, and that again enclosed in an oaken outer box fastened with a lock. Acc. to the arrangement made on Monday I made one speech addressed to the two Majesties, then taking the casket from Collier, who had held it wrapped in a piece of red silk, I mounted the steps of the dais, and delivered it to the E-D, who recd. it across her table with a gracious smile then I retreated a few steps and taking the letter from Carnegie, brought it to the Emperor. He was seated apart from the E-D in a chair to her S.E., and appeared quite dazed. Then I descended the dais backwards and Prince Ch'ing receiving the answer fr. the E-D came down and read it; the interpretation being read by a junior of the Foreign Board. Then I was motioned onto the dais again and the usual formal conversation ensued, wch. was badly interpreted by Wu Ting fang: in the course of it she informed me of her intention to send her photograph to the King and to give me one also

1904

in memory of the occasion. I re-descended and introduced Collier, to whom she actually addressed an inquiry, how long he had been in Peking, and hoped he would enjoy his stay. This is certainly the first instance of her speaking in public to anyone under the rank of a Minister or Admiral.

We did not until all the others had finished their audiences, but came away after drinking a glass of champagne to the E-D's health.

Later on about 12.30 Nat'ung & Lienfang arrived with the portraits in great state, carried in a sort of palanquin covered with yellow silk, preceded by yellow banners and so forth. The photograph for the King is an enlarged one, coloured by a Chinese artist, in a rather poor frame of imported material, draped with a yellow silk curtain, and enclosed in a box wch. is wrapped in a tightly fitting wadded bag of the same colour, and over all was laid a fine piece of embroidery on a yellow ground. Mine is on a smaller scale, the photograph hardly coloured, but a better portrait. It is worthy of note that the embroidered silk and the other portions are not of the same yellow; the lighter shade seems to be more used. This seems to do away with the fiction of Imperial yellow.

Major Nathan came. He took a roseate view of the results of the action against the C.E. & M. Co. said he had looked into the thing before he came out, and arrived at the conclusion that tho' there had been a piece of sharp company promoting, there was no fraud. I gave him to understand that I had no high opinion of Hoover and Moreing, who instead of telling the truth had tried to bamboozle the F.O.

Talking of S.A. emigration, said I was glad Perry had gone. Brazier I gathered is a 'canny Scot', not unlike Geo. Jamieson.

24 [Nov.] Mumm came, and talked a long time about Indemnity, Mixed Court for Tientsin, proposal to tax shipping for the improvement of the bar, Shanghai mixed court, Trade mark regulations.

As to the first I told him that I was not particularly anxious for a settlement, wch. wld. involve the signature of separate bonds, and the Powers then, each having its debt recognized separately would be able to come to separate private arrangements with China about its payment or remission. That personally I saw no objection to allowing the Chinese to claim the retrospective application of their two conditions for a calculation of the rate of conversion and interest on the monthly instalments, but had no instructions yet.

As to second said that I was willing to allow the consuls to make proposals, but would stipulate that on the Mixed Court being established, the jurisdiction over Chinese exercised, notably by the Fr. consul in the Fr. concession, should cease. The Fr. always pretended to treat their concessions as part of Fr. territory, wch. ought to be opposed.

As to the third that it depended for me on two things, was there a reasonable

1904

expectation that the scheme would prove successful, and would it be for the benefit of British commerce on the whole. If I were satisfied on these two points, I wld. recommend to H.M.G. the conclusion of an arrangement for taxing shipping. I mentioned the fact that the Fr. Consul-general has a double position on the triumvirate Board, as elected representative of his colleagues, whom he nevertheless does not consult, and as repres've of the Fr. concession. I could not regard the ex-officio presence on the consultative Board of the Austrian, Russian, Italian & Belgian consuls, while the British, American & Dutch were excluded as a satisfactory arrangement. They did not represent commercial interests but purely political concessions, and I shld. take the first opportunity of calling attention to this.

As to No. 4 I told him of my conversation of the 22nd with Almeida, and of his promise to teleg. to his Consul-general about the objection raised in 1902 to Art. 3 of proposed amendments.

No. 5. Says he does not expect fresh instructions, but thinks we had better wait until Dubail gets his instructions, when we should be able to address identic or practically identic notes to the Chinese govt.

Hillier came about the indemnity, and we discussed his letter of yesterday to Gaiffier. Nothing could be done at present, until the Powers came to an agreement to accept or refuse the Chinese proposals.

Almeida in the afternoon to talk about an action of Cowen agst. Gonzalou[?], wch. he says will take him to Tientsin, so that he will be unable to give me the answer of his Consul-general about the Mixed Court as soon as he had expected.

Dined with Rogestvenskys, with Gaiffier and played bridge.

25 [Nov.] T'ang Shao-yi after dinner talking of Liu Kun-yi, told me how in 1900 he recd. the false edict of Prince Tuan ordering the extermination of foreigners. He showed this to Hanson, the Norwegian Commissioner of Customs, telling me to keep it a secret, & adding that he had thought out a way of dealing with it. So he sent to Li Ping-hêng & Lu Chuan-shü, the former being admiral of the Yangtze, the latter governor of Kiangsu, and showed it to them, saying he must go up north with troops at once to hold the Court, provided they wld. take his place & carry out orders on the Yangtze. They said he must let them go. No, they must take his place. After a great deal of pressure fr. them, he undertook to stay & let them go in his stead, & when he had got rid of them in this fashion, he turned to Hanson & said now it's all right, & I shall pay no attention to the proclamation. Talking of Chang Chih tung he said his vanity increased as he grew older. He had once served under him for six months, but could not stand it, so returned to serve under Li at Tientsin. Li [Hung-chang] was a magnanimous man, who never

1904

harboured a grudge agst. any man. I said he was a great man, but his policy of conciliating Russia by giving way to her was a mistake. Concessions never gained any one's respect. The only way was to make one's self strong.

Of Ts'en the acting Viceroy of the Liang Kwang, he said his troubles were largely his own fault. He did not know how to rule Canton, and had played the new broom unwisely.

26 “ Mumm & Gaiffier abt. the indemnity. Read them my draft memo. M. did not like the passage in wch. I said that the Protocol was not quite clear, and I said I wld. perhaps modify it. Mumm read a memo. on the same lines. We agreed not to undertake to fight the American battle for them, but to leave it to Conger. Also to return to Hillier a letter in wch. he gave some wrong figures, and ask him to substitute another.

The trademark registration office has returned to Eckhart some German marks wch. two German firms desired to deposit as proof. M. says he will thro' E. point out that there is no ground for refusing them.

Dubail came to tell me that he had recd. instructions from Paris to join Mumm & myself in insisting on our demand for the postponement of the operation of the trademark regulations. He suggested that we ought not to make matters too hard for Nat'ung, since he was the only useful man in the Waiwupu. Prince Ch'ing never understood any question unless he had been coached by one of his subordinates. Chü Hung-chi since his fiasco in connexion with the decree two years ago about likin being abolished never went to the Waiwupu, Wu Ting-fang was not helpful, and Lienfang tho' he had learnt to look at matters fr. a foreign stand-point was without influence.

I replied that as I had not recd. any verbal [notice] of postponement nor written, like Mumm, I shld. say nothing abt. it, and that I thought 'suspension' wld. be a better word to use than 'postponement'.

Indemnity. I explained my three-fold division of the three concessions the Chinese asked fr. us, & said that personally I was in favour of the published rates of exchange being taken as the basis of the monthly average. He said the bankers could still cook the rate, and he had been puzzling his brains to find out how it was to be fixed. The present high rate at Shanghai was not due to the high price of silver in London, but to the exceptional demand for silver for Japan.

27 [Nov.] Kidston left.

28 “ Took to Dubail draft of note I proposed to send to Prince Ch'ing about trademarks, & showed him also my draft of a letter to the colls: abt. Mixed Court regulations, with wch. he expressed himself satisfied. Told him I had written a desp. to F.O. expressing my view that the modus vivendi betw. the two mixed courts worked satisfactorily and that there was no need for disturbing it.

1904

To Mumm & showed him the latter draft & a private letter fr. de Almeida stating that he withdrew the objection he made in June 1902 which (both) I left with him; and told him that my draft abt. Trademarks wld. be sent on to him by Dubail. He said the latter was evidently negotiating on this subject with Nat'ung and Lienfang, as a part of his general endeavours to acquire the position of one who can be relied on to smooth over difficulties with colls: for the Chinese. I said one could not help these amiable little treacheries, and that possibly D. wld. give a copy of my draft to the W.W.P. to prepare them. He is evidently distrustful of D., but it is a case of the pot and kettle.

He mentioned the easy conditions made by Castello Branco for the Macao-Canton rlwy. & said the Chinese wld. prob. want the same for the Tientin-Chinkiang railway. But as we had a preliminary agreement duly signed, we could not be juggled out of our rights. When it was proposed to separate the negotiations for the German & British positions, on acct. of our people not having completed their survey, he personally had not been in favour of it, and when I was not able to join him, he had telegd. home that it was no use, and so his people had agreed to wait till our survey was finished. But now he heard that all was ready & that the new draft had left Europe on the 18 Nov. So in about a fortnight he wld. come & confer with me as to the support to be given.

I replied that the delay on my part was due to want of information, wch. did not reach me till 5 months after I had asked for it. British concessionaries were like that; they liked to work their affairs themselves, and then when they got into a difficulty they came & asked to be extricated, without explaining its nature or how they got into it.

Hillier, to whom I went on, tells me the C.E. & M. Co. have offered the Chinese Govt. a loan to help in paying arrears of the indemnity, thro' the Belgians, on condition of abandoning the action agst. them. Chao Ersun [Er hsun] went to Chang Yi, who said that Yüan Shihkai would never give his sanction to this, and it was useless. I told him that Nathan had told me a few days ago that the C. & E. M. Co. were willing to make a loan to Yüan Shihkai, but as he wld. not abandon the action agst. the Co. had not thought it worth while to proceed with the matter. The Belgian interest in the matter comes fr. the fact that the Co. has most of its capital in Belgium. I repeated what I had said to Nathan of my opinion regarding Moreing, Hoover and de Wouters, and that I applauded the firm attitude of Yüan Shihkai.

30 Nov. Down to Tientsin with Eastes to stop with the Mackintoshes for the St. Andrew's ball. The Fulfords and several other people to dinner. Made the acquaintance of Miss Bourignon the matron of the Victoria Hospital. Played Bridge with Majors Nathan & Micklem & John Dickinson at the Club.

1904

December 1904

1 Dec. Called on the Viceroy. Talked to him abt. the restriction on recruiting for S. Africa in Shuntsinfu and Paotingfu; he said it related only to the inside of Peking and Paoting. Told him I was glad to hear that he had held out about the Kaifing mines, and reminded him that two years ago I had said Chang Yenmao and Detring ought to go home to give evidence in the lawsuit. I was satisfied that justice wld. be done. Told him abt. the offer of a loan to Chao Erhsun if he wld. cause the suit to be abandoned.

In the afternoon drove with Mackintosh to the racecourse. Called on the Ventris before lunch to wch. I went at the Fulfords. Had a call fr. Boyce Kup, who says the new draft of the final agreement for the Tientsin Chinkiang railway had arrived, and that Cordes says it is no use, for the amount of the loan has not been inserted, and he suspects that the Germans have not yet surveyed the portion from Chinanfu to the south of the province.

Taku bar. His principals are ready to agree to [tonnage dues of] 1 mace per ton on shipping provided the shipping interests have a representative or two on the executive board, and mercantile interests also.

At dinner the Edkins (he is a nephew of the old Missionary), the Boyce-Kups, Mrs. Bellingham & her husband the engineer of the Municipal Council, [margin: also T'ang Shao-yi and Liang the Director of the Railways]. Menzies, Flaherty, McLeish, & Hutchinson of the Bank. After the ladies had gone, Mackintosh, McLeish, Hutchinson & I sat up till past 12 talking books.

2 Dec. Recd. Yüan's return visit at the Consulate. Talked to him abt. taxing shipping for expenditure on Taku bar, transport of foodstuffs to Hsin-min-tun & Newchwang by rail not contrary to duties of neutrals, arrangements in progress at Peking for payment of the indemnity in gold and the necessity I had been under of opposing the proposed fee on transit passes & huchao for bullion transported up country. He said the last was the Customs Taotai's 'pidgeon', and he had merely forwarded it. He wished to know how long the war would last; it was causing much misery to the inhabitants of Manchuria and trouble to the Chinese govt. I replied that there was every reason to suppose that it would last another year. The advent of the Baltic fleet might be expected in Mar. & the Japanese wld. have to take Port Arthur before then in order to set their fleet at liberty. He asked whether it was true that America wld. mediate. I said not; any power that undertook it now, must do it with arms in hand.

Yokoyama Magoichirō came to see me yesterday. The railway is working as far as Yentai, but the coal there is of inferior quality, not fit for steaming purposes. The Japanese

1904

outposts are north of the Shaho. Much inconvenience is experienced from want of fuel & the difficulty of obtaining water, as the rivers are all frozen now. When he left 3 weeks ago the [S]haho was not yet frozen, and part of the Japanese troops were supplied from it. Some are quartered in Chinese houses, others in pits sunk into the ground, floored and roofed with Sorghum stalks. The Russian outposts are facing the Japanese at distances from 500 to 800 yards. Neither side can draw on the other to advance. He brought a friendly message fr. Oyama, who says he can go on as long as he is kept supplied with ammunition and food of any kind. Y. had gone on a confidential mission regarding the war correspondents. It wld. do us no harm to let Reuters people & the others send reports of operations, as the Russians allowed it, and the Japanese official reports were not as impressive as those from our own correspondents. Besides it was desirable to keep the public opinion friendly to Japan, as otherwise foreign relations and the money market were adversely affected. His mission was from Itō, Inouye, Yamagata & Katsura. All the reply he could get out of Fukushima & Kodama was that they were not fighting for the sake of 'agisteurs'. An imperial order wld. be necessary to make them change their attitude. I advised him that if such an order were given it should not be made public, for the effect of the previous order fr. Yamagata wch. had been published had merely been to confirm the opinion that the complaints of the correspondents were justified. It is curious to find this man, who when I first knew him as linguist to the Legation at Tokio was a very unimportant personage, the son of a small sweetmeat seller, is now the confidential agent of statesmen and generals.

Inouye Masaru, now a Visct. Came to the [Tientsin] station to see me off, so did the General, Menzies, Liang, M.Y. and one of the Viceroy's interpreters. Returned to Peking.

3 [Dec.] Chao Erh-sun called by appointment. I introduced the subject of the indemnity, and found that he was quite alive to the important points - 1°. of calculating the arrears in protocol taels, and 2°. that China might buy gold bills if she liked.

To Waiwupu, where Chū Hung-chi, Na, Lienfang and Wu ting fang were gathered together. Pointed out some details in their note abt. the Huangpu wch. I wished to see altered, and said I must refer articles 11 & 12 to H.M.G.

Ch'angsha, a long dispute with Chū, who wriggled like an eel; came to no conclusion.

Indemnity. Told them of my conversation c. Chao Erhsun, and that in my opinion they ought to bear half the loss they ask us to accept: in any case they were responsible since Jany. 1903 for not paying in gold, as they had then acknowledged their liability. This was vehemently disputed by one of the clerks, a meagre faced Cantonese, who said it was conditional on our agreeing to import duties being collected in gold.

5 [Dec.] Went to Hart, and talked abt. his 'going on leave'. He said he went to the W.W.P. and

1904

told them he wished to go on leave next year after the river opens, and that the question of who shld. be acting I-G ought to be settled. The only person he cld. recommend was Bredon, but H.M.G. objected to him. Wu Ting-fang thereupon said that cld. not be, as H.M.G. had just made him a K.C.M.G. I observed that this was for his services in connexion with the Commercial Treaty. He said he had recd. a very appreciative letter from the W.W.P. on the 3rd saying that they could not spare him. He saw Lienfang as well as Wu. I drew fr. him that he will make every effort to get away in April, & that once at home he will not come back. But he recognizes the difficulty of the position. That H.M.G. no longer supports Bredon is an open secret, and one of the Legns. said recently he wld. never be I-G. What they will try to do will be to establish a Board. He had thought of himself passing over some of his powers to a Committee, to be presided over by the I-G. I said it was impossible for me to say what view wld. be taken of this by H.M.G. to wch. he replied that in 1897 he had understood fr. Sir C. MacD. that H.M.G. rather favoured it. I told him that Prince Ch'ing had told Townley that Hippesley was their man. (It seems highly prob. that Hart himself had suggested H's name, for the Prince otherwise wld. have known nothing about it.)

6 “ Mumm came. Hwangpu. We agreed that a meeting might be necessary so that no one wld. accept before we were all agreed. Told him the remarks I had made at the Foreign Board on the 3rd. Said I was in favour of de Rijke, and mentioned the German engineer Schellendorf [sic. Schellhoss?] (who has been lying in wait for some two or three years). M replied that he was an innocent person, who wld. never do any harm.

Indemnity. Mumm asked what view Dubail took of the suggestion that the Chinese might pay in gold, i.e. in bills on European capital. I replied that he thought they could do so. M. went on to say that practically this amounted to the same thing as Hillier's suggestion, elaborated by van Citters, to fix the exchange by public tender. He personally was well disposed to the latter, but doubted whether his govt. could be got to accept it, because they feared that the German bank wld. be left out in the cold; however if they were assured the handling of 1/5 or 1/6 of the whole, wch. was about the German share, perh. they wld. not object. I said that sometimes a bank had its vaults full of silver, and then was obliged to put the rate of exchange low, in order not to be swamped with an unmarketable commodity, and in this way I explained to myself the difference in rates proposed by various bankers.

7 “ As I expected Sir Robt. came. He showed me a letter fr. Harding, the engineer of the I.M.C. abt. the proposed apptmt. of a German to carry out the works. Bredon gives out that he is coming here to see how the land lies as regards the succession. Nat'ung came to see him yesterday and after many flattering speeches said that the E-D. cld. not dispense

1904

with his services until the war came to an end. Thereupon he had replied that he was very anxious to go, but wld. not re-open the question until next spring, but they must bear in mind that he might break down, and they must make up their minds as to what they would do in that case.

He and Bredon had not been open with each other abt. the question of the succession; he rather suspected B. wished to make a separate position for himself in connexion with the Conservancy works. Anyhow until he knew whether Bredon was going to stay or not, he wld. not give any of the work into his hands, and had told Aglen so this morning. Lent him translation of the Conservancy scheme proposed by the Chinese, wch. he returned to me in the afternoon with some remarks.

Conger brought me his draft of a Note to Prince Ch'ing abt. export duty on cigarettes. A good deal turns on whether the English or Chinese text of 1858 tariff, or both, is authoritative. I said I wld. teleg. to F.O. for information.

We discussed the Chinese Conservancy scheme. I told him of a conspiracy to put in a German engineer, and said the Shanghai B. Ss wld. put such pressure on the Br. Govt. that they wld. be compelled to refuse any further agreement until the Germans agreed that a German shld. not be appointed. He said his own people wld. certainly not ask for an American engineer, tho' there was one who was associated with a German (Franzius?), and wld. rather see an Englishman than a German. I said I was in favour of a Dutchman, de Rijke. As to the proviso that if this scheme failed, the 17 Annex shld. be revived, he thought Dubail wld. oppose it, but I replied that we cld. easily defeat him by pointing out that he wld. have the same facilities for objecting to its execution as he now has. That for me it was a *sinè quâ non*, as all our other guarantees had been pared away. He thinks his govt. will accept the present proposals, as they want to see the work done.

8 [Dec.] Went to Uchida, and found he thinks his govt. will accept Chinese proposal abt. indemnity & Hwangpu, but they decline to agree to suspension of the trademark regulations. Chinese he says imitate Japse. made labels. I said if the Chinese registering as Japanese marks any that belonged to other people they would no doubt have to pay damages.

To Dubail to talk about Hwangpu. We had rather a sharp discussion when he said that he had *les instructions les plus formelles* to oppose the carrying out of the protocol; I observed that France had signed; He rejoined that it was a "*boulette*", & that they wld. not tolerate any "*immixtion* [i.e. intrusion, interference] *d'une Conseil international dans les affaires de la concession française.*" I retorted that there was no interference and that he seemed to regard their so-called concession as a piece of French territory. His idea is that fixing taxes by the Board is "*une immixtion*", but I said that the collection was left to

1904

the Fr. municipal authorities, & that all the oppositon came fr. people who did not wish to pay taxes. However we parted good friends, & he showed me in great confidence copy of a memo. given by Delcassé to the Austrian Embassy saying that they were like the U.S. willing to accept the new Chinese proposals, provided sufficient guarantees were given for the execution of the works and an undertaking that if they are not carried out the Powers shall be entitled to insist on the terms of the Protocol! So the Fr. Govt. has given to the Austrians an assurance contrary to Dubail's "instructions les plus formelles".

After lunch to Czikann to find out whether he had a copy of this document, but it appears not. Told him of my passage of arms with Dubail at wch. he was much amused, and showed that he knew all abt. the "soi-disant concession française".

By the way Dubail when he had recovered his good temper, undertook to back De Rijke for engineer against the German candidate.

Talked indemnity with both Dubail & Czikann; the former has no objection to the Chinese paying in bills.

Went to van Citters & told him I was ready to back de Rijke. He said that a fortnight ago he had recommended him to the Waiwupu, who took a note of his name.

9 " Mumm and Conger in the forenoon to discuss Chinese proposals abt. Whangpu, and we agreed as to the emendments we thought necessary. We think a cttee. shld. be apptd. consisting of ourselves and Dubail to report to the signatories of the Protocol.

Bredon came after lunch. He is to 'talk it out' with Hart on the 12th. Then I asked him abt. his conservancy scheme. My note was sent down to the Taotai and he had seen it. They had drafted a counter-scheme (doubtless what the W.W.P. had sent to us). He gave a memo. to F. Anderson & W.D. Little, in wch. he referred to the proposals of 'one of the Ministers'. He wants Schellhoss to be brought in. De Rijke has been written to abt. the scheme of the riparian owners, & has replied very guardedly that nothing shld. be done in the upper reaches without attacking the stream down below & the bar. De Rijke is willing to come out. Choufu on his way thro' discussed the question, and declared he wld. go in for the conservancy. Bredon suggested that he shld. get 460,000 taels in advance to start with. I told him very plainly that I wld. have nothing to do with a scheme wch. involved the employment of a German as chief engineer, or of Schellhon in any capacity, for the Br. element at S'hai wld. not stand for it, - especially after the way the Germans had tried to foist Schellhoss on us last May.

Mumm brought me an article fr. the Cologne Gazette of 22 Nov. abt. trademarks, very strong agst. the Japanese.

10 " Geo. Jamieson came back fr. Honan last night. Has gone into all the accounts with the men sent by Shêng, & has written a letter to one of them containing proposals as to the

1904

amount now to be issued of bonds, to be laid before Shêng, & he proposed to wait ten days before doing anything further. I refused to listen to this and insisted on his seeing the W.W.P. man, and telling him all that had occurred and putting before them the letter containing his proposals. I spoke very strongly abt. the way in wch. he and Shêng together had managed to create delays, wch. were not the fault therefore of either the Chinese govt. or the Legation. So we fixed for the 14th.

Percy Kent came to say that he wanted access to unpublished documents abt. railway enterprise in China. I said there were some besides those that had appeared in bluebooks, but they were not accessible to him. Showed him Rockhill & Cordier, wch. he had not heard of.

Archie Little came, and showed me a short memo. of what had happened in Yünnan. I told him that I did not see that he had any claims in the matter to a concession.

Said I approved of some draft rules providing for the introduction of foreign capital into mines being drawn up by him, de Marteau and the German engineer now here, to form basis of proposals to the Chinese, if approved by the 3 Ministers.

Dined at Dubail's to meet the Barolis.

- 11 [Dec.] Mumm came. Read to me report by von Borch on a conversation with Nat'ung regarding Trademarks, in wch. he said he had informed Dubail & myself of the arrangements, avoiding suspension of the regulations, and that we had expressed ourselves favourably; also that he had written to Mayers acquainting him with these terms. Not true at all.

Read to him what I propose to say on the subject of the indemnity at the meeting, and he approved.

- 12 “ Went to Gaiffier, and left with him what I proposed to read at the meeting for correction. He had two hours talk with Lessar abt. the indemnity, who is more impracticable than ever.

In the afternoon Dubail came with an alarming story about the amount he would lose on the arrears derived from his banker in Shanghai. I undertook to teleg. for data to Bevis. We concocted a draft of Note to Prince Ch'ing repudiating their attempt to make us responsible for the effects of delay if we do not without hesitation accept their figures.

Mumm to tea, who also falls in with the idea of a Note.

- 13 “ The morning broke with snow, which has long been expected. In old times November 25 was about the date for the closing of the river at Taku, but we have not heard of it yet, and the 10th was the beginning of really cold weather with a strong north wind.

- 14 “ Meeting at Doyen's to discuss Chinese proposals for payment of the indemnity, Whangpu, and increase of the Heiho Conservancy Board. On the latter Mumm was strong in opposition, I was strongly in favour. Conger, Dubail, Mumm & I apptd. Committee

1904

about Whangpu. On the indemnity we made little progress.

15 “ Mumm came while I was at tea and stayed till 7 talking about the indemnity. We got out various statements, and found our heads not much clearer after going through them.

18 “ To Dubail to tell him what Mumm & I thought was the best thing to do with regard to the Trademarks, and described my draft. He said he agreed and would write in the same sense. As to indemnity, tho' personally he is in favour of the remittances being made by open tender, he cannot persuade the Fr. Govt. Lessar & Mumm in like case.

Mariota Carnegie's 12th birthday; I sent her a cake and some shortbread yesterday. The Carnegies gave a little dance, there was a sort of dinner supper at 8, very pleasant, then bridge; celebrated yesterday as today is Sunday.

19 “ To Czikkann and asked him to stir up the Waiwupu for an answer to the joint note about transit passes.

Wm. Maxwell of the Standard, a pinkfaced pockmarked man called. Had been with the Japse. headquarters in Manchuria and got on well with them. There is no shortage of provisions, water or fuel, but they cannot leave their trenches to fight in the open, as the cold at night wld. finish them. It is the same for the Russians. Thinks the Japanese want Port Arthur for a winter base, as Dalny [C:Dalian J:Dairen] is uncertain. In the spring they will certainly make an attempt on Vladivostok. He condemned strongly the conduct of Lionel James & Fraser of the “Times” for riding away fr. Liaoyang & sending off uncensored telegs. Bennett Burleigh is doing spy [sic] for the Russians. He himself is leaving, as it does not pay the “Standard” to have a correspondent in the field. Before he left Kuroki & Fujii made him a mysterious present for his wife, wrapped up in a small parcel. Eventually it turned out to be 10,000 yen. Does not like it, but thinks the best thing he can do when he gets to Tokio is to tell Yamagata [Aritomo, then chief of the general staff] and give the money in some way for the benefit of Japanese soldiers. I applauded this idea, & suggested that he should tell the story to [Sir Claude] MacD[onald]. Promised not to repeat it to anyone, but to keep it entirely confidential.

21 “ With Mumm to the W.W.P. to discuss trademarks with Nat'ung. Lienfang also was present. Nat'ung produced a draft reply to our note identique, in wch. we induced him to make an alteration, and we then declared ourselves satisfied.

22 “ Meeting at Congers of Dubail, Mumm & self to discuss draft of reply to the Chinese Note abt. the Hwangpu, and settled all except the article abt. expropriation.

In the afternoon on sledges from the Hata-mên round East to the Tseng-chih mên on the ice. Bitterly cold N. wind, but we were well wrapped up in furs. Back in the same manner to the Chihuamên, from wch. Mrs. Cockburn, Collier & I walked home.

23 [Dec.] The Wm. Maxwells dined with me. He told me in confidence that he was going off to

1904

Port Arthur.

25 “ Lay in bed all day with a bad cold in the head the result of Thursday's excursion.]

26 “ Matsui came to communicate his instructions abt. the indemnity. They seem to leave too much to the Banker's commission, & he said himself that he was not satisfied.

Trademarks. In ans. to a question he said the arrangement recently made with us had not been communicated to him beforehand, but a copy of the Note had been given him by the W.W.P. & he had telegraphed to Tokio. He insinuated that the Note was very cleverly worded, but fr. his anxiety to know when I shld. receive my instructions I conclude he sees that practically the whole thing is up.

In the evening dinner to all the staff & the officers of the guard, besides Morrison & Pringle. The Mayers' & Ottewills could not come, being the former anxious abt. their baby, the latter having lately lost a sister.

27 “ Mumm came. Told him that I had heard fr. Boyce-Kup that the figures for the Br. section of the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway were expected in Jany. & that there was therefore no need to teleg. for them. I remarked that a junction with the Chinese lines by a bridge below our concession wld. be very objectionable to us & reminded him of the promise I had given to facilitate the passage of their junction thro' our hinterland extension. He looked as if he wld. rather not give an assurance, but after a little hesitation said he wld. tell me confidentially that it was almost decided not to cross below, tho' the Belgians & Russians desired it.

Gatrell came to say Jamieson had offered him £600 a year to go to Honan as doctor & intermediary for Chinese business. I advised him to accept.

29 “ Went to Conger with dft. abt. Hwangpu with Mumm's amendments, and as he accepted them took it on to Dubail for a French draft to be made. Discussed with both the letter fr. the W.W.P. to Doyen abt. tax on transit passes, & agreed that it needs a reply.

30 “ Chao Erhsun came in reply to a proposal of mine to call on him. When I told him there was a belief in Shanghai that he was buying sterling with the object of tendering it in payment of this month's instalment of the indemnity he laughed & said he wld. go on paying silver till an arrangement was come to abt. the future past[?] payments on a gold basis, but what he had been doing was to buy gold with the money he had got advanced by the provinces for the arrears, as silver is so high just now, and he thought he might just as well do a bit of business.

After that he went on to talk about Pollak & Bennertz, and of the impossibility of foreigners finding any room inside Ch'angsha city, much in the same style as Chü Hung-chi the other day. I told him that the real reason was they objected to foreigners' goods entering the city free of likin, & that settlements were not wanted, all the old

1904

arguments wch. had failed to stop Chü's mouth &c. &c.

31 “ Mumm came abt. trademarks. He is afraid that if we don't agree to the amendments within 6 mths. of 23 Octr. that will deprive us of the power of objecting to any application for registration. I replied that we wld. take care of that in the amendments. It was absurd to give owners a right of objecting, if they did not publish applications, as they cld. not be expected to be always on the watch in three places at once. My instructions or at least part of them left by the bag of 18 Novr. He said he shld. ask to have his telegd. in order to be able to present along with me.

Morrison came. He enlarged on the unhealthy condition of Hippley.

Sent for Wu Ting-fang & gave him paraphrase of telegram from F.O. abt. the position of Chang Yi as former director in chief of the C.E. & M. Co. & suggested that they shld. answer me that he had full control in all matters permissible by Chinese law.

He talked abt. the murder of a Chinese at Shanghai by a Russian sailor from the “Askold”. They had not been able to get anything out of Lessar, but thought of demanding that no Russians shld. be allowed on shore until the man had been tried by courtmartial and punished, trial to be in presence of Chinese officials. I said that was right.

[Margin: He also talked about the desirability of having one or two Chinese on the Shanghai Municipal Council. I said that in principle I did not object, but did not know how it would work. However if it were proposed I wld. give it my consideration.]

Told him Mixed Court Amendments were going in, at wch. he expressed his pleasure. The judge of the Mixed Court ought to be independent: a taotai wld. not be too high a rank.

He has drafted some mining rules wch. have been referred to Chang Chihtung.

Is abt. to go to work on criminal & civil procedure. Hillier came. Says he has counselled Chao not to speculate in sterling. He has nearly completed agreement for loan with Chao, but the French are making same offer, & Chao wants him to spring a point more. Belgians are offering at par for 5% on condition that they are allowed to buy shares in the Yüeh-han. Newbery a man from Tongshan has been to Nanpiao & completely condemns Aubrey's report.

[End of diary for 1904]

1905

January 1905

Jan. 2 New year calls from Chinese officials, one batch headed by Prince Ch'ing, the other by Chü Hung-chi. I had them in the ballroom, sitting about, instead of at a big table in the dining room. To Chü Hung-chi I told that the Tibetan indemnity had been reduced to 25 lacs, and the period of occupation of Chunshi valley to three years.

News this morning that Stoessel last night at 9 p.m. offered to capitulate!

“ 4 To Mumm. He says the Taotai wanted to write officially to the Consular Body to take up the case of the homicide of a respectable Chinese committed by a sailor of the Askold, but Knappe persuaded him that it was useless. I remarked that the pretension of the Russians interned at Shanghai to enjoy all the privileges of extraterritoriality was absurd. That position disappeared under the circe. Suppose they had been troops, how could they claim the right of preserving their own organisation after entering Chinese territory as fugitives. He admitted that they were under Chinese control, but not that they were under Chinese jurisdiction. Evidently he does not wish to put his finger in this pie, so as to give umbrage to Russia.

Prince Kung and Kuei-chün called. The latter was appointed to the Tsungli Yamên in 1899. He showed his usual up to date ness about all that is happening, even to the fog in London that Reuter has telegraphed about.

5 [Jan.] Yokoyama Magoichirō says that he hopes arrangements will be made to enable the correspondents to teleg. news more quickly, so as to anticipate Russian reports. He asked whether Japan ought not to keep Manchuria as far as Mukden, supposing peace to be made in the spring, till such time as China shld. be able to undertake its protection. I said that in my opinion the best thing would be for peace to be made on condition of both Russia & Japan evacuating Manchuria, the rlwy. [railway] to pass to Japan, who wld. then transfer it to China for a sum of money wch. wld. furnish a war indemnity, and then the rlwy. to be declared an international highway neutralized much on the same principles as the Suez canal, China to be invited to take part in the treaty relating to territorial arrangements, the treaty of peace being separately negotiated betw. the belligerents, & the other Powers also adhering to treaty no. 1, thus guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China. I said in reply to a question that I did not think any Power wld. interfere as in 1895.

Hillier came. While at Tongku he heard that the Belgians are getting sick of the Luhan & wld. sell it for 17,000,000 taels, wch. includes 2,000,000 squeeze paid to Shêng. It wld. be a great thing if China cld. get hold of the line & work it on the same system as the Northern rlwys. Hgkg Bank wld. find the money. Then they wld. like to have the

1905

Manchurian rlwys, completed by a line fr. Hsinmingtun to Kaiyuen N. of Tiehling, & effect a junction with the Japse. rlwys. in Corea; also to devote surplus million dollars of the Northern rlwys. to building a Kalgan line, pacifying the Kung fu with a part of interest on the rlwy. indemnity. Koch the present head of Panmure Gordon & Co. wld. be the man to arrange with the Belgians.

I objected the large French interest in the Luhan, but he thought they were also tired of it, & cld. be induced to part with their share. As to Kalgan, I approved, but for the Manchurian rlwys. thought my own scheme preferable.

Gaiffier came. Says that Lessar is more impracticable than ever about the indemnity, & that Dubail pretends now that he has no instructions.

Dubail came. Lent him my figures of the Chinese deficit on indemnity to copy.

He thinks war will last till spring 1906. Teleg. was sent to Russia asking leave for the Port Arthur officers to be paroled, wch. was given.

Talked to him abt. the Anglo-French Co. & said that it was my idea to leave it entirely to him to manage, as he had started it, & the greater part of the capital was French. I thought the so-called concession a poor one, & I disliked having anything to do with bi-national concerns. Instanced the pretensions of Salvago as to the Peking Syndicate.

He said that he had procured the concession of the mines in Kuei chou, that it was a good affair. The Taotai was being proceeded agst. before the Mixed Court. He hoped I shld. always be ready to lend him my amicable assistance. He did not mention the rlwy.

I hope I made it clear to him that as long as he professed to be the protector of the Co. I wld. have nothing to do with it.

10 “ Matsui [Keishirō] came. He says Mumm & his Legation are very anti-Japanese & take every opportunity of speaking agst. them to the Chinese. He talked abt. Trademarks & told me of the instructions abt. prolonging certain periods in Arts. 5 & 26 of the Regulations. I told him that I had recd. part of my instructions, & hoped shortly to put suggestions before the Chinese.

Mumm came. He is anxious to address a Note to the Chinese abt. these two articles, & I promised to write a draft & show it to him. Indemnity. He brought back my mémoire proposing to split the difference betw. us & the Chinese and to take the London price of silver as a basis for calculating the exchange. He cannot give up the interest on the 9000 000, while Dubail says he cannot agree to any change as regards past payments. Also he is willing to fall in with D's proposal for paying in bills. I pointed out that the difference betw. him & Dubail is only abt. £8000 to be divided among all the Powers. That if by bills is meant telegraphic transfers I might agree, provided it was clearly understood that the Chinese may make their own arrangements with whatever banks they like, but if the result

1905

is to be that the German bank is to handle the whole of their share, the Fr. & R. theirs respectively I wld. have nothing to do with it, as that wld. not remove the abuses complained of. Said I wld. show my mémoire to Dubail, but wld. expect that they on their side shld. come forward with written proposals, just as I had done.

My belief is that Dubail's proposal as to bills is a trap.

- 11 Jany. Drafted a note abt. the Trade Regulations, & took it to Mumm, but said I had talked it over with Cockburn & now thought it was better to do nothing. Cut out a large portion & after making other alterations left it with him.

Indemnity. He urged me to agree to what he proposed yesterday. He says he is now after reflection disposed to agree to freeze the interest on the 9 millions, wch. hitherto he has declared he cannot do. I replied that H.M.G. having been willing to let the Chinese pay in silver for 10 years, they were in no hurry to settle, & that as far as I was concerned my only motive cld. be a desire to be relieved of an unsettled question.

Went to ask Hillier if his bank could grant telegraphic transfers on Petersburg. He promised to find out. If the Hgkg & S'hai Bank cannot I shall give up the discussion.

- 12 “ Mumm came & said he had talked with Dubail for an hour, who had convinced him that it was better not to write to the Chinese the draft prepared yesterday, so he wld. give it up.

- 13 “ To the Cottage on foot with [Robert] Collier, taking p'ing-ch'ê from Shun chih mên to end of the wall, and coming back did the same. About 1hr $\frac{3}{4}$ either way. A beautiful warm day, no wind. We sat on the verandah without coats.

Dubail brought back my draft abt. the indemnity, wch. I had sent him yesterday. He is willing to divide the difference betw. the Chinese offer & what is owed to us for the past, and to agree to telegraphic transfers being bought every month by the Chinese. Does not know what line Lessar will take. He talks of being in favour of telegraphic transfers, but declines to abate anything of what they owe us.

I said I wld. redraft my proposals after seeing Gaiffier.

Hillier writes that Bevin says his bank can compete for teleg. transfers to all the capitals.

- 16 “ Gaiffier came. Showed him my memo. abt. indemnity, wch. he took away. He says that his bank, wch. was established merely to deal with the indemnity & gets 1% commission on the amount remitted, wld. have to pack up & go home if Dubail's idea of telegraphic transfers was carried out. I said that on the whole I thought my scheme the best; the other would require an alteration of the terms of the Protocol, and wld. be difficult to arrange. In any case, I must stipulate for the Chinese being allowed to buy transfers wherever they please.

1905

Dubail in the evening at Mumm's talked abt. the Russian circular, wch. he said was merely intended to frighten the Chinese a little, and need not be taken seriously. I told him I thought Russia had committed far more violations of Chinese neutrality, than China breaches of international law.

17 “ Went to Sir Robt. & asked him to propose the health of the bride & bridegroom at the wedding. [See January 21 below.]

Hu came abt. Kalgan rlwy. wch. they propose to build with surplus income of Northern railways, amounting to 2 000 000 taels, giving ½ million to the Hupu for the Army reorganization. He has also squared Tsai chên! The engineer a Chinese trained in America named Kuang who has worked under Kinder. I told him I had no objection, & was glad to hear that China cld. build railways for herself.

Hu said that Goltz had told him the Br. were holding back in regard to the Tientsin-Chinkiang line, & that the Germs. wld. like to continue the Chinanfu line to Chêng ting fu. He himself had been along the proposed extension to Kaifêng, & thought it worthless. I replied that the truth was the Germs. had gone down 210 feet at the Huangho crossing & found no solid bottom. They therefore have no wish to build, but they say it is us. Prince Ch'ing wanted Yüan & him to build the line to Kaifêng, but they saw no advantage in that, whereas the Kalgan line wld. yield a very good return. ¹

19 “ Dined with Natung, along with Carnegie & Cockburn, Dubail, Morisse, Vignon, Wu and Lienfang. After dinner had a talk with Lien-fang abt. the Russian circular, & strongly advised that on each occasion China shld. reply by another circular, & always justify herself. Na gave Cockburn a collection of documents, consisting of correspondence betw. Lessar & the Wai-wu-pu. During the afternoon I had sent them the contents of the Russian circular, wch. they had not recd. before, only certain portions fr. Coolidge.

20 [Jan.] Went to Coolidge to try & find out whether it was true that U.S. had made “representations” to the Chin. Govt. as Russia alleges. He admitted that they had remarked to China that she ought not to commit the acts of wch. Russia complained, tho' without giving her to understand that the U.S. believed the charges to be true.

Meeting of the Lockhart Memorial committee, myself in the chair, Nat'ung, Chao Erh sun, Hart, Bredon, Hillier, Meech, Cochrane & Gray. Na & Chao undertook to make an appeal for donations. The meeting went off well.

Kept Chao to talk abt. indemnity. Told him my proposals that we & China shld. divide the deficit, & then fix the rate of the tael by taking the London price of silver. But now my

¹ On this day David Davies (later Lord Davies of Llandinam) attempted to meet Satow but he was too busy and sent his secretary Robert Collier to see him instead. See David Steeds, *Japan at War: The Diary of a British Observer, 1904*. from ‘On the Periphery of the Russo-Japanese War Part II’, STICERD Discussion Paper, LSE, No. IS/05/491, May 2005.

1905

colls: wanted to let China buy telegraphic transfers. Well & good if she was allowed to buy them fr. any bank, but if the Russians Fr. & Germ. refused to have any but those sold by their respective banks, she wld. be in just the same disadvantageous position as before.

He said he quite understood this. But he was now told by the Fr. Germ. & Belgians that she must pay the whole of the arrears, for what was done cld. not be undone, & the banks must keep what they had swallowed. Everyone they said except Lessar was ready to accept 4% on the monthly instalments for the future, & Mumm had told them Belgium & France wld. try to put on pressure at Petersburg. He did not see why they shld. succeed. I told him that in July last Lessar had been brought to join in our offer to accept payt. in silver in that way. As to the banks not disgorging what they had swallowed, they were now proposing to take fr. China more than she really owed, to the tune of £288,000, wch. the RR. disapproved of, & the latter were trying to prevent it. My idea was that the colls: were putting forward Lessar as a bugbear, & I advised him not to be in too great a hurry to take their advice.

Before this conversation took place I had a discussion with him & Hillier abt. the terms of the loan proposed by Hgkg & S'hai Bk. for £100,000 @ 91, & backed Hillier as much as was possible. Chao has told H. that the difficulties come from people who are to get nothing out of it, and H. means to ask the Bank to let him distribute £5000, wch. is a quarter of what the bank stands to make out of the loan.

21 “ Miss Ottewill's wedding to J.W. Richardson of the I.M.C. Norris performed the ceremony, Rospigliosi was best man and I gave the bride away. Afterwards there was a reception to wch. over 200 people had been invited, all of Peking & some of Tientsin. It was a brilliant, calm day. Sir Robt. Hart proposed the health of the bride & bridegroom in an excellent speech. Mumm lent his carriage to drive them to the Cottage, which I lent them for the honeymoon.

25 “ Jamieson came to tell me that he had pretty nearly come to an agreement with the W.W.P. about his railway agreement.

Mumm to show me translation of a draft fr. the Chinese offering £1,200,000 in payment of the arrears, on condition that 4% is in future allowed on the monthly instalments, the rate of exchange to be fixed each month. The draft makes no mention of the London rate of exchange, but Mumm holds that it is meant & he asked me to show him how the coefficient was obtained. I told him F.O. had telegraphed to me that it is now 1.1832, but I knew as a fact that in S'hai it is 1.185, so that by taking the former we shld. gain an advantage; it is in normal times 1.182.

Trademarks. Told him I agreed to all their suggestions, except as to foreign assessors for a tribunal of appeal, wch. I thought cld. not be constituted in China.

1905

Baroli came. Says the Chinese on Saturday 21st spoke to him abt. Russian charges, & asked him to teleg. to his government to give entire credence to what the Chinese Minister in Rome should say to the Min. [Minister] for F.A. [Foreign Affairs] on the subject. I told him I looked on the Russian circular as merely laying the ground for demands to be presented to China later on, & that there was nothing in it wch. wld. bear examination. Perh[aps] they meant it to justify seizing a naval base for the Baltic fleet.

Indemnity. New proposals, will teleg. to Rome recommending their acceptance.

27 “ To Mumm at 2, where came also Dubail & Gaiffier to discuss the new Chinese proposal, “Si, en ce qui concerne les paiements à faire dans l’avenir, les Puissances consentent à la fixation du taux d’après le cours moyen, et à la deduction de 4% sur les versements mensuels” & Mumm’s “formula” wch. he wrote last night wld. content Dubail and he hoped would content me. He said he had sent von Borch on the 25th to see Nat’ung who had told him this was the Shanghai monthly average of the daily rate of exchange. I replied that I had sent Mayers to him on the 26th, and learnt that he meant by this phrase the London price of silver & the charges, or in other words the parity of exchange (what Hillier calls the shipping point). Then Dubail read a telegram to the effect that Fr. would accept the proposed basis for silver actually transported to Paris, but otherwise he might receive payment in gold on bills. By the latter was of course meant telegraphic transfers. I observed that this did not make it clear that the Chinese could tender bills or telegraphic transfers of any bank they liked, and that if it was to be that only T.T. on bills negotiated thro’ its own bank wld. be received, we should be in the same position as before. They assured me that as no restrictions were placed on the right of China to buy T.T. fr. any particular bank that suited her, it was clear there were no restrictions. I observed that in that case, it ought to be clearly stated so, for now that each Power was to get a separate bond fr. China for the whole of its share of the general indemnity, what was there to hinder any Power fr. taking separate action & insisting on its T.T. being obtained from its own bank. They held up their hands in horror, and said that after all, no stipulation such as I desired could prevent that. I rejoined that tho’ I might see a flood coming that was no reason why I should not try to erect a dike against it. So having made it quite clear that I fully meant this, and retorted, to an observation of Mumm’s that I ought to be satisfied with their having come round to my views, that my original desire was public tender thro’ the commission, & not private competition thro’ a broker, I allowed them to draft an amendment to the foregoing; wch. after some discussion assumed the following form:

“En ce qui concerne l’avenir [Regarding the future], les Puissances [Powers] autorisent la Chine à opérer des versements mensuels [monthly payments] et à déduire [deduct] 4% sur les versements anticipés. Ces versements seront effectués sur la base du prix de

1905

l'argent à Londres augmenté du coefficient des charges. [These payments will be made on the basis of the London price of silver augmented by the factor of charges.] Quant aux Puissances qui n'accepteraient pas ce mode de libération, la Chine devra les payer en or [in gold] ou en transferts télégraphiques en monnaie de leur pays qu'elle pourra se procurer à sa volonté et aux mieux de ses intérêts."

I wanted to add to this 'at any bank she may choose', but they would not hear of it.

Gaiffier was then commissioned to go to the Wai-wupu and put this before the Chinese. I stipulated that the censorious language of the Chinese dft. note with regard to the bankers must be omitted, as if it came round in the circular I shld. be obliged to protest, since the English banker had not lowered the rates to the disadvantage of the Chinese. Then Mumm proposed that when the circ. came round we should, in order to help Lessar over the stile, undertake to recommend this formula & the acceptance of £200,000 in discharge of the arrears to our govt. I said that in Dec. they had all pronounced themselves agst. bills or T.T. and Dubail had approved the London price of silver as the basis; I had consulted H.M.G. on the latter, but not on the former, hence all I could undertake was to 'submit it to them for their appreciation' without recommending it. This again produced protests fr. Mumm, but I stuck to my point.

28 [Jan.] Nat'ung having sent me a copy of the Chinese draft, I took it to Matsui & told him all that had happened since yesterday. He agreed with me that one or other alternative must be uniformly adopted, & said he had sent them my 'memoire' of abt. a fortnight ago, adding to his Govt. that tho' telegraphic transfers had a financial advantage there were political reasons against their adoption.

The Japse. counter circular is out, and is to be communicated at London Washington, Berlin, Rome & Vienna. He said that the Chinese reply to Russia was good, but they had mixed up the ore fr. the Tayeh mines with the pig-iron supplied by the Hanyang iron-works to the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha under a contract made 4 years ago.

Russian circ. regarding Liao-hsi not being regarded by them as neutral. If this promised circular was issued, he would like to be told of it, as then Japan wld. be justified in following the Russian example. He had recd. a note from the Wai-wu-pu complaining of Japanese cavalry trespassing W. of the Liao, and stating that a similar protest had been made to Lessar. But if it could be established that Russia claimed the right to go there, Japan would do the same.

I had previously been to Hillier, and asked abt. teleg. transfers, wch. he says quote the price given in London for taels in Shanghai. At present Japan is shipping siver from S'hai & there is a great dearth of it, because the Taotai has locked up 27 lacs. Causes of the rise of silver at home are Indian govt. steadily buying, America buying for Manila and sending

1905

silver to Panama. He agrees that either the London price of silver or telegraphic transfers ought to be adopted, not offered as an alternative.

Chao Erhsun came with Gaiffier's translation of the 'formula' and his own amendment of it. In the former a mistranslation had occurred, wch. gave the impression that the difference betw. London price of silver & shipping point consisted of a commission. We explained the question to him. He had also a draft with him of what he would substitute, wch. he held gave him complete liberty to call for tenders from any and every bank, and he said he would give up the monthly average. In answer to a question, I told him that %% would be more advantageous to him now, but later perh[aps] the delivery of silver at the shipping point wld. be better. But he must make his choice. As to commission he had evidently been sounded by the Germans abt. ¼% as compensation to the banks for losing the certain handling of the indemnity. I said that the banks wld. like it, and as my colleagues had not mentioned it to me I felt sure they did not wish it.

Mumm came afterwards. He is convinced that Dubail is bonâ fide; knew that augmenté du coefficient des charges had not been correctly translated. Told him most of my conversation with Chao Erhsun, but not Chao's amendment of the parag. abt. telegraphic transfers.

29 “ Morrison came. Told him the present position of the indemnity question, and that I held out for perfect freedom to buy telegraphic transfers in the open market, wch. I regard as a sine quâ non. But in the main I was not anxious to have the matter settled, because China at present was paying gold without any trouble, the H.K.T. being over 3/-, and the signature of the separate bonds would have a tendency to dissolve the concert. That the Huangpu Conservancy proposals had been sent home, and the F.O. understood the question thoroughly.

He said that the Germans when Choufu was apptd. to Shantung had obtained a promise that the name of his successor should be submitted before an appointment was made. In the case of Hu Ting-kan the Chinese got out of it by alleging that he was only acting Govr. Now Morrison had been told by Natung that the new man Yang was coming up to Peking & wld. call on him, but he got orders to go direct to his post without having an audience. So Mumm has had a meeting with him today at the Krummachers' temple outside the Hsi-pien Môn.

Told Morrison that Mumm had recd. a teleg. fr. Berlin calling on him to explain why he was accused in one of M's telegs. to join with the Russian & Frenchman to keep the handling of the indemnity entirely in the hands of their respective banks. I added that tho' Mumm now disclaimed any such policy, he had certainly declared it openly at one period. I think Mumm has complained to M[orrison]. M[umm] told me yesterday that his

1905

Govt. had originally been strongly opposed to letting the handling of their indemnity pass out of the control of the German bank, but possibly, after the repeated reports he had sent of the bank's irregularities the people at home had recognized that the bank ought not to be upheld, inasmuch as they had inflicted a loss on the Germ. Govt. by remitting at a lower rate than they might have adopted. So now they had turned round, and had no objection to the exchange being arranged with whoever offered the best terms.

Mongol Prince named 喀喇沁 [Kalachin] came to call, evidently making a round of the legations. He was in Japan two years ago on his own look, at the time of the Ōsaka exhibition. Seems intelligent. His country lies N.E. of Jehôl and is 7 days journey from Peking on horseback. Said he wld. be glad to see me there. I said that it was difficult for me to get away from the Legation for so long.

- 31 “ Chao Erhsun came about three with the draft of a paragraph which he proposed shld. be sent to Gaiffier in place of that concocted on the 27, in wch. he said quite clearly that he wld. buy t.t. or bills in any bank of any nationality he liked. Spent an hour with him amending it and he went off quite happy.

February 1905

- 1 Feb. Meeting at Mumm's. Dubail & Gaiffier to discuss the dft. fr. W.W.P. wch. contained Chao's paragraph of yesterday, to wch. they have added another stipulating for payment of the arrears in instalments. The colls: succeeded in emasculating Chao's draft, and adding a para. at the end that interest must run on the deficit fr. Jany. 1 to date of payment, commissioned Gaiffier to take the new draft to Chao & Natung, while Dubail promised to use his influence with Chū Hung-chi to adopt our Chinese version of it!
- 2 Feb. Chao came at 5.30 to show me the Chinese version. He said he cld. not pay in 5 days, but as he had procured the money, and every one knew it from the newspapers, he ought not to be asked to pay interest fr. Jan. 1, especially as he was offering £400,000 more than was really due. I suggested that he should insert the words “any bank” before “place or market” & explained why. I also pointed out the final para. of what had been sent fr. the W.W.P. leaving date of payment & no. of instalments in blank. This he said was not his addition, but that of the W.W.P. I suggested that there was a clever person in the W.W.P. who made emendations. Finally he said he wld. write to Gaiffier, telling him that he cld. not pay the interest, & I said I wld. tell my colls: that as far as I was concerned I wld. not insist on it. But I conjured [i.e. earnestly entreated] him not to forget to insert the words “any bank” because what the colls: want is to get them into the power of their respective banks.

1905

4 “ Gaiffier came to say that last night he recd. a note from Nat'ung to say they could not consent to pay interest fr. Jan. 1, & that he had returned it, refusing to submit it to his colls: Natung when he saw him on the 2nd had apparently consented, and promised to speak to Prince Ch'ing, so that in his opinion Na had broken faith. He would not go any more to the W.W.P. abt. the matter; he had been there at least 20 times since last July.

I said I did not care abt. the interest. I regarded our reply as a counterblast to the proposal to spread payment over several instalments, & that the only point of importance for me was the clear understanding that all banks might compete.

That he said had been inserted by the Chinese, & he seemed to regard it as quite in order. But he protested agst. my not insisting on interest. I asked him however to tell Mumm what my view was. To insist on interest was like the Shylock's demand for his pound of flesh.

Mumm wrote in the morning enclosing dft. of a letter he had sent to Lienfang, urging the absolute necessity of interest being paid, & asked me to do the same.

5 “ Hillier came. Has signed loan contract & now Chao wants the money by the middle of Feb. instead of on the 28th the stipulated date, because he expects to sign on the 9th with the F.R.R. I told him that this was quite impossible, as we were not yet agreed, and even if we were the other colls: & govts. must be consulted. Chao evidently would not need the money before the 28th.

Wrote to Mumm pretty much what I had said to Gaiffier yesterday, without holding out any hopes of my urging the Chinese as to the payment of interest. Leslie Fletcher of the Amphitrite [ship name – HMS Amphitrite] came up to stay & buy pugs.

7 [Feb.] New Year's Audience, being the 4th of the 1st moon. In the absence of Czikann and Conger, Mumm acted as Doyen. Uchida was there, looking very cheerful, having come back [to Peking] the previous evening. The Empress-Dowager as usual in the central place behind the table, & the Emperor, who looked less pale, on a chair at her side. The front of her dress was covered with beautifully large pearls, some disposed in the seal-character for 'Long life'. She read her remarks to us from a piece of paper, and they were interpreted in English by Wu Ting-fang, quite formal wishes for the health & prosperity of the sovereigns & Presidents, in the name of herself & the Emperor, and for the welfare of the F.R.R. Hoped we were pleased with Peking. Mumm said he was certain his colleagues wld. continue to enjoy it in the future as they had in the past, wch. might be taken either way. There was a bitterly cold wind, and a great deal of dust flying through the air.

Dubail came to tell me what he is authorized to do with regard to the indemnity. The special point is that the 4% on monthly instalments can only have effect for each half year separately, that is the Chinese must not get it, if they pay in one half year what belongs to

1905

the succeeding one. He will have to stipulate that his points are carefully set down and agreed to. I told him I had only telegd. in a general way abt. the Chinese proposals, but I thought H.M.G. wld. certainly agree to the 8000000 taels compromise, & I shld. recommend T.T. being accepted.

Fulford came up to stop, and went away on the 9th.

- 11 “ Young Fletcher went off with 1½ pr. of dogs. The pair, black & white, were good, and he paid \$86 for them.

Reception of Foreign Legations at the Waiwupu. Conger & Czikkann being absent, Mumm proposed the health of the Emperor & Empress Dowager, and I that of Prince Ch'ing and the Ministers.

- 13 [Feb.] Yokoyama Magoichirō came. Has been kept at Tientsin by business supplying the armies in Manchuria. Among other things has sent 50,000 Chinese felt boots, wch. of course is far in excess of what the 2000 civilians in Newchwang can need, but they are got through upon a declaration that they are not for a belligerent. I made some remarks on the ineptitude of the Chinese imagining that they could get rid of any responsibility, if such there were, by getting a 'guarantee' from a private person or a consul.

Hillier came to ask whether I had anything from E.H. Fraser abt. the loan of a million taels wch. Chang Chih-tung wants. I had not, but read him part of a letter fr. F.A. Campbell of 30 December abt. the earlier proposal, when the Bank offered to lend him 600,000 at 7 per cent wch. is their usual rate for loans made with their own funds. H's suggestion will be that the Bank shld. try to induce some of their friends to find £150,000 on the security of the boiled opium tax of Hupei & Hunan, wch. his compradore says is 800,000 taels per annum & might bring a million.

- 14 “ Young Yüan Tai came with a message from his father, & told me all abt. Mumm's managing to get an interview with Yang the new Govr. of Shantung. Yang's foreign relations have been placed in Yüan's hands by the Empress Dowager. It is not yet decided whether young Yüan should go to Shantung. He does not feel that he yet knows enough for an official post, and wld. prefer to remain at Tientsin pursuing his studies with Lavington Hart, who is now teaching him trigonometry.

New Year's calls on Pulun, Chiang Kuei-ti, Chao Erhsun, the Mongol Prince Kalachin, and Hu Yü fên. The latter said that Boyce-Kup had again written asking for commission on the railway indemnity. He hoped it wld. continue to be paid direct to the railway administration. I said that as far as I knew that was the intention of H.M.G.

- 15 “ Paid calls on Li Ching-mai, Kueichün & Chang Pohsi. Norris came to stop.

- 16 “ A.J. Barry came and for 2½ hrs. talked on railway matters. He had come up fr. Hankow with Reeders [Rehders], a member of the Disconto-Gesellschaft, who is out here abt. the

1905

Tientsin-Chinkiang railway. The cost of the British section fr. Li-ku[?] is £3 000,000. Barry says that the traffic will not pay the guarantee of 5%; it could only pay if the traffic fr. Tientsin to Tsingtau were pooled. I said that our best course was to protract the negotiations till this was agreed to by the Germans.

Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. Shêng had to be propitiated with £40,000 in cash before he wld. sign the Brennan agreement. The Chinese are making corners [of the market] in ballast, bricks & land. Shêng has got 1000000 Tls. for the Wusung line instead of 500,000 and £250,000 for land instead of £150,000. Of this sum £130,000 has already been paid to him. He buys 50% more than is required for the railway, wch. he will sell later on. But in spite of all this it is possible that the amount already issued may suffice to reach Chinkiang. It wld. be inadvisable to go to the public for more until the line is open and working at least as far as Soochow. Shêng ought to appreciate the economical prices at wch. rails &c. have been purchased, abt. ½ of what the Luhan was built for, but he agreed with me that it is doubtful whether anyone cares.

Canton. Kowloon negotiations betw. C.O. & B. & C. Corporation had not been concluded when he left. [Sir Matthew] Nathan wants receipts to be shared according to cost, the others acc. to mileage of trains run.

Luhan bridge over Yellow river very doubtful of success.

Kalgan line. The B. & C. Corpn. took counsel's opinion, wch. was that they cld. not give their consent to surplus being applied to construction. I thought otherwise, fr. plain construction of agreement. Told him of Corporation's refusal to let China have interest on the balance still in London, & Jardine's demand for 5% commission on the indemnity.

17 [Feb.] [Chinese] New Year calls on Li Shêng tê, Prince Kung, Tsaichên, Prince Su & Shih-hsü the head of the Imperial Household Department.

Jamieson came to talk abt. his interview with Lei of the previous day. I said that I wld. give him all the support he desired with respect to bringing in the £50,000 of preliminary expenses in return for the smelting rules, & in refusing ½ share of coal in Shansi, but agreed with him in thinking that if he can get Chinese cooperation on reasonable terms it will be worth his while.

Hillier came to say that his suggestions as to the loan to Chang Chih tung will prob. be followed with success.

18 “ Mumm came & talked abt. indemnity. Among other things he dropped a hint that certain of the govts. who had appeared disposed to let their shares be remitted thro' other banks than their own were now showing signs of reverting to their previous attitude. He has consulted Rehders, abt. the point I raised regarding the annual decrease of interest and increase of the amortization, wch. I maintain is contrary to the language of the protocol,

1905

and Rehders says he shld. have interpreted the Protocol as the bankers have done. This R. is a director of the Diskonto[Disconto]-Gesellschaft, who is out here respecting the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway.

22nd Feb. Dubail came to talk abt. indemnity. His Govt. will accept the Chinese proposals, provided she gives an independent & previous undertaking to pay it in gold. Promised to send me the instructions he has recd. abt. Trademarks. I telegd. in consequence to F.O. to hurry them up abt. the amendments they are drafting. Told him Beauchamp had left for home, & he said that Derouin was to be removed.

Mumm also came. Wants to draft agreement about the indemnity.

Gaiffier. Talked abt. the inaccuracy of the Taotai's reported rates of exchange. Told him that the Chinese had to remit several times every month, & showed him the Hgkg & S'hai Bank's Diary, fr. wch. he copied the details about the 7% of silver loan of 1894.

23 " van Citters abt. theft of a coat & cap from one of his guards at a drinking shop said to be kept by a British subject. Promised to investigate.

25 " To Mumm with dft. note to be written by the Chinese abt. the indemnity, wch. I prefer to a new Supplementary Protocol, & returned him Gaiffier's dft. in the latter form with his observations, with wch. I told him I agreed.

Found Dubail with him, who had just brought him his instructions abt. trademarks. I said I had telegd. for Board of Trade amendments. Dub. says the report that [German and French military attachés Hentschel von] Gilgenheim & [de] Cuverville were thrown overboard by the junk wch. was conveying them fr. Port Arthur to Chefoo is authentic.

Reports of peace negotiations are denied by both Lessar & Davydoff.

They both spoke abt. Italian withdrawal of troops fr. Huangtsun, wch. they consider irregular, especially the proposal to sell barracks to the Chinese.

Going out met Mundy Reuter's correspt. who was full of the story, & said the Chinese wld. put troops there. I replied they could not do this under the protocol.

To Baroli to ask abt. this. He is much annoyed that he has recd. no instructions. The Minr. of War telegd. to Ameglio and the Minr. of Marine to the Admiral, that all the troops & ships are to be withdrawn except one ship & 300 sailors & a few mounted gens d'armes for the Minister's escort. Ameglio came up to consult him & wanted to negotiate sale of barracks to Chinese. On this he put his veto, but is annoyed that Ameglio shld. have made it public. He was told before leaving Rome to make a report, wch. he did, & it must now be in the hands of the Govt. Prob. it is the Minr. of Finance who has done it. His report was adverse to withdrawal under present circs, when none of his colls: entertained such an idea. He has therefore telegd. to Tittoni referring to the Military Convention and advising agst. it. His opinion is that if they insist, it would be better to post some sailors there.

1905

Told him of my draft shown to Mumm, wch. I said I wld. show to him when I had got it back & it had been seen by Dubail.

Lienfang came to urge haste with the trademarks, to wch. he replied he wld. act with his colls:

27 [Feb.] Chao came to return my new year's call, & to ask when we were likely to come to an agreement about the indemnity, as he was liable to pay 4% on the arrears & 5% on his loan. He said Gaiffier told him Lessar had instructions to agree to whatever his colls: accepted, & that he had a letter fr. Gaiffier saying that the terms wld. be signed 9 Feby. & the money required five days after. I told him that I thought it wld. take some time to settle the terms. There were several points yet undetermined. 1°. how the 8 million taels were to be divided; 2°. how to treat the Jany. & Feby. payments. 3°. the form of the agreement, & I told him my ideas on these three points. Showed him the dft. note as circulated by Mumm. He observed that he knew nothing abt. payt. 25 days after signature; he was ready at any time; prob. the W.W.P. put that in, without consulting him. I told him I was not an advocate for making them pay 4% interest on the arrears, & that Gaiffier had not consulted me before writing his strong letter in reply to WWP. refusal, in wch. he insisted on it. He said Gaiffier had assured him it was always intended by us. I replied that the matter was mentioned for the first time when the WWP's absurd proposal to spread payt. over several months first came to our notice. Lastly, I promised to let him know tomorrow what were the chances of an immediate signature.

To Uchida, who said he had not yet recd. any instructions. Prob. they were too busy to consider his report. He talked abt. trademarks, & said he had written to the W.W.P. to remind them that the period fixed by the law for registering trademarks in respect of wch. application had been made wld. expire on April 19, & if when the time came nothing had been done, he wld. have to insist on the law being acted on as far as Japanese subjects were concerned. In reply to a question he said Chinese imitated Jap. marks on matches. I told him I had telegd. for definite instructions, & hoped to get them soon.

He said he had no news about the fighting before Mukden, but it wld. not surprise him if it turned out that a big battle was going on, as they had been expecting it to fall about this time.

To Mumm, who says he does not think Lessar has got such instructions as Chao states. He has no yet quite made up his mind abt. my draft wch. he thinks too long, and does not see how my proposal for maintaining the Commission of Bankers as a channel will work. He thinks that the crucial point. He is disposed to come to an agreement, but does not like my plan of an exchange of Notes. Lessar wants something cut and dried. Also Berlin has telegd. that they want some words inserted confining the purchase of T.T. to banks of

1905

standing. I objected to the vagueness of this, and pointed out its unnecessary character, as the Chinese must pay in any case, but he said that this being the only thing his govt. had asked for he was bound to insist on it. Lessar & Dubail also wanted it. I pointed out the superiority of an exchange of notes as a matter of form, since for 10 of us either to explain the Protocol or substitute something else for it without the American signature wld. be a strange proceeding, whereas if the Chinese sent us a satisfactory note & we accepted it, the Americans could fall into line afterwards without any difficulty. I was willing to shorten my draft, e.g. by taking out all the references to differences of rates of exchange, but some explanation was necessary to show why we accepted 8,000,000 in place of the 9,037,000 due to us.

We discussed the war. He said he thought the [Russian] Baltic fleet would come to grief, in consequence of its heterogeneous character, and moreover the naval men did not want to fight, as was shown by the behaviour of the Port Arthur squadron. The soldiers prob. did want to fight. The rumours of peace negotiations seemed improbable, for otherwise Prince Frederick of Hohenzollern wld. surely not start. I rejoined that fr. my point of view the Russians could not wish for peace, so long as they were playing football in another man's garden.

Did not tell him what Uchida had said abt. trademarks, only that as to indemnity he had no instructions, and had no news of battle.

Rev. W. A. Robins, who came on the 22nd, went away today. A friend of Norris. Came fr. the mining camps in the Kootenay districts where he had been for the past 5 years. Reads & preaches remarkably.

28 “ Mumm having sent back my projet de Note, without comment, wch. he promises to give later in person, took it to Dubail, & explained my reasons & views. On my speaking of the Chinese remitting to European capitals to the credit of the Commission of bankers, he became very peremptory in his usual manner when there is anything he does not like, and said his Govt. wld. have nothing more to do with a Banker's commission, wch. must disappear. I rejoined that if it was intended to make any explicit statement to that effect, I must ask for instructions, and turned off to another part of the subject. He says he cannot discuss any other points than the settlement of the arrears and the payt. direct to the French Govt. of their share of the monthly payments.

March 1905

1 Mar. Shih-hsü came to return my New Year's call. Dubail returned my draft, after writing on the outside in pencil that he did not think he cld. accept it. Took it to Baroli, & left it with

1905

him. He had been talking abt. it with Mumm, & had told him he did not wish to see the Banker's Commission disappear.

Dubail has told him that he had "protested" against the Italian troops being withdrawn from Huangtsun. Told him what I had telegraphed, in order not to cause any difficulties for the Italian govt. As for protesting, that hardly seemed to me to be the duty of a minister here.

Duncan Mackintosh came to ask me to in some way obtain or give an assurance in regard to Yüan Shih kai's loan which would enable the Bank to invest in it, in accordance with Yüan's wishes. So agreed to ask W.W.P. if foreigners could hold it on the same terms as Chinese, & Mayers went to Natung, who said he could not tell, but he wld. teleg. to Yüan for information.

2 Mar. Dubail came. He said that yesterday, finding I had a Chinese visitor he had left the draft at the door in an envelope on which he had scribbled a few words in haste. This shows that I had misjudged him. He wants to leave out the history of the bankers' doings, because it is better not to have it officially on record, & his Min. of Finance has refused to discuss the way in wch. past payments were calculated. He wld. have no objection to let the Chinese have the 4% monthly interest fr. 1 Jany. (wch. is more than I had suggested in my draft). As to interest on the 8 000 000 he cld. give that up if his colls: approved of the suggestion made by Gaiffier, but does not wish to teleg. about it again. I said that as soon as I got the draft back from Baroli I wld. take it to him & alter it together.

He does not believe in the Russian suggestion that Chinese troops are going to take part agst. Russia, but we must be alive to the fact that Yüan has now 60,000 men drilled by Japanese officers in spite of the official denials. Brigands led by Japanese attacked a bridge near Harbin, but were unsuccessful. At least so Kuropatkin says. Lessar has of course forwarded Kuropatkin's complaints, but D. had frankly told him his opinion that the Chinese Govt. were behaving with perfect neutrality, and that they could not be blamed for the acts of the brigands. When I objected that the stories of large bodies of Japse. coming out on the west of the Russian r. wing were incredible, for how wld. they pass round without their passage across the rlwy. being remarked, he said the Russian system of scouting was bad.

Told him of my controversy with the Waiwupu abt. so-called contraband to Hsinmingtun and Newchwang & my objection to consular guarantees being demanded. He said he was ready to tell the W.W.P. the same. He had gone farther than I even, for he had instructed his consul-general to give passports to Greeks for Manchuria 'à ses risques et périls' which they did not at all like. The Fr. Govt. had told the Messageries Maritimes that they were quite free to carry contraband, such as guns & ammunition at their own risk.

1905

4 “ Took my draft back to Dubail, and agreed with him on its wording, except the paragraph providing for the continuance of their functions by the commission of bankers, which he wishes to omit.

5 [Mar.] Took draft to Uchida, & left it with him. He has not yet recd. any instructions. Thinks the Japanese have occupied Hsinmingtun. Told him of Benckendorf's complaint to Lord Lansdowne abt. Japanese violations of Chinese neutrality & of my reply.

Edmund Backhouse who has returned from England called yesterday. We spoke about future plans, as soon as the weather moderates.

A Mr. W.C. Martin called with a letter fr. Coolidge, offering himself as a candidate for Howard Swan's post. Told him I had not heard it was likely to be vacant, but would inquire and let him know the result.

6 “ Mumm came and talked about a draft Note of his to be substituted for the various drafts the Chinese have furnished with regard to the indemnity. He had been discussing it with Lessar, whom he had persuaded to take a more favourable view of the 4% a month deduction, and to accept also Mumm's & my view of the manner in which the 8 000 000 Protocol taels should be divided. It had taken him a long time. Ultimately Lessar said he would again telegraph, but he had sent on the circular covering Baroli's letter to van Citters without signing it. Had I read his draft. I said I had only had time to glance at it, but there was one thing on wch. I hoped they wld. not insist “ banque d'un crédit indiscutable”. The phrase was vague & unnecessary, for if the Chinese gave us transfers or bills wch. were not honoured, they wld. have to pay again. I was anxious not to leave anything wch. cld. not be clearly interpreted. M. replied that Lessar desired it, & also Dubail. As for himself, he had a telegram fr. his govt. making it quite clear that they wld. accept T.T. of any good bank. He thought I was too misstrauisch. I replied no, but after all what banks did they wish to exclude? I knew Baroli desired to keep his bank going. M. answered “Chinese banks”. I said they could not give T.T. on Europe as they had no exchange business with foreign countries. As to Dubail, I had gone over my own draft with him from beginning to end, after he had had it in his possession for 48 hours, and tho' there was no such wording in it he had not offered any objection.

Apropos of the Protocol he said his bankers at Berlin had laughed when he asked whether it was obscure, and told him it was perfectly clear. The American pretence that it was a silver debt was mauvaise foi [bad faith]. I said I thought so too, & it was shown by the fact that a portion of a telegram of mine in the blue-book was pointed out to Wu Ting fang as supporting this view, while the rest of it, and other telegs. wch. proved the contrary were passed over. Certainly Conger, who was not present at the negotiations had personally interpreted the Protocol in the same way as the rest of us did.

1905

[Margin: Robins left finally this morning.]

Mumm then jumped to the question of Rockhill being apptd. here, which showed that he connected him with the 'mauvaise foi'.

7 [Mar.] Uchida brought back my draft, and also a telegram in Japanese which he says shows the Russians are being surrounded at Mukden.

He told me that the Dalai Lama has two agents here, who are trying to get leave for their master to come to Peking, while the Russians are trying to persuade him to go to Russia. He himself wants to go back to Lhasa.

I thanked him for the information, and said that if he went to Russia he would lose all his influence; if he went back to Lhasa he wld. do harm, and it was perhaps better that he should come here. I explained what our object was in going to Lhasa, and said we did not wish to upset Chinese suzerainty, wch. we had openly declared we recognized, on the occasion of the signature of the Convention, but we could not tolerate Russia at Lhasa. As long as Nat'ung was in charge of the question, everything went smoothly, but when Wu Tingfang returned from Shanghai he pitched upon Art. 9 and declared that it infringed Chinese suzerainty. Then I went to Prince Ch'ing, and arranged with him for satisfactory instructions to be sent to Lhasa. They were drafted by Wu, but Chü Hung-hi got hold of the telegram, and spoilt it. Nevertheless I forwarded it, as we had always done.

“ 8 To Natung. Talked abt. Tang's apptmt. & the Dalai Lama, the chief points of this recorded in a private letter to Lord Lansdowne of 9 Mar. Also Peking Syndicate's agreements, trying to get a definite declaration that the matter is really settled, but in Lu's absence not obtainable. Desp. to F.O. reporting conversation, of 9 Mar. He asked abt. trademarks and pointed out the difficulty of the Chinese position. Replied that the Commercial attaché had arrived, & that I was only awaiting instructions from home. He suggested I shld. telegraph again, wch. I did on returning home. To use the classic phrase of the African dept. "these delays are intolerable". Also indemnity. Told him that Gaiffier & I and Baroli, & possibly Dubail were in favour of not exacting the interest on the 8,000,000. But Lessar & Uchida had not yet recd. instructions. He replied that acc. to Gaiffier Uchida was authorized to accept Chinese proposals if the others did; I rejoined that this was mere surmise, & U. had informed me yesterday that he had no instructions. Fee on transit passes. Told him that H.M.G. was distinctly of opinion that it was contrary to Treaty, and I supposed the suspension was practically equivalent to abandoning it. He said no, that they were considering how to deal with the question. If we wld. agree to its being levied at large ports, they would give it up at smaller places like Mêngtze. I said we cld. not do this, as the Shanghai Taotai had said 20% only were to be retained by the Customs, the balance being divided equally betw. Foreign Board & Treasury. Then he suggested

1905

reducing it to ½ tael, giving 20 cents to Customs & 30 to him for the Peking roads, as he had exhausted the 200,000 Tls. allotted to him for that purpose. I replied that the merchants wld. be furious when they heard the money was spent to enable Chinese mandarins & Foreign Mins. to roll along luxuriously in their carriages. Intimated that I shld. write & ask for the re-payment of what had already been levied.

[Mar.] 9 Gaiffier called to discuss my draft, wch. he says he prefers to Mumm's. As to my objection to 'd'un crédit indiscutable' [of undoubted credit] after 'n'importe quelle banque' [any bank whatsoever], he was afraid the others would insist. I said I was equally determined not to accept it, and suggested in its place 'étrangère actuellement établie à Shanghai'. He also wishes the commission of bankers to continue its functions. We also discussed my system of making the Chinese pay annuities, & deduct the 4% interest every half-year, wch. he likes, but fears the Chinese wld. not agree to. I was of a different opinion. Finally I said it did not matter, as the Russians were clearly not disposed to make any concessions at all to the Chinese at the moment. Cockburns left for home.

“ 10 Lunch party at Prince Ch'ing's to the Diplomatic Body. Fine warm day.

Uchida says the Prince's gains are estimated at two million taels per annum. He has some 300 people on his establishment, none of whom get more than 3 or 4 taels a month, so they too have to live on 'presents' like their master. Na has 80 people, Chang Yin huan had 100.

Wu Tingfang says he wants to enact a press law on the model of English & American law, applicable to foreign newspapers as well as Chinese, by wch. they wld. be obliged to register and give security as at Hongkong. Wld. I allow it to be applied to English newspapers. I said I must see the draft before I could give an opinion.

11 “ Mumm brought me a letter fr. the Waiwupu abt. the electric light Co. in Peking being told that they could not extend their system outside the Legation quarter, as the Chinese have themselves started a company. I told him I knew nothing abt. the co. established in the Legation Qr. They had not been near me, and if they were foreign capitalists tho' they might be registered in Hongkong, I wld. not take any trouble for them. He says the original concession to Siemens & Halske gave them the right to extend all over Peking, but he did not know whether the present people had that concession transferred to them.

Chinanfu regulations framed by the Chinese. If it were true that M. did not desire these places to be opened all he wld. have to do wld. be to accept regns. We discussed them & found we agreed, & I promised to show him what I wrote.

Japse. seizure of stores at Hsinmingtun. M. insists that this place was outside the line laid down by the Russians as the limit of hostilities, at the outset of the war; the Japse. had tacitly accepted them then, & had no right to go beyond. I suggested that as the Russians

1905

had arbitrarily taken a portion of Chinese territory to carry on operations, the Japse. were at liberty to take any other, & were not bound by the Russian line Liu ho, Hsinmingtun, Kao-pang-tzu, Yingkow. As far as I knew no B. Ss. had engaged in that traffic with huchao fr. the British consul, so we shld. have no claims. M. says that German firms of repute have done so, & he asked me what I wld. do if the Japse. arrested a B.S. there. I replied luckily nothing of the kind had happened. As for claims, I should never do more than send them to London, but if a B.S. were captured, I wld. to save time trouble ask Uchida unofficially, tho' all such matters are for the govts.

Dr. Scholz's action at Hankow in asking Consuls to arbitrate betw. Chinese & Germ. firms who have lately been boycotted, & appeal to the Consular body. Gently expressed my dissent fr. this gentleman's proceedings, repeated my instructions to Fraser, to tell the Ger. Consul so, & if necessary the Chinese Auth. also.

Morrison called on his return from Shantung. The Germans have neither built barracks nor stationed soldiers along the railway, but there is no doubt they had intended to do so; the unexpected turn of the war made them abandon the execution of their plans.

Hopkins came up to stay over Sunday. He alluded to the vote of his colls: continuing Rocher as consular repres've on the Conservancy Board. I told him frankly that I thought he had made a mistake in raising the question officially without consulting me, for possibly I might have arranged with Dubail for Rocher gracefully retiring in his favour. In any case, it was a mistake to invite defeat.

Mixed Court. He is indifferent, or rather, hostile. I told him my conditions, wch. we agreed wld. entirely put a stop to the movement.

13 “ Hopkins went back.

Morrison came to ask abt. the German mining areas in Shantung. Showed him my desp. to F.O. with the map and clause defining them, & told him how Mumm had deceived Townley by showing him incorrect Chinese version of the alteration made here by von Ketteler to avoid our leased territory, wch. differs fr. the German text.

14 “ Hillier to say that Yüan had put his foot down & refused to let Bush send rice for the Japse. army from Yinkow to Hsin-ming-tun. Yüan is right. Bush was stupid to say it was for the Japanese.

C. Denby came with print of the Articles of Association of the Peking Electric Co. Ltd. registered at Hongkong. Boyce-Kup is one of the promoting 7. But Br. capital is less than half. (Prob. a good deal less). They have not acquired the old concession of Siemens & Halske, but merely a permission fr. Mumm to set up their plant on a piece of ground he has leased to them. I said I wld. help the Co. as far as lay in my power, & hoped to become a customer. I wld. as far as possible aid them to obtain a monopoly for the Legn. Quarter.

1905

To Sir Robt. Talked abt. refund of illegal tax on transit passes levied before the order to stop was given. He is making a report to W.W.P. so I promised to hold my hand.

Jardine Matheson & Co's steamer "Columbia". He thinks prob. a modus might be arranged. The definition of "inland waters", by giving to it the meaning attached to it by the Chefoo Convention was conceded to Sir C. MacD. without his being consulted.

Duty on cigarettes. He explained the delay, but said instructions had already been sent and are on the way.

O'Brien-Butler's difficulty with Smollett-Campbell. Showed him encl. in the former's desp. He says instructions as alleged by the Comr. of Customs are in acc. with arrangement betw. the W.W.P. & Foreign RR. On returning home & referring to the papers I saw that there was a misunderstanding on both sides.

15 " Hu Yü fên abt. stoppage of traffic on the railway in consequence of difficulties about sending Japse. Govt. rice from Yingkow to Hsin-min-ting. Told him the sooner traffic was re-opened the better, as the army occasion to blaspheme.

He says it is true there is talk of sending Chao Erhsun at once to Mukden, but agreed with me that it is a foolish idea, & that the only thing is to wait until peace is made & the situation becomes normal.

Kalgan rlwy. He will write to me on the subject & I will see whether I can get the matter settled by telegraphing to F.O.

Dined with P'ulun. Gray & Mayers, Mumm, Goltz, Krebs, the 2 Sir Roberts [Hart and Bredon], Wu Ting-fang, and Pu-ti a cousin of Pulun's, who returned from Mukden in December last, and is going in a couple of months time to Kalgan as Tartar-general. An intelligent man with a good face. Says the distress there was very great, the country devastated, 80,000 without means of subsistence who had to be fed. The price of millet three fold what it is in ordinary times. Russians employed a good many people at high wages, but that did not abate the general distress. Asked about Manchu language, he says that in Kirin, Heilungchiang and the mountainous districts west of Fushun, abt. Hsing-ching the ancient seat of the dynasty, the children speak it ordinarily, but in the towns the adults all use Chinese. The immigrant population wch. is large, comes chiefly from Chihli and Shantung.

Wu confirmed the report of the E-D wanting to take over Mukden at once fr. the Japanese. This morning he had a conversation with Prince Ch'ing, & urged on him the necessity of leaving everything in statu quo until peace is concluded. I begged him to repeat this advice as coming from me.

17 " Col. & Mrs. Dobbie from Shanhaikwan & Bishop Scott called.

Dubail came. He pretends Lessar is willing to sign the Chinese proposals about the

1905

indemnity, and that Uchida would do so too, if he knew, as Matsui declared his govt. wld. agree to what ever the other Powers accepted. I reminded him the [that?] Matsui had written to tell us that his govt. wished the whole matter to be settled by the Bankers' commission.

Gave him the newspaper cutting about Scott-Cranstown, and told him the F.O. said the story of his having a mission to watch the demarcation of the Indo-China – Siam frontier is a lie.

Told him I had my instructions about the Trademarks.

18 [Mar.] Conger called on his return from Manila. On the whole things are settling down, but cannot be put right with the speed demanded by Washington, wch. sends unreasonable instructions, e.g. put down slavery, prohibit polygamy. He is pleased at his app[oin]tment [as U.S. ambassador] to Mexico.

Baroli came. Says that having been told by his govt. that he might as well intimate to Chinese Govt. the intention [of Italy] to withdraw troops, he went to Prince Ch'ing & informed him. Dubail heard of it the next day, and rounded upon him.

This was quite natural, but unreasonable of Dubail. All govts. play each other this trick. We tried it on in 1902 with regard to the evacuation of Shanghai, & again with the indemnity. It requires great skill to play this card to advantage; but it generally fails to take the trick.

Talking of the war he said the Japanese army was invincible, not only the rank & file, but the officers, who display a self devotion & contempt of death wch. no European army can produce, our officers being all soft & effeminate thro' luxury.

Lessar had when he came here obliged him with his view of politics in China à la Russe, i.e. that in 1900 Russia committed a gross mistake in making common cause with the Powers, when she ought to have kept aloof and supported the Empress-Dowager with all her might & main. This was said to me àpropos of a suggestion that Lessar has underground communication with the E-D thro' the Russo-Chinese Bank and the Taoist priest of Poyunkwan & Li Lien-ying.

I told Baroli of the E-D desire to send Chao Erhsun to take over Mukden from the Japse. & reorganize Manchuria, wch. has prob. been suggested to her thro' the abovementioned channel, and also abt. the recent difficulty at Newchwang in regard to transport of Japanese commissariat stores to Hsin-min-tun.

[Margin: He told me also that Grassi of his Legation Guard is going to enter the service of Yüan for wireless telegraphy, & goes to London to buy instruments.]

19 “ Returned Conger's call, & went to see Lessar, who was most amiable. Has a large sarcoma [malignant neoplasm] on the sole of the foot, which must be cut out. If skin does

1905

not form over it, the greater part of the foot must be amputated. He spoke most cheerfully. But in any case he has made up his mind in April to ask to be relieved in May, so as to make the journey home in summer. I did not touch on any business matters.

Met Major Nathan and an English speaking foreigner going in to see Lessar, a curious conjunction.

20 “ Genl. Ventris came up with his A.D.C. Ferguson.

22 “ Genl. returned to Tientsin.

Mumm came. Apropos of indemnity he said Lessar wishes to see proposed text of exchange of notes, that he may telegraph it. He wishes to be able to claim T.T. in sterling, as Russia has payments to make in London. I said I thought this cld. be managed. Repeated my objection to ‘d’un crédit indiscutable’, & suggested either ‘actuellement établies à Shanghai’ or to specify them [i.e. banks to be used for telegraphic transfers]. He replied that he wld. prefer omitting ‘d’un crédit indiscutable’ to employing either of those methods. He reiterated his belief that Uchida is ready to agree if all the others do, but I expressed my doubts. Gave him my draft of the proposed Chinese note, wch. I said had been prepared by Dubail & myself, and approved by Baroli & Gaiffier.

He affected to believe in peace following on the recent defeat of the Russians; I replied that I saw no reason why they shld. make peace.

Told him I had sent in my note about Chinanfu. He has not yet done it.

23 “ Morrison came. He is full of further demands as to mining in Shantung made by the Germans in February last, wch. have been rejected seriatim [i.e. one after another] by the Chinese.

24 “ Meeting at Mumm's, Dubail & myself about our various amendments to the Trademark regulations, & we apptd. Radowitz, Vignon & Mayers a committee to prepare a comparative table showing what the various amendments are.

I told Mumm & Dubail afterwards that I did not see how it was possible to introduce a clause into the exchange of notes regarding the indemnity, so as to enable any Power to obtain T.T. in other currency than its own. They agreed on this point, but suggested that each Power shld. have the power to make separate arrangements with China. Dubail proposed (or was it Mumm) that the Commission de Redaction with Gaiffier added, shld. prepare drafts, but I said that I saw no reason why, before we did this, Lessar and Uchida shld. not declare themselves in writing.

When we were outside Dubail suggested that I shld. help him with the Kueichow company's negotiations for getting rid of their intermediary. I returned a cold answer, reminding him that tho' the Co. is nominally English 2/3 of the capital is French, & added that H.M.G. was not inclined to interfere on behalf of interests not distinctly British, eg.

1905

Mondon & Co., the Tsingtau Brewery Co., the Peking Electric Light Co.

Uchida came. Told him abt. Ducat's sensational story of the revival of the Far-Eastern Triplice [of 1895] by a treaty signed at Berlin & that I had telegd. it to Tokio as well as to London. He had heard nothing. Mumm has been very complimentary of late abt. the achievements of the Japanese army, "but of course that means nothing, as the Germans often say the contrary of what they are thinking."

He said that our proposed amendment to the Trade Mark Regulations that words shld. not be registered in respect of yarns, sewing collars &c. wld. be contrary to the Japese. trademark law. Mumm had told him of one intended meeting, & he wld. wait till he heard the result.

Drove with Mrs.Gray to the Drum Tower, & ascended it. 59 steep steps leading to a landing, & then a few more into a vast & lofty hall floored with stone slabs; from the balacony of which there is an extensive view of the surrounding country & the city. The balustrade in many places fallen away, & very rickety looking.

25 " Cloudy morning and gentle rain from about three o'clock in the afternoon.

27 " Dined with Tsaichên. Tried to get there in the new brougham, but Dirty Lane was in such a condition that it stuck before going more than a hundred yards, and I had to turn back & go in a chair, arriving there with Mayers 1 hr. 20 minutes late. The host had waited however. Uchida, an American visitor named Reynolds or Reynaud were the only other foreign guests, the party being made up with Natung and employés of the Shangpu. Na told Mayers that the Dalai Lama had been accorded permission to leave Urga for Lhasa, but that he will be stopped at Hsi-ning. He advised we shld. press Shêng to memorialize about the Peking Syndicate's railway, and to write to Chao about the neglect of the Octroi to pay the revenue into the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank; as they are depositing it with the Yokohama specie bank, from wch. they receive 4% interest, & pocket one-half.

Uchida says Japan will certainly go to Harbin & attack Vladivostock. Short of that no peace is possible.

28 " Meeting of Dubail Mumm Gaiffier and self to discuss a proposed draft of a Note abt. the indemnity to be sent to us by the Chinese. I declined to accept any other basis than the pro-formâ account obtained from the Bankers' Commission, and secured the omission of the words wch. wld. have limited the banks whose paper China might tender in payment to those of "un crédit indiscutable". Gaiffier was charged to draw up draft, as well as of note in reply, and we agreed to meet tomorrow afternoon.

Farewell dinner to the Congers.

" 29 Rained all day. I have scarcely seen the sun since the morning of the 25th.

Mumm, Dubail, Gaiffier & self met again and settled the text of the two notes, and

1905

Gaiffier was charged to put them before Lienfang informally & see whether they will accept them. The idea seems to be that each Minister shall separately inform the W.W.P. wch. method of paiement he accepts. As Dubail says his govt. accepts 'T.T. or gold bills', without saying who is to choose, there may be some dispute abt. that.

Mumm spoke of some objections raised by Rosthorn to a draft Note about the Chinese electric light Co. coming into the Legn. Qr. I said he had better send me the papers.

“ 30 Took to Uchida copies of the dft. notes prepared yesterday, & explained why we must leave him to arrange with the Chinese for payt. in London instead of in yen. Began to clear in the afternoon.

“ 31 F.N. Deering, successor to Sowne as Chief Superintendent of the Chinese Telegraph Administration called. He said that the Viceroy of Yünnan having undertaken to reconstruct the Burma-Yünnanfu teleg. line, & his dept. being willing to send a European inspector to reside there, and Berrington having arrived at Tientsin, he supposed that the agreement cld. be concluded here. He supposed that agreement cld. be concluded here. I said that Warren having been apptd. to negotiate & sign, I had no such power. He says Wu is entirely ignorant of telegraph matters, & all the other men now in the Dept. being obstructive, it is badly managed. Wu it seems is Yüan Shih-kai's man, lately Financial Comr. of Chihli. Chu Paofang is so disgusted that he has resigned, and is to go to Shantung as head of the Yang-wa-chü. W.H. Wilkinson is reported by the Chinese manager at Yünnanfu to have said that he had been apptd. by the Indian Govt. to negotiate, & that he wld. 'lose face' if it were done at Shanghai. I said there must be some mistake, as no such apptmt. cld. be made without my knowledge.

Morrison came. He is off to Corea tomorrow. Says Mumm got Cowen to insert the London & China Express article on his (M's) teleg. abt. the loss to us of German participation in the £1,000,000 loan by offering to give back the German official advertisements. Cowen wrote & asked his advice, & he told him certainly to accept. Mumm also sent a copy to Hillier, with a letter, in reply to wch. Hillier wrote back saying that M's teleg. did not represent the views of the Bank. If this is exactly as Morrison says, it was rather shabby, as Hillier had expressed exactly the same view to me!

W. Bullard came, & left copy of the new Agreement abt. Joint Purse with the Dutch-German & American Companies. I told him I cld. not sign confirming it without instructions, on wch. he said the F.O. had been informed, & instructions wld. doubtless reach me.

1905

April 1905

April 1. Dubail came. Has recd. authority to accept the Hwangpu conservancy scheme. He believes that peace is on the tapis, Japan to have the Liaotung Peninsula, Corea and Russia to evacuate Manchuria, no cession of Vladivostock, but perh. Sagalin wch. is more important to Japan for the herring fishery than to Russia, & no indemnity. I asked how abt. the rlwy. to wch. he replied that it was the property of a private company(!) & that some arrangement wld. have to be made. I said nothing of what I suspect Japanese terms wld. be, but from a remark of Bower's later in the day, I imagine that the transfer to Japan of the Russian share of the Chinese indemnity must be talked of pretty generally. D. said he had telegd. the gift of the draft note of the indemnity to Paris, asking leave to agree to division of the 8 000 000 on the "pro-formâ" tableau and recommending them to pronounce for T.T.

April 2 With Mrs. Carnegie & Mariota & Eastes to the Cottage by 1.05 train to lunch, and walked back, the mule cart bringing the first two back from the Hsi pien mên. The willows were in bud, and the big poplars all covered with black catkins.

“ 3 Two hours with Mumm & Dubail revising draft amendments to the Trade mark Regulations.

To Nat'ung. Suggested to him that when peace is made China must recover her liberty of action in regard to Manchuria, especially with reference to rlwys. &c. Spoke abt. indiscretions by wch. the Peking Pau [newspaper] is enabled to publish details of correspondence with this Legation. Transport of Butterfield & Swire's sugar to Newchwang, & pointed out the absurdity of the so-called guarantee that foodstuffs are not for a belligerent, especially as it has been given up at Shanghai. Peking Syndicate's rlwy., asked whether Shêng had made any sign, & explained that when my desp. gets home I shall at once be asked by telegram whether he has memorialized. Nat'ung promised to send him a teleg. to inquire what he was doing. I emphasized the fact that the agreement having been made betw. Jamieson & the Waiwupu, memorializing must be a mere formality.

Dined with von der Goltz to play bridge. There was a Herr v. Carlowitz, ex-chamberlain of the King of Saxony, nephew of the founder of the well-known firm, who many years ago was German Consul at Canton.

4 “ Morning at Mumm's, and finished the main discussion on the Trade mark regulation amendments: suggested that the sub-committee shld. go to work on the "detailed rules".

T.R. Berrington lunched to discuss teleg. convention, and drafted teleg. to F.O. proposing that the negotiations shld. be transferred here. Drove him afterwards to the

1905

Anting mên. He says he is a 2nd cousin of Arthur Herbert, & is also related to Harford of the Dipl. Service. Alick Shaw & his wife came to stop the night.

5 April. Gaiffier came to say that the W.W.P. was making a difficulty about the para. in the Indemnity draft note providing that the sycee delivered to the Bankers' Commission since Jan. 1 shld. be repaid to them, evidently suspecting a trick to benefit the bankers. At his request I wrote to Lienfang pointing out that it was the easiest way of disposing of this money, and most to their advantage.

Col. Aoki whom I met at the station as I was saying goodbye to Mrs. Shaw tells me the prisoners taken at Mukden did not exceed 25,000. The first estimate was larger, owing to a batch having been counted twice over. On the other hand the number of Russian dead was about 36,000. Of the guns, both large calibre & field pieces acknowledged by Kuropatkin to have been lost, they had not found more than a limited number. Prob. the rest had been tumbled into the river. Of peace proposals he had heard nothing, and did not think either Japan or Russia wld. in that frame of mind. Vladivostok must first be taken, wch. will be less difficult than Port Arthur, as the natural defences are less formidable. Oyama's headquarters will be at Mukden for some time to come, & the railway communication will be restored in a day or two; the Russians damaged the bridge over the Hunho.

7 [April] Funeral Service for Bishop Favier at the Pei t'ang. He died on the night of the 2nd. Returning, near the corner of Nan-hai wall, on the opposite side of the way, saw a large white cherry tree in full blossom: one in our compound nearly as far advanced.

Met E. Backhouse on the wall, and agreed that he shld. write to me when he is ready to start for Mongolia.

Dined with Mumm to meet Prince Frederick Leopold of Prussia, a brother of the Duchess of Connaught, and sat on his right. He is a spare young-looking man, speaks English and French, but not easily, and is rather shy.

Carcer told me that a Spanish priest from Shantung had said to him that the impression in the province was that a few years hence there would be an attempt on the part of the Japanese to turn out the Germans [as happened at the start of World War One]. His own opinion was that Japan wld. acquire such an influence in China as to make it practically impossible for Europeans to go on as at present. I rejoined that it wld. mean that the Powers wld. have to treat China fairly, and that it was a matter for congratulation to see an Eastern nation able to maintain its independence.

Goltz did not believe in peace being imminent, & Radowitz advocated European powers pulling together.

Sir Robt. [Hart] was there, looking as fresh as a daisy in spite of his 70 years.

1905

8 “ Chu Paofay came. He has recd. copy of my letter to the W.W.P. asking for him to be kept here. Speaking of Shantung where he is going, he said that the Germans believe that when the present war is over, their turn will come next, in a few years, & that they are doing everything they can to conciliate opinion. Told him that the regulations for the opening of Chinanfu were bad & that I had written so to the W.W.P. He had not seen either. The Chinese idea he said was to induce foreigners to come there, in order to prevent the Germans getting hold of the whole commerce, & also to establish trade to Chefoo by the Hsiao-ching-ho with the object of competing with Tsingtao.

Kamei who called this morning said the same thing. He had seen Stewart Lockhart & discussed with him the future of W.H.W. L. hoped no one wld. object to our remaining there as long as the Germans were at Tsingtao, & Kamei assured him Japan, established at Port Arthur, wld. make no objection. In fact, he even suggested that our present lease shld. be re-worded to make it last as long as the German lease of Tsingtao. ¹

Drove Mrs. Carnegie & Mariota to the Kao Miao, where Parkes & Lockhart were confined after they left the Board of Punishments.

Dined with Chiang Kuei-ti; Wu Jun[Juu?] pa the Hgkg & S'hai Bk. comprador who like Chiang is from Anhui. Uchida, Aoki, Yamamoto, a nice looking little man who is teaching the Peking police & Bower.

Forsythia opposite the Carnegies' house has one blossom fully open.

10 “ A single blossom of Viburnum, and one or two of Forsythia open this afternoon in my garden.

One Watanabe, who last May returned to Tokio after a long journey in Kashgaria, etc. with Count Ōtani came to call, bearing a letter of introduction from Morrison. Speaks English well, tho' not fluently.

Tsuchiya newly arrived correspondent of the Osaka Asahi Shinbun, speaking English, called. Says the Germans are asking for a railway concession from Chinan to 淮安 Huai-an in Kiangsu, and are trying to obtain all the mining rights in Shantung.

Gaiffier came. He said the W.W.P. had written privately to him & Mumm saying that they accepted the dft. note, & that they would send it officially today. I told him he must stop them, as the exchange of Notes had to be simultaneous, and as the Colls: had not seen the drafts yet. He said he wld. do so, & write to Mumm. The latter shortly after wrote to me that he was circulating the drafts, on wch. I wrote him a note to say that as I had not yet recd. a reply from home, he had better not send it to me first, as my observation that I was not authorized to sign wld. cool the zeal of the others, & I added that I was anxious to meet the wishes of the Chinese by an early signature. He came to see me in the afternoon.

¹ The original 1898 British lease of Wei Hai Wei was for as long as the Russians held Port Arthur.

1905

Kozakof had told him Lessar agreed to everything, provided the colls: were unanimous abt. accepting division on the pro formâ basis, wch. wld. enable him to telegraph to his govt., but M. did not feel sure that the Russian Minister of Finance wld. approve, as he & Lamsdorff did not pull together. He was pleased to get my note, as it disproved the correctness of the general expectation that after all I shld. at the last moment make the whole thing bust up. I laughed and said I shld. be obliged if they would tell me how I could do this. (I suspect this to be one of M's usual inventions). He says Dubail has not got instructions yet. Then he wanted to get out of mentioning the pro forma tableau by name, & I told him all he had to do was to enclose the statement of the sums due to each wch. I had left at his house on the occasion of our last meeting. So he is going to circulate it with the letter from the Commission of bankers in which the proportions were fixed, so that the colls: may see how it was arrived at. I promised to teleg. to F.O. that the Chinese accepted our draft, wch. I did.

von Claer called. Discussed Prince Frederick's difficult position, and the obstacles to his getting to the Russian army. He did not think it was right to expose a Prince to the risks which he would have to run.

- 11 [April] Called on Richardsons, Bowers, Bullards & had tea with Mrs. Brewster. Dined with Shih-Hsü. The other guests were Uchida, Tei, Col. Aoki, Prince Puhun, Natung, Lienfang, Wu Tingfang, Chi-ku a coll: of our host's, the old Hoppo [Collector of Customs] of Canton, Nachin, Mayers, Tsai, Kueichün and . Spoke to Natung afterwards abt. Peking Syndicate's railway, and hinted that I must see Prince Ch'ing on the matter. He asked me to wait until we saw the result of a very urgent teleg. he had sent to Shêng.

Suggested to Uchida the necessity of having all the agreements betw. Russia and China relating to Manchuria, Kashgaria and Chihli torn up. He says the Japanese forces in Manchuria are marching swiftly after the Russians to take Harbin & cut off Vladivostock, which will then fall of itself. He seems to be perfectly confident.

- 12 “ Tsuchiya and Kamei came; told them both that the supposed conditions abt. Tibet published in the papers were a fabrication. Kamei suggested that they were invented by Russian agents in Shanghai, where they first appeared. I think so too. He says the Japanese are confident that Togo will give a good account of Rojestvensky's fleet. Tsuchiya told me that the Yashima was lost on the same day as the Hatsuse. Kamei says she was badly damaged, got to Talienwan & sank there, but they have built several new ships with captured materials, wch. will take her place. I rather doubt this.
- 13 “ Dubail came to say that he was authorized to agree to the terms as to indemnity proposed in the Chinese dft. note, tho' he had to teleg. more than once to induce the Minister of Finance to accept the division of the 8 000 000 taels based on the pro formâ

1905

tableau. Tried to draw him abt. the German Emperor's attitude in the Morocco question, but unsuccessfully. Evidently France does not want to quarrel with Germany, & increase the hold of the latter over Russia, from whom France can expect no help now. He said he had been several times to see Lessar with the draft indemnity notes in his pocket, but had not ventured to produce them, as the doctors said he must not talk business.

Count Hübner, the son of old Baron Hübner, who reminded me that he had met me at Tangier at the Boleslawskis, called with Rosthorn, bringing greetings from Frau von Jedina.

Mumm came. He says that he saw Lessar on the 10th after his call on me, and had a very stormy interview. Lessar fell into a passion of rage and reproached me for having settled the text of the Note, without consulting him. He bore it all, in order to attain his object. Lessar has the text, wch. he himself sent to him, & has telegraphed it all home. All the other colls: have accepted text, except Lessar & myself. Told him that I had no instructions, but had telegd. again on the 10th. He says Coolidge wants to have omitted from the Chinese note words referring to the view always held by the ten Powers. I said I had no objection, tho' it was scarcely correct for C. to object to language used in a note addressed to him, and perh. it might be unwise to mention it to Lessar, as he wld. either refuse, or teleg. wch. wld. mean a further delay. He said he wld. consult Dubail before speaking to Lessar (I was convinced that Mumm will tell C. that his proposal cannot be agreed to because Dubail & I object). He has arranged with Natung, who has sent the Chinese note, for us all to go to the W.W.P. & sign there, he Mumm procuring Lessar's signature beforehand, & that then the Chinese shall give to each of us an identical Copy of the Note to the ten Powers. Coolidge will have a copy too, & will hand in a separate note agreeing. He said he wld. send me the circular containing the draft note, & wld. be glad if I cld. add that I was ready to sign, because then Lessar wld. see that all were agreed. I promised to do what I could, & perh. to teleg. that all had agreed except Lessar, wch. might hurry up the Treasury.

Abt. Morocco he seemed rather jubilant, & believes that Tattenbach has really been sent to Fez. Affects to think the Japanese fleet will beat Rojestvensky.

Backhouse wrote yesterday proposing 4 May as the date for his starting. I replied today agreeing.

14 “ Teleg. fr. F.O. authorizing me to sign the Joint Note abt. the indemnity.

Col. Ameglio commanding the Italian troops abt. to be withdrawn called p.p.c. [pour prendre congé = to take his leave]. He enlarged upon the cordial relations between the Italian & Br. troops wch. had been excellent. The Germans he said were “prepotent et brutal”. Of the Japanese he has evidently no very good opinion, says the Chinese detest

1905

them; with the Fr. their relations were good. Of the Russian soldiers as brave fighters he spoke well, but the officers were given to women and extortion. He mentioned Genl. Creagh especially. Yüan Shih-kai was particularly astonished to find that Grassi's estimate for wireless installations at Peking, Tientsin & Paotingfu & for communicating to Chinese men of war was only one fourth of what had been furnished by a German firm. He says the Japse. will go for Germany after the war is over.

Menzies came with Yüan's ans. abt. the rlwy. engineer asked for by Hsi-liang. The latter wanted a man named San Tien-yu, trained under Kinder, but Yüan cld. not spare him. M. told Yüan-tai who was his intermediary that I thinking they wanted a foreigner was anxious they should have a good man. Apropos of rlwy. fr. Szechuen to Hankow he had a conversation with Liang (confl.) who wishes Pearson's to contract for it, & is convinced that neither Hsi-liang nor Chang Chih-tung will be able to raise funds; & he read me a teleg. to Pearson's dictated by Liang, proposing a loan of £10,000,000 sterling, big enough to allow of squeezes. I said he might send it thro' Hopkins to F.O. & advise Pearsons to see F.A. Campbell, as there were negotiations going on betw. French financiers & the China Central railways in regard to this matter. He said the Chinese had refused Fr. applications, as they distrust them & the Belgians. He says Nathan gambles with Laptew, and loses a great deal of money to him, fr. \$500 to \$1100 a sitting, that respectable Russians like Batsuieff will not have anything to do with L. Liang Taotai was asked to join the party of poker-players but refused. M. evidently distrusts Nathan. Asked him to find out whether it is true that the Germans are asking for a rlwy. fr. Ichou to Huai-an, & whether the telegs. published in the Peking & Tientsin Times as having been exchanged betw. Chang Yi & Yüan Shih-kai abt. the result of the action agst. the C.E. & M. Co. He has borne in mind what I have said to him abt. the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. & encouraged the Chinese to obstruct the settlement; they are firmly resolved not to make a final agreement unless they have the management.

Hillier came. Says the Chinese are much exercised abt. a demand wch. they believe the Germs. are going to put forward for the extension of their protectorate to Teng-chow, Lai-chou, and Ts'ing-chou. I said this wld. be contrary to the assurances given by Germany to the U.S. that she had no desire to seek for territorial extension in China. He says the Germans are dreaded & detested by the Chinese & so are the Japanese. The Empress-Dowager had Hu to see her the other day & asked him questions abt. the depreciation of Japanese war-notes & abt. their shooting Chinese accused of being Russian spies. We agreed that the idea of the Chinese placing themselves in the hands of the Japanese after the war is concluded, & that the Russians suit them better.

Bullard came to say that he is remaining until the joint-purse agreement is terminated

1905

by my getting instructions to confirm it.

E.P. MacEuen called. Went out to the Cottage. Very warm afternoon.

15 “ Came in to see Mr. C.H. Ross of Jardine's, who has come here abt. the Canton-Kowloon rlwy. & had an hour & a half conversation with him abt. it. He is not very sanguine about the line paying until Hankow-Canton is opened. Went back to the Cottage.

16 “ Returned to town. There was a little rain yesterday, & a few drops this morning; the temperature has fallen considerably.

17 “ Geo. Jamieson came to say that he had heard fr. Shanghai that Shêng had despatched his memorial on the 13th, & as soon as he had heard it had arrived he shld. go to Shanghai for the English text of the Rlwy. agreement. He also spoke about the internal likin on his coal. The Customs want 50 tael cents, he offers 30. I promised to give him my support. Told him what I had heard abt. the belief in Yüan's entourage abt. the cost of the rlwy. being much less than what the Syndicate were getting, & that I had explained matters to Menzies. Reid had informed Morrison & Menzies that it was only £4000 a mile.

W.D. Little Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. He spoke abt. the Admiral's refusal to send a man-of-war to search for and destroy mines. I explained the Admiral's difficulties. He also wanted the applications for trademark registration to be allowed in English. I said that on the whole I thought it safer that the applicant shld. retain in his own hands the opportunity of seeing that the translation into Chinese was correct.

In the afternoon meeting of Dubail, Mumm & myself to discuss the last amendments proposed by the B. of T. Dubail pretended that his instructions forbade his asking for the Bulletin of Trademarks being published in English as well as Chinese. I pointed out that French was employed as the diplomatic language, not because it was French, but because it was most widely known to diplomatists. In the same way, English was the commercial language, especially at Shanghai. Mumm said his instructions did not prohibit it, but he wld. have to ask. I said that I shld. have to insist on it in accordance with my instructions, but that if they refused to admit it to the draft, I could not join them in accepting the 3 years limit to applications for amendment of a registration. Dubail's allegations of his instructions is absurd. I suggested his telegraphing for permission, but he said this wld. require a long explanation & the answer wld. be No. He wld. write & explain when he sent home the draft.

Henry Marsham arrived to stay.

21 [April] Lessar died in the night at 12.30. He had been operated on again on Wednesday, when the surgeons removed part of the leg below the knee. Dubail says it was cancer, but the doctors kept this concealed from their patient. From Mumm I learned that Krummacher had all along declared that an operation would be dangerous in the condition of his nerves and blood, but that if he went home he might live a couple of years. At six o'clock in the

1905

evening after the operation he saw Dubail on business. He was often unconscious, but in the intervals attended to business. He signed a letter or despatch at 8 o'clock last night, and was conscious up to five minutes before his death, and was begging the doctors and nurse to keep him alive. Certainly a most undaunted spirit.

At eleven a meeting at the German Legation, at wch. we drafted covering letters to the W.W.P. about Trademark regulation amendments, another covering Hwangpu proposals, and exchange of Notes with Coolidge about the indemnity. Mumm exhibited translation of a letter from Lessar to the W.W.P. stating that his govt. accepted payment in silver at Shanghai on the basis of the London price, and as soon as the manner of fixing the rate was settled, he wld. sign the joint note accepting the Chinese proposals.

Bullard came to tell me that the W.W.P. i.e. Lienfang declared now that they could not confirm the Telegraph agreement until Lessar's successor recd. instructions to confirm. As he had obtained my signature upon the assurance that if I gave it the W.W.P. wld. at once confirm, I said that it wld. perh. be right for me to inform them that I withdrew mine, but I did not wish to get Chu Pao-fay into trouble; nor cld. I write to the W.W.P. urging them to sign as they wld. certainly reply that they cld. not sign till the Danish repres've (i.e. the Russian) did.

Berrington came to ask me if I could not again teleg. abt. the Burma-Yünnan teleg. convention. I said that having stirred up India so late as the 18th I thought all had been done that was feasible.

Mumm says that he has recd. teleg. fr. Berlin that detailed instructions abt. Trade mark regulations are coming to him fr. Berlin, but he has made up his mind not to wait for them as that wld. mean six weeks' delay. That is why he was urgent that we shld. sign the Note with the date of today, so that the French text of the amendments could go in at once. I agreed with him that it was better not to wait. It appears that Berlin approves of the Shanghai proposals and is opposed to the B. of T. suggestions for the protection of unregistered marks.

Since the 15 we have had bleak, cloudy weather. Today it cleared up with a cold N. wind and huge quantities of dust.

22 [April] A few florets of grey lilac open in front of the new wing. Young Sophora & Ailantus in Hanlin budding. Apricots nearly over.

Lessar's funeral. Diplomatic body in uniform & decorations, no crape, white gloves. I put on levee dress, not full uniform. There was a mass at the Russian Legation chapel at 11.30, which lasted nearly an hour, and we then followed the coffin to the end of E. Legation street, where it joins the Hatamên Tachieh. Here we took leave of Kozakof, and the funeral procession went N. to the Russian Cemetery outside the Anting Mên for the

1905

interment. Dubail with his staff went there in plain clothes. Mumm said he shld. also. I did not. The Russian Legation sent no notice to Uchida, who in consequence was not at the mass, nor did he put his flag half-mast as everyone else did, but he had half a dozen soldiers placed in a line by the side of the pathway.

Drove c. Marsham to the Têshêng mên & out to the Yellow Temple, where we visited the Lama's monument. The priest said the heads on the reliefs were smashed by Japse. soldiers in 1900; this seems so very unlike them. Back by the Anting Mên in 2¼ hrs.

24 “ Hu Yü fên to say B. & C. Corpn. insisted on one year's service being retained in the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank out of accumulated revenue, & that Boyce-Kup wrote to them that there were other small conditions wch. they wld. hear of by letter. They are anxious to memorialize as soon as possible, before an active successor is apptd. to Lessar. The latter had maintained that the Kalgan rlwy. shld. not be constructed by the Administrators-General of the Northern Rlwys., tho' there was no reason for the objection. I said nor is there any to the employment of a foreign engineer, of course not Kinder, but some one who is their servt. Hu contested this, & declared it was contrary to the agreement with Lessar. I said of course you are free to do as you like, it is your railway & your money and I do not intend to interfere. He said that Yüan is much annoyed with the B. & C. Corporation, and that he refused for that reason to put Boyce-Kup's name on the list for decoration, when other rlwy. people recd. them.

Col. Aoki came to bring me a photograph of Marshal Ōyama. Has a wild story of a new Yashima, wch. was smuggled into Japanese hands in some mysterious way at Wei-hai-wei, to replace the one that was sunk. The upshot of it seems to be that they have her, I suppose floated & repaired.

Chao Erhsun came at my request. I gave him advice abt. fixing the coefficient of the Russian share of the indemnity. He replied [that he] Did not see how the payt. of silver at Shanghai to them cld. be avoided, as the Waiwupu had offered a choice; but it wld. be more convenient if all had chosen the same. Was there no way of getting the Russians to accept T.T. [Telegraphic Transfers]. I said the only way was to ask that all shld. choose the same.

10 cent copper pieces. He says the present debased cash are being called in, and when they have disappeared there will be fractional coinage of 2.4 and 5 cents cash. Then the silver coin equal to 100 cents will be made uniform throughout China and ultimately the gold standard adopted. This is his scheme, wch. he thinks better than Jenks', involving as it did a large foreign loan of four million sterling. Better to begin from below, regularising the currency they have than to start suddenly with an entirely new system. Went out to the Cottage with Marsham, driving to the S.W. corner of the Tartar City & then walking.

1905

26 “ Dubail came. His chief object was to ascertain the present position of the C.E. & M. Co. He recd. copy of Mr. Joyce's judgment fr. Paris, & they asked him whether the moment had arrived for ratifying the agreement made by him abt. land at Chin-wang-tao. He gathered that the judgement did not restore possession to the Chinese. I said that it did not. The Central Govt. had not taken any trouble to claim that, leaving everything in the hands of the Viceroy of Chihli. For my own part I doubted whether the transfer cld. be shown to have been ratified by the Chinese govt. & that being the case, we did not wish to interfere more than we could help on behalf of an enterprise of such a shady character as that with wch. Hoover & de Woutens & Detring were connected. Detring it wld. seem had deceived Chang Yi, but perh. the latter wished to be deceived.

He talked abt. the murder of French missionaries at Litang. The movement there was the fault of the Chinese govt. and therefore he wld. insist on full reparation, not blood money to wch. he objected on principle, but the erection of a hospital or school. Has just finished the case of Père Tricou who was murdered by brigands on the eastern boundary of Mongolia. In that he was not very severe, as really the Chinese Govt. was helpless. But 2 of the murderers had been executed and two officials dismissed.

Hillier came to talk abt. the Russian indemnity. Chao had shown him a rather bad Chinese translation of the Russian note, & the W.W.P. teleg. to the Taotai of Shanghai, wch. gave no explicit directions. I discussed with him the coefficient & made it quite clear that the Sycee paid to Russia was to be taken at the value of silver laid down in Shanghai from London.

Went to Nat'ung & opened the question of the Canton-Kowloon rlwy. handing him a brief summary of the principal points. He said he wld. look into the matter, & appt. a day for further discussion. He spoke of the Litang disturbances, the murder of the Asst. Resident Fêng-chuan by the insurgents & prob. murder of three or four Fr. missionaries, but did not seem very perturbed abt. that. The new man Lien-yu is a relation of his own who has been in Europe & speaks English.

Mundy says Pokotilow has been apptd. Lessar's successor.

Mumm came. Suggested to him that if Russians got very good terms fr. the Chinese for the payment in silver, perh. others might also claim equal treatment.

27 April. Heavy rain during the night and forenoon. White lilac definitely in blossom.

Uchida brought me a paper of information from Shanghai abt. Mandjour & Askold, fr. wch. it would appear that they are making ready for a bolt. One Wm. Holliday is said to have supplied breach pieces for the Askold's guns & she has taken 1300 tons of coal on board. I said I wld. ask Warren abt. these things. Told him what I was doing about the Russian separate action in regard to the indemnity.

1905

28 “ Kamei says that Wu Ting-fang declares that the Chinese Govt. telegraphed to Petersburg to say that they would rather not have Pavlov, because Prince Ch'ing does not like him. I said that was an improbable ground, and they prob. said he would not be agreeable to the Emperor.

Hillier & Kinder. We discussed 1st the Kalgan railway. I told them what I had telegd. & said I wld. talk to Natung about the desirability of having a foreign engineer to construct and run the administration, otherwise there would be a great deal of squandering to the disadvantage of their reputation. Also the Nanyang line & mines. Agreed that Kinder shld. write me the whole story, so that I might lay it before the Foreign Office.

29 “ Overcast all day, and rain during afternoon & evening. Purple lilacs half out, show a charming contrast of pale flowers & dark buds. The white lilacs also nearly out.

Went to Coolidge abt. the Japse. application to our govts. in regard of the apprehended attempt of “Askold” & other vessels to escape fr. Shanghai. Uchida had spoken to him in the same sense that he did to me, on wch. he inquired of Davidson the acting consul-general, who replied that the best informed people believed that no preparations were being made. He had telegd. this to Washington & had recd. no instructions to say anything to the Chinese govt. He rather suspected that the Japse. were trying to get up a case to justify their taking the matter into their own hands; for they had not been able to make out a good case for themselves in regard to the Reshitelny incident. I said that I thought they could hardly be trying to make use of our govts. for such a purpose, but the Chinese were not manly enough to do what they ought in such a case, & he agreed with me that no reliance cld. be placed on Russian promises not to move. At the same time he did not believe they greatly hankered after another opportunity of fighting.

Told him that I did not think I shld. sign the indemnity note unless I were satisfied that the Russians obtained no unfair advantage over the rest of the Powers.

He came to me just as I was starting for the W.W.P. with his telegraphic instructions, wch. implied that the Japse. had threatened to use forcible measures herself if China failed to enforce observance of her neutrality. This confirms his view of this morning, and he does not like it. He will address an official Note to the Chinese Govt. I tried to dissuade him from doing this in a formal manner & to confine himself to a verbal communication.

Went off to Na and asked him questions: the result being that they do not think the Japanese information is correct, & that they have Admiral Yeh there with several cruisers and torpedo-boats. Does not think the Russians could escape if they would.

Indemnity. Chao had told him what advice I had given, and as Ch. had gone to the Western tombs for six days nothing wld. be done until he returned, & then they wld. let me know before hand. No answer yet fr. the Taotai at Shanghai.

1905

Kalgan railway. Expressed to him my concern lest the construction & management shld. be a failure unless they employed a foreign engineer. He replied that pointed inquiries had been addressed to the W.W.P. abt. the rlwy. & they had replied that it wld. be built with Chinese money & Chinese engineers. How far it wld. go, he had not been able to say, but when it got to Kalgan it might go on, & it might not. Of course he had nothing to do with the matter, wch. was in the hands of Yüan & Hu. I said that of course they were free to do what they liked with their own money, & I was merely offering friendly advice.

Ch'angsha. He said the note abt. this was drafted by Chü Hung-chi & that he did not venture to touch the question, wch. was Chü's peculiar preserve.

Huchaos fr. Tientsin. I said this was no longer a practical question, as the river is now open; but my not replying to their last note forwarding the Taotai's observations must not be taken as a token that I accepted the Taotai's view. I teased him abt. acting merely as a post office.

Mining Regulations. On receipt of my Note of 16 they had again telegd. to Chang Chih-tung, who has been very dilatory about the matter.

30 April Gaiffier came in the afternoon, talked abt. the Fr. violation of neutrality obligations in allowing the Russian squadron to stay a fortnight at Kamranh Bay, and a variety of subjects; but said no word of the indemnity. Dust storm approaching fr. S.W.

May 1905

1 May High wind fr. the N. and clear sky in the morning, then a dust storm bringing down quantities of red dust, and continuing till midnight.

Berrington brought the paper for the Telegraph Convention. He and Chu Pao fay seem to have been a bit hazy about whose signature is to be appended on the part of the Chinese Govt. whether that of Yüan Shih-kai or Prince Ch'ing.

Baroli came to explain that his health will not allow him to accept my invitation to spend a night at the Cottage. We talked indemnity, and I explained to him my view of the Russian arrangement (1) that it leaves the Russo-Chinese bank free to sell bills to the Taotai for payment of the rest of the indemnity, while our banks cannot compete for the Russian share (2) it is quite impossible to so arrange matters that the results shall be the same (3) that if one power gains an advantage, others will claim similar treatment. He thinks Gaiffier & Mumm too sanguine (optimiste Fr.) about the speedy settlement of the question.

Hillier came. We discussed the employt. of a foreign engineer on the proposed Kalgan line, and I told him what had passed betw. myself & Na on the 29th. That we cld. not

1905

expect the Russians to sit down quietly if an Englishman were appointed. I thought we cld. accept an American or a Japanese. H. wld. prefer the latter. We agreed that no German, Frenchman nor Belgian need apply. As to the deposit of 6 mos. loan service in advance, he says Liang has written, or E.P. Allen for him, to Boyce-Kup refusing absolutely to give more, & hinting that if the Corporation do not accept they will get nothing at all. Told him I had seen Ross this morning, who thought it very important to remove all possible difficulties in the way of the Canton-Kowloon negotiations, and wld. teleg. to the Corporation that they shld. accept the six months.

Indemnity: told him my conversation with Na. H. says he showed the memo. to his compradore, who said it was quite intelligible, but he doubted whether even Chao Erhsun could be made to understand the question.

Ross came early, and talked abt. the deposit question for service of Rlwy. loan. Told him frankly all abt. it, and that I was not sure that the B. & C. Corpn. i.e. the Bank did not wish to get the use of a million taels or so without interest, & that perh. Mr. Wm. Keswick, who was always put forward as the spokesman, ¹ was not so much to blame as people thought. Retirement of Ewen Cameron and death of Alford have altered the composition of the Board. Auckland Colvin never opens his lips; another is merely a J.M. & Co. man, the Hgkg & Shanghai Bank are represented by Townsend. They meet only once a fortnight. For himself he thinks 6 months service as a reserve quite enough.

Marsham left by the 2.40 train.

Morrison came. Says the Söul-Fusan railway is finished. He travelled over it, also a rough line from Söul to the Yalu, 4.8½ wide. The locomotives & most of the rolling stock from America. A quantity went down in the "Knight Commander". German activity in Commercial Treaty negotiations. Chinese sent a circular to the PP that had not concluded, & asked them what they meant to do. So he telegraphed to the Times that Mumm refused to go on until the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. agreement was signed. (This I think was on April 4). On April 13 came instructions to Mumm to open negotiations.

(Baroli told me that Mumm's treaty wld. be on the same lines as ours, with perh. some slight additions.)

2 May Dust storm continued.

3 " Dr. Westwater & Rev. James Webster of Liaoyang called. The wife of the former died ten days ago of typhus. There is a good deal of it in the place, besides small pox & typhoid. Chinese are crowding into the underground shelters built by the Japanese, their houses having been destroyed. Fears an epidemic later on. Spoke highly of the conduct of the

¹ See J.E. Hoare, 'William Keswick, 1835-1912: Jardine's Pioneer in Japan', Ch. 10, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume 4 (2002). Keswick was an important figure in

1905

Japse. army & of the attentions shown them by the officers.

4 “ Mr. & Mrs. St. George Littledale lunched, the great Asiatic travellers; had Bower & Morrison to meet them.

To the Cottage in the afternoon, and stopped there over the races until the forenoon of the races.

8 [May] Central corridor taken away during my absence in the country, and lien-tzü (Mrs. Kassburg [housekeeper] calls these Leanders) hung up.

9 “ Suddenly hot day. Dined at the De Lucas.

10 “ Took Madame Rojestvensky for a drive round the Tartar city.

11 [May] To Uchida. He thinks that the reports fr. the acting Consul-general abt. preparations of the Russian ships to leave Shanghai were perh. rather exaggerated, & now Odagiri is back he hopes there will be no more anxiety. He thanked me for what I had done.

He has had a private teleg. from Mukden that the advance on both wings has begun.

Huangpu. When he was at Tokio his govt. accepted the new proposals in principle, but wanted to see the papers. He is daily expecting to get their approval.

The Fr. say they have observed strict neutrality at Kamrang. I observed that it was quite possible that local functionaries, who are afraid of Japan embarking on a career of invasion, are more Russian in their sympathies, & do not act in strict conformity with the views of their govt.

To Dubail. He says the news from Batang is better. It is possible that only one out of the missionaries supposed to have been murdered has really fallen victim. A chapel was burnt at Aluntse, but succour arrived in time to save the rest of the mission. It appears that the rebels are Lamas, & that the common people are not in accord with them. Fêng-ch'uan brought on the rising by his unwise attempt to increase taxation to procure funds for the railway, and to exercise direct control over the inhabitants, who had always enjoyed autonomy, subject to China.

He has given instructions to Kahn in accordance with mine abt. tax on transfers of land from Chinese to foreigners, the port regulations, the Hankow native bund proposals & Changsha.

Speaking of neutrality, he said Beau had telegraphed that it had been strictly observed, & Delcassé was anxious to be very careful on this point. I said local people were not always in accord with the wishes of their govt. That e.g. at Shanghai it was quite possible that the Dock Co. & other people might help the Russian ships to replace parts of machinery & guns.

He entirely agreed with my view that we cld. not admit any taxation of transit passes or

1905

Huchaos. He mentioned my letter abt. the Russian choice of silver payments, & seemed inclined to the view that they can make what arrangements they liked. I combatted this, & said we had declared exactly what we were going to do.

[Margin: Told him of Tattenbach's trick on me abt. the proposed note identique regarding Melilla & that I wld. like to be now at Tangier to play him a trick. Dub. says he thinks the Germ. Emperor's escapade at Tangiers is a revenge for Constan's refusing to lend money to Turkey unless part of the guns was ordered in France, & that the incident is now over. I only hope so. He congratulated himself on securing the 2nd Luhan Rlwy. agreement & that for Chêng-Yüan. When Yünnan is finished, they wld. withdraw their Consul-genl. leaving only a consul.]

Mumm I saw also who seemed annoyed about my note, & said I was always creating difficulties. As to the necessity of altering the bonds, he and Gaiffier agreed that it was prob. necessary. He did not understand why I objected to the Russians making their own arrangements, and suggested that I was prompted by the Bank, wch. was not content with being able to handle 70% of the indemnity. I explained that my reason for desiring to know exactly how the coefficient was arrived at was because I felt certain that some people, bankers, were under the impression that the rate wld. be the London price of silver, whereas in my view the freight and insurance had to be added. It wld. have been much better if every one had chosen the same. If I were satisfied that the coefficient did not include freight and insurance I wld. not sign the Note. I reminded him that we had all declared our govts. had chosen T.T. He said that if the Russians got the bare London price, he might demand the same. None of us were bound by our declarations. I said I thought we were bound to each other. He read me Kozakof's remarks on my letter, in wch. he recognizes the Shanghai parity as the rate, with wch. I said I shld. be satisfied. He told me K. had asked whether he might not come to talk the matter over; he had felt that my relations with Lessar had not been frequent. I responded that I wld. be glad to see K. With Lessar my intercourse had been marked by several incidents, & I had never forgiven him for his attack on Morrison in connection with the "Supao" case.

Kozakof came. Said he cld. not understand what objection I had to their negotiations with the Taotai. Was it the question of the coefficient wch. to my mind was important. I said yes; that I had always held that the basis of the London price of silver meant the Shanghai parity. The rest of my observations were made because they were naturally connected with this point. I had supposed fr. what Mumm had assured me that Lessar wld. choose the T.T. like everyone else, as they were more advantageous. I repeated the whole history, from Dec. 14 till now, & said that as he had put it in writing that the coefficient included freight & insurance, wch. I recognized varied from time to time, I shld. be

1905

satisfied; but I wished to have this definitely stated.

12 May Rain this afternoon from 4.45 the whole evening.

13 “ Rain continuing this morning heavily, & rained all day, right into the evening.

Capt. Douglas R.A. son of Sir R.K. Douglas and his wife came up to stop.

I gave a concert, the performers being a Dutch violinist, Mlle. Murkens and a Scotch pianist Miss Merrylees; to which I invited all Peking. We had the Adagio Sostenuto & presto of the Kreutzer sonata, 17 Prelude by Chopin, Andante from Mendelssohn's violin concerto, 4 valse by Chaminade, Elgar's Chanson de Nuit, Grieg's march of the Gnomes, some Hungarian dances by Nachez and an Irish Rhapsody by Rosenthal, with a couple of encores. Everyone greatly enjoyed the music. I had the two performers to dinner, and van Citters.

14 “ With the Douglas' & Eastes to lunch at the Cottage & back in time for dinner.

15 “ Drove to Summer Palace with Collier, by the canal road, which was very sloughy from the rain on the 12th & 13th. Got to the Waiwupu office at 10.15. The audience at 11.30. The Empress-Dowager spoke only: to the Doyen. The Emperor looked more ill than usual. After the lunch, wch. was horribly crowded, we walked thro' the gardens, and were shown a fine array of Poëonia moutan, splendid rose-pink and white blossoms. Then into the courtyard where the Italians used to be, now quite repaired and full of rooms with handsome vases, cloisonné, coral &c. This lies immediately under the great pagoda called the 佛閣. [Pagoda of Buddha's Fragrance? 佛香閣] From there to the marble boat, where refreshments were set out, and then round by the back of the hill, to two pavilions, one overlooking the lake, and the other low down on the banks of a pond close behind the theatre. We took leave in front of the audience hall, and came back by the paved road. 1 hr. 20 min. going very slowly, to the Hsi-chih-mên, and ¾ hr. from there to the house.

Uchida came very excited to tell me of a teleg. fr. his consul at Chefoo, reporting that the Germs. had landed men at Hai-chou in Kiangsu and occupied the place. While I was with him came one fr. O'B-Butler, stating that this was done on the 12th acc. to a teleg. fr. Yang, and that the German flag had been hoisted. I told Uchida that I thought it was connected with a dispute about inland navigation privileges from Tsingtau.

Gaiffier came to propose a change in the Indemnity Note, to avoid the contradiction I have pointed out betw. the payment in monthly instalments and the terms of the bonds. Told him I liked his alteration, & that I thought the note should also state more in detail the arrangements abt. the rate at wch. the price of London silver is to be turned into Shanghai sycee for the Russian payments in silver.

16 “ Went to Sir Robt. to ask whether he had any information about the German doings at Haichou, wch. I thought might be connected with difficulties arising out [of] 'inland

1905

navigation' to Haichou & other places, mentioned in a Chinese newspaper of May 2. In the afternoon he wrote to say that fr. a teleg. recd. he learnt that a gunboat had been doing some surveying work near Haichou & that as far as his informant knew, no trouble ensued.

Dined at Hilliers to meet Chao Erhsun, Chang Pohsi, Hu Yü fên, Li Shengteh, and 奎俊 Kuei-chün, a nice-looking old fellow, formerly Viceroy of Szechuen, who in 1900 was confused by the colls: with 桂春 Kuei-ch'un, my friend the former notorious Boxer.

17 [May] Meeting at Mumm's. Uchida has agreed to the Huangpu proposals, & the draft to Prince Ch'ing enclosing our counter proposal was agreed to by the commission de rédaction.

Dft. Note to Prince Ch'ing to be sent to him by the Doyen about transit pass taxes & Luchaos approved by the Commission de rédaction, but I pointed out that this had always been done, and he abandoned the contention.

Discussed of my proposed amendments to the Chinese note abt. the indemnity. One was adopted, the other, wch. related to the Russian attempt to get silver delivered to them in Shanghai at the London price Mumm objected to putting in the Note, but agreed that Kozakov shld. be asked to give a written assurance that the freight & insurance wld. be added to the London price. Mumm pretended that Natung's letter having been addressed to him as German Minister, he was under no obligation to show it to his colls: & might have burked [i.e. ignored, suppressed] it, but I told him that wld. not have been possible, as I had recd. a copy confidentially. He also repeated what he had said before that Lessar need not have told us he was going to have silver, but might have said simply that he was ready to sign, thus avoiding giving 'une manche à Sir Ernest', to wch. I responded that it wld. not have had that effect, as I shld. have requested a written declaration regarding the Russian mode of payment. M. is too amusing with suggestions of this kind. I said that if the Russians did not pay the freight and insurance that I shld. recommend H.M.G. to refuse T.T. & take silver on the same terms, and also insisted that Natung shld. be allowed to withdraw his letters, and substitute corrected ones.

Afterwards we had a little conversation abt. a Note from the Waiwupu about small steamers flying foreign flags, & I told him that tho' I had not seen it, I shld. be ready to consent to whatever the other colleagues did. But I shld. not agree to take away the Br. flag from Chinese owned steamers if it merely resulted in their passing under the flag of another power.

Haichou. Told him what I had heard, & asked whether he could give me any information. He said he knew nothing. We went on to talk abt. Shantung, & he declared that Morrison's recent telegram abt. fresh demands was not true. It was a fact that he had pointed out to the Chinese that native mines in the railway zone cld. not be worked by

1905

foreign machinery, but this was merely a stipulation in their treaty regarding Kiaochou. I reminded him that Germany had never published the whole of the treaty, wch. naturally caused people to indulge in surmises. Quite recently a high Chinese official had declared that within the last ten days he had presented new demands. (This was confirmed last night by Li Shengteh, who said he had it from Chü Hung-chi). That said M. was not true; he had not discussed anything since Dec. last relating to Shantung.

Dubail came after lunch, and said that his information was that 200 Germans had landed at one of the islands off Haichou, erected a flagstaff & saluted the flag. That Morrison's telegram was quite correct. Ten days before it had arrived here he had gathered the same information fr. Waiwupu people, that a couple of days before the departure of Prince Friedrich Leopold he had a stormy view [interview] with the Foreign Board, at wch. he had threatened to use force if his demands were not satisfied, and four days ago he had broken off the negotiations. Possibly instructions had come direct to the Germ. admiral, so that M. cld. technically say he was without information. He is convinced that the Germs. wld. not hoist a flag and leave it unprotected, unless he wish to stir up 'une querelle d'Allemand'. Such a step at the present moment was much to be regretted. I told him that the news I had of William II's utterances at Tangier showed that he had practically declared Morocco to be under his protection, that he had thrown fire & flame into Morocco, as was said for the purpose of getting some small concession at Constantinople, but it was a dangerous game to play, & once he was engaged in it he cld. not draw back. Dubail is of opinion that the German Emperor is suffering from his nervous trouble more than usual: the internal condition of Germany is bad; the insurance of workmen is a failure, & the finance minister says he does not know where to look for money.

After our conversation at Mumm's he & Gaiffier came across Kozakow, who said he knew nothing about the arrangement made at Shanghai. I said that I felt sure he wld. not think, as M. professed to, that I made difficulties merely for the pleasure of the thing.

20 [May] Luncheon given by Hu Yüfên at the Shansi Club outside the Shun chamên, at wch. the Japse. Legation civil & military, the U.S. Legation civil, myself, Bower, Mayers, Collier & Gray were invited. Nat'ung, Wu Ting fang, Kuei-ch'un, the compradore of the Hgkg Bank, Li Shêngtê were there too. Very long affair, till four o'clock. Bad cookery and inferior wines.

21 " Bishop Corfe came to lunch. He is on his way home, having given up his work in Corea.

Returned the call of Mochizuki Kotaro M.P. but found only his wife at home, who speaks English quite well, a pretty young woman.

Mumm came to ask abt. piracès [fracas?] on Canton R. for two of the Basel Mission

1905

have been attacked, & [one] is dying in hospital. Told him my impression was that of late complaints had been fewer.

Trademarks; he admits that an incorrect French text was sent to the W.W.P.

Indemnity. Has recd. unofficially the note abt. the Japse. arrangement. Kozakov & Davydoff he says are quite right, but instructions have to come fr. St. Petersburg.

Kinder on his return from Kalgan. Says the bit thro' the Nankou pass is very difficult & requires a much better man than Jeune [Jeme?]. Is very much inclined to take a back seat & not to give advice if he cannot have control. I explained my reason that owing to his connexion with the B. & C. Corpn. the Chinese could not put him in charge, & I strongly advised him to take a back seat. But the agreement with the Russians did not impede the Chinese engaging a man of their own choice, & I told him of my conversation with Hu & Nat'ung. I added hope that when peace comes to be made Japan will insist on all the engagements by wch. the liberty of China as regards rlwy. construction in Manchuria and Chihli [is restricted] being torn up.

He has heard reports of big German firms at Tientsin couring about Manchuria and obtaining valuable concessions fr. local auth: to be produced after the war is over.

22 May Radowitz came to show a letter fr. the Chinese abt. conditions for the export of coal from Shanghai to Hongkong & Singapore. I said I thought the Chinese cld. do what they thought right in order to preserve their neutrality: inter arma silent foedere.

To Dubail with Mumm's circ. proposing that the interpreters shld. meet to draw up a report on the divergences betw. the Chinese & French texts of the Trademark Regulation Amendments.

Left with him Clennell's desp. abt. the anti-missionary & antiforeign themes set for exercises [i.e. examinations, see 26 May] in Kiangsi, & a copy of the Chinese text. He said he shld. be very glad to cooperate with me in the matter. Told him of the unsatisfactory reply I had recd. fr. the W.W.P.

Of the missionaries at Batang two escaped into Yünnan, two are believed to be in safety somewhere, two are dead.

Haichou. He says it now appears that there was no occupation of the place [by German soldiers]. I told him what I had from Chefoo, but that I could not feel certain of anything that had as yet reached us. I have told no one that we are sending the "Sirius" to look-see.

23 May To Waiwupu with Berrington for the signature of the Convention abt. Burma-China Telegraph connexion.

Na denied that the Russians had made proposals about a railway from Urga to Kalgan.

24 " To the Cottage with Bishops Corfe & Scott & Collier.

1905

25 “ High wind fr. N. about 3 a.m. following on the very hot afternoon of yesterday. Rain began abt. 7.30, and continued till 5 p.m.

Visit fr. Li-Chun the new Canton admiral, on whom I impressed the necessity of energetic measures to put down piracy.

26 [May] Dubail came, bringing back Clennell's desp. abt. the anti-missionary themes set for examinations in Kiangsi, & said he wld. take the same line as myself. I told him what I had heard fr. Clennell that the Govr. said it was a hoax, but that he had seen 4 of the essays written by candidates.

He also left with me a report of the Canton Viceroy's on the registration of land question at Canton, in wch. he criticises the replies given by Dubail & myself, and says that the German consul had accepted. We are both under the impression that Mumm promised to take the same line as we did.

Agreed with him to send in a Note abt. the anti-foreign trouble at Fushun in Szechuen. He said that the Viceroy was apparently trying to come to a peaceful agreement with the Lamas of Batang so as to be able to withdraw his troops. I said this was a curious commentary on the Chinese pretensions reported in Chinese newspapers, wch. were often well informed, that China was sovereign, not suzerain in Tibet. I had not heard anything about Tibet from the Chinese Govt. for a long time.

He read a teleg. fr. Paris giving an acct. of a talk betw. Lord Lansdowne & Cambon regarding the Szechuen-Hankow rlwy. & the agreement betw. the Fr. & Engl. groups of financiers for admitting the Americans to a share. I said I wld. see what I had fr. home. No instructions had recently reached me by teleg. but I thought I had been told the Americans & Belgians were each to get 7½ %. He had heard of the Americans only. We agreed to say nothing to the U.S. Legation till Rockhill's arrival.

Regarding the indemnity nothing new. I said we cld. not possibly agree to the Russians getting silver at the London price.

Trademarks. I said Mayers had given me his report on Chinese observations as to discrepancy between Fr. & Chinese texts of our amendments; that I wld. send it to Mumm with a suggestion that we shld. each reply in same terms on the points on wch. we were agreed, and let each also put for[war]d the points on wch. he was separately interested. I find that he thinks it is better to translate 'licitement' & 'legitiment' by bonâ fide or its equivalent. As to English version of the Bulletin, he agrees that it wld. be useful, & he will not oppose, but dare not give me his support.

Hillier came, & we discussed the difficulty involved in the Taotai getting back the sycee paid to the bankers, wch. is about 2ce all the silver now in Shanghai. I said the proposal was made at a time when we hoped an agreement wld. speedily be come to, but I quite saw

1905

that it was now impracticable. As to the Russian getting silver at London price, I was firmly resolved not to sign unless they gave way. I regretted that I had allowed this alternative to remain in, and that I had also agreed to let each Power choose; all ought to have been obliged to choose the same. Begged him to teleg. to his people that I had made a mess of it, owing to my not knowing anything abt. these financial questions; to press F.O. not to agree to anything that wld. injure the bank, and to send out a Treasury expert. It was because I felt my own incompetency that I had in conjunction with Rockhill advised the removal of the question to Europe. He laughed at my idea, but I hope he will tell them how I have mismanaged the affair.

Zanelli, Cuban Consul-genl. at Hongkong and Ch. d'Aff. in China called.

Chu Pao fay to say goodbye. Thanked him for his exertions, owing to wch. the convention had been concluded so rapidly. He said Prince Ch'ing had remarked on the expeditious way in wch. it had been disposed of, such an unusual event. He tells me T'ang Shaoyi will not go to England, because Yüan wants him back for railway affairs, & that he will prob. succeed Shêng as Director-General.

27 “ Mumm brought a circ. abt. the indemnity, to say that Natung agrees to the 2 alterations proposed 1 by Coolidge and one by me in the Note to us, & a suggestion for alteration of the bond by inserting in it the 3rd condition of the Note. I said I would look at our bond, & let him know.

I told him of the difficulty abt. repaying to the taotai in species the sycee wch. the bankers have recd. because there was not enough silver in Shanghai taken altogether for this, & the only way to do it wld. be to give the Taotai credit at the banks. I told him that I had confidentially communicated the Note to the Br. delegate, & that this was one of his remarks. M. replied that he had not done the same, as he was at loggerheads with Buse, but there was a new man whom he thought he could consult. I said that of course we could not consent to Russia getting silver at the London price. The matter was now before H.M.G. and I shld. probably receive instructions. M. rejoined that he had no objection to the monthly average being taken in fixing the rate. Russia had no right to choose for herself a 4th mode of payment outside the 3 offered. Told him after all we were not the proper people to settle these financial questions, & that I had in 1901 tried to get the indemnity question removed to Europe & again later, tho' unsuccessfully.

Trademarks. He wants me to sign a joint note explicative of the discrepancies wch. the Chinese think they have found betw. the Fr. text and the Chinese version of the amendments, whereas my wish is to send identic notes, so that I may slip in my demand for an English publication of the Trademarks Gazette. His reasons are (1) that if we begin to write identic notes, we may end by sending in quite different ones, (2) that he has recd.

1905

his instructions, wch. differ from ours, & that if he writes separately he will have difficulty in explaining why he did not act on them. I replied that if I had to send in a separate note abt. the bulletin, after joining them in a collective note, I shld. have to make it much stronger, & perh. say that the Germ. merchants at S'hai desired an English publication as well as we, but I wld. think the matter over & weigh the pro's & con's of the two forms of note.

Coal. Told him what I had done. He said he had telegd. the substance of the Chinese note to Knappe & told him to inform Germ. merchants. To the Chinese he had written that he must leave it to them to take their own measures, but he wished for an explanation of the demand made at Chefoo that besides the exporter, two other German firms shld. sign the bond. Also he thought 5 or 6 times the value was excessive, & the term of 40 days too long, besides how could they get a certificate fr. the Port Auth: of a foreign country? Their own consul wld. be a more proper person. I agreed with him in principle on all this, but said that the arrival of the Baltic fleet at Shanghai deprived the question of all practical importance.

Dined at Baroli's. Bredon who was there (& Hart also) suspect that the Germans were examining Haichou in a spirit of benevolent neutrality, to ascertain whether it wld. serve as a flying base for the Russians.

- 29 “ J.W. Dickinson came up to talk about the Taku Bar improvement scheme, wch. he has taken in hand. He says it all depends on the German & Japanese lines agreeing to pay the dues of 1 man per ten, the 3 English Cos. being willing. The proposal for representation on the conservancy board will be given up. The question is, will the Br. Govt. consent to the taxation on goods landed being continued for the improvement of the bar. I thought they wld. & I wld. [be] willing to put the matter before them.

Went to meet the Rockhills at the train.

Thunderstorm & heavy rain about 10.15 pm.

- 30 “ Meeting at Mumm's to agree to text of a new Note to W.W.P. abt. the Amendments to the Trade-mark regulations.

Japanese report a great naval victory in the Tsushima straits.

This afternoon thunderstorm & heavy rain. Mr. & Mrs. C.W. Campbell arrived, and put up with me. He comes as Acting Chinese Secretary.

- 31 [May] Mochizuki came to bring me the latest news. It seems that the whole of the Russian fleet with the exception perh[aps] of one or two cruisers is either taken or sunk. Those that fled he says will scarcely get into Vladivostok without striking one of the mines the Japanese have placed at the entrances. Rojestvensky & 80 other officers escaping in a destroyer after the Kuing Suvarof was sunk has been taken prisoner. This might perh. induce the

1905

Russians to make peace. He had been talking to Dubail, who suggested that Japan must not make terms too hard, as by insisting on an indemnity or cession of territory. M. replied that she wld. not be unreasonable, but Manchuria must be restored to China & Russia prevented fr. again disturbing the peace of the Far East. I said that I did not see how they cld. make a satisfactory peace until they had some Russian territory in their hands to bargain with, & it was by no means certain that Russia wld. offer to come to terms. She had refused to make peace after Austerlitz, & had to be compelled to do so at Tilsit, after wch. she tried to evade carrying out the conditions. That forced Napoleon to invade Russia, and even then tho' beaten in battle, they refused peace. He said the expedition agst. Vladivostok had been deferred [postponed] so long as Rojestvensky's fleet was about, but now it would be pressed out. Oyama wld. not have much to do but to sit tight. He had seen [William] Rockhill who was delighted. Mumm rather doubtful.

June 1905

- 1 June Two long talks with Rockhill ¹, one of wch. abt. peace arrangements, if Russia consents to ask for terms, I reported in a private letter to Lord Lansdowne. Also: Legation guards. He is going to get 100 marines in place of infantry of the line, as being a more flexible body. Told him my idea, withdrawal of troops on lines of communication six months after peace, & prob. reduction of guards. We are agreed that final & permanent force wld. be a small escort of 6-12 mounted men. Indemnity He says the actual expenses

¹ William Woodville Rockhill (1854-1914). American diplomat, scholar and explorer. Trained at École Spéciale militaire de St. Cyr, entered the French Foreign Legion in 1873. During his St. Cyr days he read about Tibet and became fascinated by the country. Second Secretary at U.S. legation in Peking, 1884. Secretary, 1885. Acting Chargé d'Affaires in Korea, December 1886 – April 1887. Led expeditions to Tibet sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, which published his *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet 1891-92* in 1894. In April 1900 he married Miss Edith Howell Perkins. Appointed Special Commissioner and Plenipotentiary to China, he signed the Peace protocol at Peking on September 7, 1901. Returned to U.S.A. to be Director of the International Bureau of the American Republics. On March 8, 1905 he returned to China as Minister Plenipotentiary. Appointed Ambassador to Russia, March 1909. Ambassador to Constantinople, 1911-13. In November 1913 he travelled overland to China and President Yuan Shih-k'ai pressed him to be his adviser on home and foreign affairs. His various scholarly works included: *Prâtimoksha Sutra or Le traité d'émancipation*, Leroux, 1884; *The Life of the Buddha*. Trübner's Oriental Series, 1884; *Tibet, from Chinese Sources*. Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1891; *Udânavarga, the Northern Buddhist Version of Dhammapada*. Trübner's Oriental Series, 1892; *The Land of the Lamas*. The Century Co., New York, 1892; *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1895; *The Journey of Friar William of Rubruck*. Hakluyt Society, 1900; *The Chu-fan-chi of Chau Ju-kua*. Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1912; *Conventions and Treaties with or concerning China and Korea*. 2 vols. Department of State, Washington.

(Abstracted by I. Ruxton from an obituary notice written by Alfred E. Hippisley, Commissioner of the Chinese Customs Service. Eight printed pages in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1915, inserted by Satow in his diary at the end of 1915.)

1905

& losses of the U.S. were only 50% of their share, & they want to find some way of restoring the bal[an]ce to the Chinese Govt. I suggested that they shld. explain their reasons and intentions to the Powers before acting. In any case, he said, they wld. do nothing till the war is over. I said that we also intended ultimately to return a small surplus, that wld. be available for China. Also that as the delay in paying over the 8 000 000 taels at wch. the arrears were compromised was not the fault of China, H.M.G. wld. like to relieve them of interest on that sum. He replied that the U.S. wld. be quite ready to do anything to relieve China of the burden. Trademarks. He found that Americans at Shanghai really do not wish for any regulations, wch. they fear wld. mean that Japse. wld. get American trademarks registered in their names. Hwangpu. Told him how things stand, & that I was in favour of de Rijke, & agst. Schellhoss.

Rain nearly all day.

Dined at Gaiffiers & met Dubail, who proposed that we shld. teleg. to Bous d'Auty & Goffe that negotiations were on foot, and that they must not war on each other, for as he sagely remarked that wld. damage us both. I said I would do so.

2 “ Rain greater part of the morning & afternoon.

2nd (cont.) Ducat called to say goodbye.

Called on Uchida, who gave me translation of a teleg. fr. Amoy abt. the refusal of Japse. emigration agent to give certificates for Chin[ese] going to Formosa in Douglas Lafrank's steamers. Said he cld. do nothing, & suggested my sending it to Tokio.

He seems to doubt the suggestion that submarines were used in the recent naval battle [of Tsushima].

Dinner to the Rockhills. Mumm says the Russian govt. has telegd. out that the arrangement made at Shanghai betw. the Taotai & the Russo-Chinese bank must be upheld, & wants to know what is to be done now. I said I must think over it.

Rockhill has trouble abt. the new treaty abt. entrance of Chinese into the U.S. The Chinese presented a draft; U.S. a counterdraft; the Chinese a fresh draft, wch. is now under discussion amicably. The agitation in the press misrepresents the state of things. He wants Chinese govt. to publish a statement correcting this, & sent Williams to W.W.P. where he saw Wu & Lienfang, the former was very noisy and wld. not listen to reason, so he is going to talk to Prince Ch'ing. Mumm came to him & talked abt. the necessity of joint action betw. U.S. Engl. & Germany in regard to mining regulations; complained of the Chinese granting exclusive rights of mining to native syndicates in each province, but forgot to say anything abt. Shantung. Complained of the trouble the Japanese are causing the Germans.

Gaiffier & Dubail also came to return his calls, & talked about the Canton-Hankow

1905

line and the attitude of the Chinese in regard to the further issue of bonds, wch. they are preventing.

3 “ Meeting at Dubail's at wch. he, Mumm, Gaiffier & I concocted a teleg. to our govts. abt. the unfair advantages wch. Russia is attempting to obtain in the matter of the indemnity, & got the U.S, A-H, Dutch & Italian colls: to send the same.

5 [June] To Uchida sent a copy of the same, and asked him whether Lord Li was liked in Japan and whether there was anything against him.

G. Jamieson came to say he had a letter fr. Shêng inviting him to a meeting on the 8th & he showed me a letter he had written to him abt. things required for running the railway.

Henry Keswick & Ross to talk abt. rlwy. matters. Shêng wants them to agree to regulations for the conduct of the Board, wch. wld. give Shêng the whole power, whereas the Corpn. are to “build & equip the railway.” I said I agreed with them that this wld. not do, and that they shld. go on as at present without any, rather than attempt to legislate for cases that cld. not be foreseen. As to chairmanship, I concurred with their view that it shld. remain English until the railway had been running for some time, so as to know what the returns are.

Keswick said Shêng pretends that the £250,000 have been earmarked for purchase of land he wants it all, & has not enough for purchase of Shanghai station.

Explained my view as to commission of 5% demanded for Rlwy. indemnity, with wch. he seemed to be satisfied.

To Natung abt. Peking Syndicate's railway. & arranged that Jamieson shld. write to Shêng accepting for June 8, Mayers accompanying him, also that Mayers & Jamieson shld. see Wu Ting fang abt. the English text. He says Hu is attacked on all sides, and that particularly with regard to his mismanagement of the Luhan. They allege that the recent accident was on the Luhan, and he to protect himself makes as much as possible abt. the imperfections of the Syndicate's line.

Canton-Hankow. Told him that it was important that the final contract shld. be made by an honest man, for otherwise the Chinese govt. wld. be stuck for land, bricks & stone. He said this was a delicate matter, in wch. he cld. not meddle.

Mines. Chang still sitting on the draft regulations prepared by Wu. I reminded him that the Commercial Treaty had been drawn up in consultation with Chang Chih tung & Liu Kunyi, & it was inexplicable how the former shld. now obstruct the execution of one of the most important provisions, long overdue.

Dalai Lama. Is still at Urga; certainly has not left.

Tang Shaoyi, confidentially, does not wish to go to England, but successor question will probably not be taken up until he returns from Calcutta.

1905

Hwangpu. Our draft proposals have been sent to Choufu. Na does not anticipate any difficulty.

A white hollyhock in flower.

6 “ To the Cottage by 7 a.m. train.

7 “ Came in to town. Rain the greater part of the day. Went out again.

8 “ Carnegie who returned last night came out in the afternoon. The Brewsters & Grays to lunch. Cowan to stay the night.

10 “ Returned to town. Heavy storm beginning abt. half past eight, flooding the low lying parts of the compound.

11 “ Some rain in the afternoon.

12 [June] Mochidzuki came to see me rejoiced at the news of peace negotiations. He developed his ideas. Takahira is somewhat ramolli [French: “soft”, can be used of a person] & not fit to be their negotiator; very difficult to find the right man. Itō Hirobumi would not go unless he was certain of succeeding. I said that the first thing was for Japan to formulate the bases on wch. she wld. treat. These I found [on inquiry] included the demolition of the fortification of Vladivostok and along the Amur river, as far as Chita; Vladivostok & all that region to be free from import duties & the Amur river thrown open to the commerce of all nations, cession of Sagalien wch. commands the mouth of the Amur. I said it was not usual to demand cession of territory you had not captured, & that making a Vladivostok a free port wld. render Russian commercial competition an impossibility. To this he replied that troops were on their way north, either to occupy Sagalien or to invert Vladivostok. At this point we were interrupted by Cârcer, who came to ask for a copy of the Mackay treaty, wch. I gave him.

At 11 came Shêng Kung-pao with his interpreter Wu. He talked abt. the difficulty of acquiring the necessary land for the Shanghai railway station. Then we discussed the differences betw. Wu Tingfang & Jamieson as to the English text of the Rlwy. agreement & the smelting rules for about two hours, & perh. made some impression. Finally he made a number of depreciatory remarks abt. the inferior construction of the Syndicate's rlwy. Told him he was like a collector buying old curios who tried to get them cheaper by discovering flaws.

14 “ Hillier came to tell me abt. the desirability of increasing the issue of the British Dollar, & I asked him to put his ideas on paper for me to send to F.O.

16 “ Hillier came to talk abt. a teleg. he recd. yesterday to the effect that China is to pay seven million dollars gold for the cancellation of the Hankow-Canton rlwy. concession, & suggesting that the B. & C. Corp'n. shld. try to obtain the issue of the loan. He favours a loan on security of the line with guarantee of the Chinese govt. on the system of the

1905

Northern Rlwy. He will try to find out thro' Li Shêng-teh how matters stand. I suggested that the matter was in the hands of the old trickster Chang Chih-tung. The loan wld. have to be shared with the German Bank. I did not tell him what I had heard from Fraser abt. Chang's wish to borrow 2,000,000 taels, & desire to exclude the Bank on acct. of the German element on the Board at Hongkong.

Gaiffier & Mumm abt. indemnity. The latter has seen Kozakov, who admits that Drosemeier has recd. instructions of a plain & precise nature to arrange with the Taotai to take silver on such terms as to meet the objections of the F.R.R. with certain slight modifications on wch. Russia wld. apparently not insist. But K. pretends that he has no instructions. Mumm's attitude is that he wld. not stand out if the charges for freight & insurance were .95 or .9 of 1%, instead of 1. I said that of course I shld. wish to see the proposals, that I cld. not promise beforehand to agree to anything that the Russians might propose, & that at the final stage of a negotiation it was always necessary to be very much on one's guard, not to sign anything one was not quite satisfied with. Gaiffier said he wld. see Kozakov, & try to persuade him to do the right thing. We also discussed prospects of peace. Mumm thinks it is coming, & Gaiffier regards peace as imposed by the internal condition of Russian [Russia?]. I argued that the Emperor Nicholas was not at all inclined to make peace; they knew the Japanese terms quite well, but what the Russians aimed at was to make out that the Japse. asked for peace, wch. I thought they were unlikely to do.

22 [June] Came in from the Cottage by cart in 1 hr. 35 min. Mumm came chiefly abt. Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. I told him, as he said he had instructions from home, that I had none. But I had recd. copies of telegrs. from Boyce-Kup, wch. I proceeded to comment on; I thought it quite out of the question that we should conceal the total amount of the loan fr. the Chinese negotiators; that the arrangement about pooling the revenues ought to be inserted in the agreement, consequently the proposed alterations ought to be telegd. out here. I wld. send for Boyce-Kup & talk them over with him, after which I wld. perhaps teleg. for instructions. He suggested that we shld. take joint action in recommending the negotiation to the goodwill of the Waiwupu, and was not prepared to go further in the matter than I was. I replied that their interests in the line were much greater, two-thirds to one-third. He said the Chinese were always retorting on him that this was an Anglo-German affair, and that the Br. Min. seemed to take no interest in it; if he pressed the Chinese Govt. then it wld. be another affair, etc. I said that I had recd. all this in a Chinese newspaper, wch. represented him as complaining of my not giving him any support in this affair, & asked whether he had uttered such sentiments. He replied that since a year he had said nothing to the Waiwupu, & that this was either the echo of something old or else Cordes might have said it. (Now I come to think of it, the paragraph

1905

was in the Japan Times taken from a Japsee. paper wch. has a corresp[onden]t in Peking.) He said that the increased cost was due to the English going to Puk'ou instead of to Chinkiang wch. made the line 100 kilom. longer, & because they insisted on the exchange station being on the boundary of the province instead of at the first big town in Kiangsu. I had mentioned to him that the teleg. fr. London said the simultaneous construction of both sections was provided for, & hinted that this must be in the agreement, to wch. he rejoined that he cld. not understand why I was so suspicious; & I said that in my view we ought to have the right of building right up to Chinanfu, so as to secure our line being in connexion with theirs. He finished by asking me when I had made up my mind what I shld. do, to write him a line, and I gave him to understand that I wld. prob. write to him at Peitaiho.

Indemnity. He had seen Kozakov, and so had Gaiffier. The result was that K. & Davydoff had again telegraphed to Petersburg to have definite instructions sent to Drosemeier. I told him of the Taotai's teleg. wch. Na had requested me to show him, & that evidently D. was holding out for the London price & not S'hai parity; that I cld. not quite understand the whole of the teleg. I gathered he was not very optimistic and quite sees that if things are not settled by 30 June the whole negotiation falls through, & I said to him that I certainly shld. not sign until I was satisfied that Russia gained no advantage.

Transfer of steam-launches. He proposes to draft a note in Fr. based on my English in order that every coll: who likes to reply in the same sense may do so. Rosthorn e.g. has already replied that he has no objection.

Currency. W.D. Little's letter. He proposes to acknowledge receipt & wld. like to say something definite about our wish for more information. I promised to take this paper to the country and study it there.

The Taotai had asked the Customs at Chefoo to search a Germ. vessel for Russians supposed to have broken their parole. He considered this ultra vires, and was obliged to take notice of it, but first he had gone to Hart, just to let him know. I said that it seemed to me that only urgency cld. justify their doing it without a warrant fr. the consul: to defend their neutrality they must of course take whatever measures were necessary, & if there was urgency then I thought they could do it, not otherwise.

Dubail came later. As to the indemnity, his opinion is that Drosemeier who is a Jew is trying to evade carrying out his instructions & that Kozakov is afraid to give orders in view of the imminent arrival of Pokotilov, who will doubtless settle the question. Spoke to him abt. the refusal of the priest Derouin at Miaoyutsao to deliver up the assailants of Beauchamp's catechist; he promised to send a teleg. to Bous d'Auty inquiring how the matter stands. Dub. is much concerned abt. the machinations of the German emperor. I told him that people say that the Emperor personally telegd. to

1905

Petersburg to look out for Japanese torpedo-boats in the N. Sea, that Germany was said to have egged the Jap[ane]se on to go to war & encouraged Russia to make no concessions. That he had ordered the German fleet to be mobilised on the occasion of the Doggerbank incident, to wch. we had replied by detaching 4 battleships fr. the Mediterranean squadron to reinforce our home fleet. Dub. sees the hand of Germany in the difficulties betw. Norway & Sweden: she is on the look out for the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph in order to annexe the German provinces of Austria to the German Empire, and so come down to Trieste, &c. &c.

Went to return Shêng's call. Talked to him abt. the provincial mints and the necessity of taking care that the supply of the new copper coins did not exceed the demand. He expressed himself with great freedom abt. the absence of a real central govt. in China, on wch. point I agreed with him. We discussed the main points of a settlement betw. Japan & Russia wch. are of interest to China. I said I had no doubt Japan wld. restore Manchuria to China, but wld. insist on her taking military precautions agst. a fresh aggression on the part of Russia. As for Port Arthur, it is in the nature of a trophy, and Japan will certainly want to keep it for some years, tho' I did not think she wld. retain it permanently as it is not a good port, & Masanpho commands the entrance to the gulf of Pechili. He objected that China having no navy could not protect Port Arthur fr. an attack by sea, but I told him no fleet could take Port Arthur in face of fire from the forts. The railway wld. be ceded to Japan, who wld. transfer it to China, with the condition that it shld. be managed internationally like the Suez canal [see January 5, 1905 entry above]. Then I inclined to hope that all the Powers would agree to guarantee the integrity & independence of China. He expressed himself quite satisfied with this outline.

I mentioned the Peking Syndicate affair. He said he hoped to settle it soon, & wld. discuss tomorrow with the Waiwupu.

23 [June] Took back 2 despp. from Miller, U.S. Consul-genl. at Chefoo abt. the Haichou affair, & lent him Lt. Pike's report to read.

We discussed the same topics as I had talked over with Shêng, with whom Rockhill has also had conversation. Komura said to him at Tokio that Japan wld. ask for 'guarantees' fr. China for the defence of Manchuria. Shêng was afraid that Russia having been headed off fr. Manchuria wld. march troops into Ili, but we agreed that this was not a serious danger. We also talked abt. Germany in Shantung, & I said that the questions affecting China must be settled by a conference of the Powers, in wch. also all the acquisitions made by us all since 1896 wld. be brought on the tapis and strictly defined. An endeavour sh[ou]ld be made to get back for China the control of all her railways. Indemnity. Mumm has been telling him that the Hgkg & S'hai Bk. is alone making

1905

difficulties, for fear of losing the monopoly of the exchange business. I explained why I held out agst. Drosemeier's way of settling the matter. He said the U.S. Govt. are very anxious to restore to China the excess of their indemnity, but I said they must hold on to it, as giving them a justification for re-opening the question of the indemnity. Otherwise the Powers might object that as we had cut down our shares in order that there might be enough to go round, they ought also to receive a share of whatever the U.S. surrendered. Went to the Cottage.

26 “ Rode in by way of Ping tsê mên at a foot's pace, in 2 hr. 40 min. Hillier came to speak about a Hankow claim of the Bank agst. Vvard's estate consisting of concessions and agreements for antimony ore and the necessary plant. Vvard had an overdraft of Tls. 400,000 & cld. not go on. So he assigned the business to Carlowitz & Co., with a lien in favour of the bank of 33% of the profits. The provincial auth: have now declared the concessions to be void, & prohibit the mine-owners fr. delivering any more antimony. The Germ. Legn. has been fighting the affair on behalf of Carlowitz & Co. but without success. H. has asked the bank to send him all the papers, & he will make a digest of them for me, in case I thought I cld. take the case up. I said I wld. reply when I had seen the papers.

Mumm came with draft of the letter he proposes to send to the Chairman of the Shanghai Ch. of Commerce enclosing the memo. of further information desired abt. the copper mints wch. I sent him on the 24th.

Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. He came back to this, repeating his arguments of a few days ago, & especially deprecating any further demands on my part for more favourable terms. I let him understand that what I shld. like to see wld. be our people building from Chinanfu south. To this he objects because their Shantung agreement gives them the right to build as far as I-chou, and he thinks, to the boundary of the province. I reminded him again that the Shantung agreement had never been published in its entirety. He protested that the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. had for them no longer any political importance, as I appeared to fancy, but was purely financial. The Germ. Govt. desired only to carry out its promises to their banking capitalists. I said the taint of politics was over all these rlwys. H.M.G. had always treated them as merely private speculations, but Parliament wld. not let them do so, and we could not leave this aspect out of account. He urged that we are jointly interested, and that the Chinese will never carry out their obligation unless we both push them. I told him I had two rlwy. questions on hand in wch. we are alone interested, and on wch. I have special instructions, & of course my energies are taken up with them in the first place. He alluded to the junctions with Chengting & Kaifêng mentioned in the dft. & said he considered that as he had procured them his capitalists alone had a right, tho' the dft. speaks of the "Syndicate", that he was not anxious to push them, having got the promise

1905

simply to forestall other people. I said that when I had seen Boyce-Kup I shld. know what I would do.

Indemnity. Nothing new. I think he has made up his mind that the negotiations will fail, for he repeated the old story abt. the Hgkg & S'hai Banking Corpn. being at the bottom of the whole opposition to Russia; that he had thrown over his own bank, wch. was now protesting strongly agst. T.T. I recalled to him the excellent scheme of the Dutch delegate for selling exchange in such a way as to prevent any bank fr. getting the whole, wch. had been rejected because no one wld. hear of the scheme of fixing by public tender wch. I advocated. Then I fell back on the London price of bar silver as the nearest thing to a definite standard, but Dubail wld. not hear of London, & so we came to T.T. I was quite willing to lend my assistance towards solving in some other way, e.g. the London price + ½ the charges, if every one agreed to this; but of course after 30 June there must be a new calculation of the deficit. It was a pity Russia cld. not have done us the friendly turn of acting for once in conjunction with the other Powers.

27-29 [June] At the Cottage. ¹

Tsuchiya came to tell me abt. the chauvinistic M.P. Hiraoka, who has been interviewing Prince Ch'ing, Chū Hung-chi, Natung, Chang Pihoi, Yung-ching & Tieh-liang about Manchuria and talking extravagantly about the terms on wch. Japan will restore Manchuria. He is much concerned about the bad effect this man's talk will have, & says he is playing into Pokotiloff's hands, who when he arrives will find a field for his well-known abilities. Mochidzuki is also doing mischief with his talk, tho' less noisy. The press in Japan is also extravagant abt. peace terms.

Hillier came. He says rate of exchange has a tendency to be below London parity, but at times goes above Shanghai parity. Hence the necessity to prevent the Russians their indemnity in silver at London parity.

He agrees that to expect a commission of bankers to manage this indemnity business without some regard to their own interests is to demand too much from human nature.

Morrison came to say that he leaves Tientsin for Japan direct on the 4 July. He spoke of the dangerous talk of Hiraoka & Tsuchiya, and it looks as if he has been influencing the other Jap. correspondents to try and check the mischief. He does not believe in the Washington negotiations ending in peace.

Goltz came to say that Kozakov had instructions to sign the joint Note abt. the

¹ As he had done for the house at Lake Chuzenji (near Nikkō, Japan), Satow kept a separate diary for time spent at Ku-miao-tsun, the "Cottage" referred to here, built in 1902. The diary has occasional entries from August 1902 to April 1906. Both diaries are in PRO 30/33 17/16. The Chuzenji diary has already been reproduced in I. Ruxton, ed. *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900)*, Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003.

1905

indemnity. I said that before I cld. sign I must know the conditions on wch. Russia was to get silver payments. It turned out that K. had told him it wld. be the laying down price in Shanghai. I said that we must have this in writing.

Sent for Hillier & conferred with him; we agreed on a teleg. to be sent to Hunter inquiring the best means of getting over the difficulty in regard to the proposed repayment of the Silver recd. during the six months.

Dined with the Brewsters.

30 June Went to Dubail & recounted my talk with Goltz. He said that Kozakov no doubt had his instructions several days ago, but put off[f] communicating them in the hopes of Pokotiloff's arrival in time. He agreed that we must have the announcement in writing. Just then Goltz arrived with Kozakov's letter, wch. we found satisfactory; Gaiffier also came in. I explained the necessity of doing something with regard to the payment of the half year's sycee [i.e. Chinese silver coin] receipts, and persuaded them to add a sentence to the note providing for the equitable application of para. 4 of the Chinese note. Goltz produced a telegram wch. showed that if the bankers did not receive a teleg. by 10 a.m. they would proceed to settle exchange. This I said would immensely simplify the arrangement of his matter.

Went to Uchida, and showed him a copy of Kozakov's letter. He said he hoped or rather expected that the projected negotiations at Washington would come to nothing.

Hillier came, & we discussed the K. letter. On the whole he declared it satisfactory. He had recd. a teleg. informing him that the rate for the past six months was fixed yesterday as usual (prob. after end of day's business).

Geo. Jamieson with a memo. of his last interview with Shêng at wch. everything was agreed to between them, and signature to take place on the 3rd at 4 p.m.

Rode out to the Cottage in the afternoon.

July 1905

1 July Back to town in time for dinner, to wch. Bower, who had just returned from Peitaiho and Tientsin came.

2 “ To Prince Ch'ing, with him Nat'ung & Wu Ting fang, who he said had just happened to come there to bid him good morning.

I explained my views abt. the essay subject set by the Examiner of Kiangsi, and finally, after expressing his agreement with me as to the serious fault committed, undertook to ask for a decree ordering the Govr. of Kiangsi to reprimand him, and to send me a copy officially.

1905

I also mention[ed] Changsha & my last note; the points not settled being the length of time during wch. foreigners shld. not reside in the city & the freedom of foreign goods from likin.

Then to Mumm's, where there was a meeting of the RR. of the Protocol Powers. They had decided to accept the proposed Chinese amendments to the Huangpu arrangement, with the exception of one wch. wld. have made the arrangement applicable to the foreign settlements, to wch. Dubail said he could not consent. And my addition to the Indemnity Note had been accepted. It was also decided to date our acceptance today, to avoid clashing with the fixing of the exchange on the 29 June. I stayed behind to join in drafting a note abt. the Huangpu amendments, & Mumm talked a little abt. the indemnity, frankly stating that he did not like my addition to the joint note. He sees evidently that it may cut both ways.

Uchida came early to say that reports had reached him that Pokotilow had telegd. fr. Kalgan to advise China to insist on being allowed to have her say in the peace negotiations whenever her interests came into play. He had been told at the Waiwupu that this was not the case, but he knew they had this idea in their heads, & had therefore told Nat'ung that is w[ou]ld be impossible unless both belligerents consented, & Japan certainly wld. not. He wld. have gone himself this morning to see Prince Ch'ing, but on acct. of the meeting summoned by Mumm was unable to do it, & meant to send a secretary to say that this was not a proposal calculated to benefit either China or Japan. If Prince Ch'ing said anything to me on the subject, or if I saw an opportunity, he hoped I wld. dissuade them from putting forward any such proposal, if I thought fit to do so.

I said that in speaking to Shêng lately I had expressed my opinion that Japan wld. carry out her promise of restoring Manchuria to China, but that she wld. expect China to take effectual military precautions against future Russian aggression. I had not gone beyond those precise words. When the Chinese many months back had sounded me as to despatching a special envoy to the Powers to claim the right of being heard in peace negotiations, I had dissuaded them on the ground that it was premature. I knew that the E-D [Empress-Dowager] had recently ordered the high officers of state to give their opinion as to the future policy to be pursued in regard to Manchuria. I had heard that Hiraoka had been freely expressing his opinion as to the guarantees that Japan wld. require in conversation with Prince Ch'ing and other dignitaries, & that they were consequently very anxious abt. the matter. If he wld. permit me to say so, I thought it imprudent to allow irresponsible M.P.s to talk politics to Chinese officials. He explained that Hiraoka had taken advantage of introductions given so that he might discuss commercial matters to talk about Manchuria.

1905

In the end I said that if Prince Ch'ing asked my opinion, I wld. give them the advice he desired. Meeting him later at Mumm's I said to him that Prince Ch'ing had not mentioned the subject, but if I were questioned, I wld. give the opinion as agreed upon between us.

Lunched with Dubail. Sir Robt. the Morisses and Vignon. It is a magnificent house, very fine reception rooms. Rode out to Cottage.

3 “ Rode in from Cottage to work, and went back again. Stayed there 4 & 5 working, & came in afternoon of 6th.

7 [July] In consequence of Note fr. Chinese Govt. saying they will not be bound by any stipulations in the treaty of peace affecting China on wch. they have not been consulted beforehand, went to Rockhill. He told me that he had been consulted by Prince Ch'ing on the question of sending a special envoy to Washington to represent their interests at the peace conference, & has dissuaded them on the ground that if they went there it wld. be as an ally of one of the belligerents, wch. wld. be contrary to the neutrality they had so successfully maintained hitherto. He had spoken in the same sense to Yüan Shihkai, who was entirely agst. the idea; Chou-fu was also believed to have reported agst. So they gave it up, & came to him with a message from the Emperor to Mr. [Theodore] Roosevelt, known only to Prince Ch'ing, Chü Hung-chi & Na'tung, begging him in virtue of the tradition of friendship to do what he could to prevent anything being done at Washington contrary to the sovereign rights of China, & the President had replied promising to see to it. He is of the same opinion as myself that the Note of China is conceived in Russian interests. [U.S. Minister in Tokyo Lloyd] Griscom writes to him that the prospects of peace are not in his opinion very hopeful.

I said that when the belligerents had come to terms wld. be the time for Mr. Roosevelt to act on his promise & get the Gt. Powers together to put down what each had secured from China as his enjeu, & try to arrange for their being limited in acc[ordance] with China's sovereign rights.

Pokotilow, who is off to Washington for the negotiations, came with Kozakow to say goodbye. Dined at Baroli's, a big dinner to say goodbye to the Rojestvensky's, who go with Pokotilow.

8 “ Dubail came to bring me a note drawn up in Paris on the Chinese attempt to exercise jurisdiction over foreigners in the new settlements they propose to establish at Chinanfu, Weihsien and Chouts'un. Told him I had already protested to the Chinese govt. Said I wld. & gave him a copy of my Note.

He says Shêng has been sounding him abt. the obtaining of funds for the purchase of the Manchurian railway, to whom he replied that no one wld. lend money for the purchase

1905

of a line the ownership of which was so doubtful. The Japse. might claim the portion held by them as prize of war. I said I had heard the Chinese were going abt. asking where the money could be got, but it was certainly premature.

As to the Chinese Note of Thursday, I have told both Dubail & Gaiffier that I regard it as a blunder, not calculated to facilitate the peace negotiations. Na told Campbell yesterday that it was entirely done off their own bat to content Chinese public opinion.

[July] 10 Came in from the Cottage.

“ 11 Attack of colic from a chill during the night, all day & 12th in bed. Diarrhoea.

“ 13 Went out to the Cottage to stay.

“ 21 Returned, not much better. Gray advises a trip to Peitaiho.

“ 22 To Dubail, to whom I said I could not agree to the proposed insertion in clause 8 of the Huangpu agreement wch. wld. create a special position for the Fr. settlement, & that I shld. urge the Foreign Board to accept our modification as given in the note of June 29. Said I thought we need not send home Chinese amendments to Trademark Law, but teleg. if necessary referring to articles of the draft we had already sent home. As to payments due on the indemnity, he wld. be quite ready to recommend to Paris to cry quits now that the 8 000 000 taels have been recd. and the principle of payments in gold is recognized. Agreed with this view.

Rockhill whom I saw is of the same mind as myself abt. the Hwangpu.

Saw Uchida & told him also. He approves. He spoke abt. commission being ordered to study foreign institutions, & said he had ascertained that it had no connexion with peace negotiations.

To tea at the Kao Miao with Carnegies & Collier. Not[?] a very fine show of pink lotus. The priest has Tecoma grandiflora climbing on some of his trees.

23 [July] By the 8 o'clock train to Peitaiho, where I arrd. abt. ½ past 6, & put up at the Astor House Hotel. Red pinks, deep blue Platycodon. Sulphur yellow Hemerocallis; the latter lying where the careless had that [that had?] picked them had let them fall; but the pinks growing and glowing on every patch of wild ground.

24 “ The Hippestleys [Hippisleys] are in this hotel, Mme de Cárcer with her children. Mumm has van Citters and the Brewsters with him.

Went flower collecting at the spot called by visitors “Lotus valley”. Found a sulphur yet 3 Hemerocallis, Platycodon, a tall white anemone, a tall yellow sedum, mountain ask[ash?], quercus dentata, oak with sweet chestnut shaped leaves.

25 “ Walked over to the site of Sir C. MacDonald's house, where Cowan & I propose to erect two bungalows as a sanitarium for the Peking Legation. Mrs. Gray & Garstin arrived. Went to tea with Mrs. Duncan Mackintosh.

1905

- 26 “ Went to Mumm and showed him part of Hunter's letter abt. the question whether there is a deficit on the past half year, and showed him that acc. to the Bankers' view, wch. he (Mumm) had supported, the Taotai had paid more than was due on the first half year of 1905. On the other hand, during the second half year the Note of July 2 wld. entitle us to payt. of only ½ half of the amortisation for the year. Consequently, in order to obtain all we are entitled to for the year 1905 we shall have to negotiate a supplementary note.

August 1905

3 Aug. Returned from Peitaiho, completely recovered, to all appearance.

4 Aug. Heavy rain in the forenoon.

To Natung and complained of Shêng's trickery in regard to an interpretation which he made in the heading of the Peking Syndicate's agreement to share the iron-smelting in Honan. He expressed himself very properly.

Referred to my last talk of 9 Sept. 1904 abt. Tibet & the two conversations with Prince Ch'ing subsequent to it, in the course of wch. the Prince announced his intention of sending a high official to Tibet, who on his way wld. discuss the terms of adhesion with the Indian Govt. I laid stress on the fact that to negotiate at Calcutta was the choice of the Chinese Govt. Then I referred to the message the Prince had sent me thro' him: as the question put to me was one that I cld. not decide by myself, I had asked for instructions & had now recd. them. In the first place I wished to know what the hitch was.

Na explained that they had confidence in the equity of the British Govt. & that was why they suggested transferring the negotiations to London.

I said it must not be supposed that the Indian govt. had omitted to provide themselves with the authorization of H.M.G. for the proposals they had put fo[war]d. Consequently, a transfer fr. Calcutta wld. be useless.

He said the main hitch was between 上國 & 主國. In my conversation with Prince Ch'ing I had cross-examined him on this question. There was a difference. For instance the Dalai Lama was apptd. by the Emperor & there was an Amban [Chinese Resident] who acted as an intermediary; but in Corea there was no Resident. China held that 主國 was the proper term.

I said the origin of the discussion was a remark made to me by a person who had complained that the Convention converted Tibet into a vassal of Great Britain. We pointed out however that we had taken special care to make it plain that we recognized the suzerainty of China. That was the proper correlative to 'vassal' & in my opinion was properly represented by the expression 上國 [a simplified form of 上國]. I reminded him

1905

of the Tibetan refusal to recognize the boundary treaty, wch. had obliged us to treat directly with them, & that when it was agreed with the Chinese Govt. that a meeting shld. take place at Khambajong, the Tibetans refused to give Yütai the necessary transport. We were therefore compelled to go to Gyantse, & after all that had passed it was impossible to return to the status quo ante.

Na dropped a suggestion that the Dalai Lama might go back to Lhasa & said the Russians had offered to give him an escort, wch. Peking had declined with thanks. Kolezsoff the interpreter of the R. Legn. a few days ago had used the words 'our Dalai Lama', wch. Na had laughed at. What wld. happen, did I think, if the D-L went back. I said that he wld. probably put to death or imprison the Panchen Erdeni, the signatories of the Lhasa convention & every one else who had befriended us or any other foreigners, so the last state of Tibet wld. be worse than the 1st.

Na being pressed said that he did not remember what the other difficulties were, but the main one was that T'ang was very ill, his life in danger & he wished to come away. However, the question of the D-L's future might be left to be decided afterwards, the important thing was to finish the negotiation now pending at Calcutta. His idea was therefore to teleg. to T'ang to propose the omission of the article in wch. the disputed item occurred, & to give him a week to arrange the other points. If I agreed wld. I send a similar telegram.

I replied that the article had been proposed by us in order to secure the recognition of the suzerainty of China, & if she herself preferred to omit it, we I thought need not object. I wld. teleg. as he proposed.

6 Aug. Rockhill walking up and down after church said he had strongly urged Washington not to allow the Chinese to buy out J.P. Morgan's interest in the Canton-Hankow rlwy. but to insist on the rlwy. remaining American. As to the boycott he had asked authority to inform the Chinese govt. that if this movement was allowed to proceed, seeing that it was led by a taotai, the U.S. wld. hold them pecuniarily responsible for any losses that American merchants might suffer in consequence of what might fairly be regarded as a violation of Art. XV of the American treaty of 1858. As to the exclusion treaty he was in favour of telling Prince Ch'ing that he must take the draft as it now is, or go without, & if they offered to send Wu Ting-fang to negotiate at Washington he wld. advise his govt. to refuse to receive him. Wu was jealous of Liang, because the latter had made something out of the Canton-Hankow rlwy. and he had not; Wu was a very objectionable individual, whom he did not like at all. He said Dubail had been to him & declared he had no objection to the withdrawal of his proposal for the special mention of the Fr. concession in Art. 8 of the Hwangpu agreement.

1905

7 Aug. Shêng came by apptmt. at his own request. His object was evidently to find out what I knew of Japanese intentions with regard to the Manchurian rlwy., and he spent an hour and a half in cross examining me, wch. produced nothing.

He then reached his hat and was going to take leave, when I said there was something else to say, & taxed him with the alteration he had introduced into the heading of the agreement for joint working of the Peking Syndicate's mines. He began to shuffle & evade. I said I must have the heading altered to what had [been] agreed upon with the Waiwupu. He refused. I then said it was useless continuing the conversation, & I wld. make the matter an official question with the W.W.P. as for himself this was the last time I wld. talk with him on any subject, I rang the bell & ordered his chair. He at last got up, seeing that I meant it, and I refused to give him my hand or accompany him to the door. Campbell & S's interpreter Wu did all they could to induce him to give way, & the former thinks I might have given way if I had not abruptly made it a quarrell, but now we have made an enemy of him, we can only prosecute the attack with vigour. It is clear Campbell disapproves of the course I took. It is possible that I have acted impolitcly in making an open foe of Shêng, and in allowing myself to give way to my anger. My own feeling however is that no compromise was possible in relation to a piece of trickery, and I am quite satisfied to have marked to Shêng my contempt for his actions and character.

8 [Aug.] Mochizuki called. He says that an aide-de-camp of Kodama's writes that Vladivostok wld. cost 10,000 or 20,000 men to take, as it is very strong: he anticipates its shortly being cut off & surrounded.

Dubail came. Agreed with him to refuse the last Chinese proposals in regard to trademarks, & told him what Mayers had learnt fr. an official of the Shangpu that what they aim at is getting an instalment of the jurisdiction over foreigners promised in the Mackay Treaty. I said to him that I quite disapproved of that article, but not having been consulted, had refrained fr. expressing my opinion to Ld. Lansdowne.

He said the agreement abt. rlwys. in Szechuen had been signed. I told him I had not recd. any intelligence, but Reuter had said it was on the point of being signed. It wld. now be for the wld. be Concessionaries to send out an agent to sound the provincial authorities & overcome their objections; from the moment Legations & Consuls put themselves in the front the Chinese naturally inferred a political motive; what they shld. confine themselves to was giving their counsel to the agent & now & then a little help. Dubail seemed to agree, and added that we came on the scene when the agreements had to be ratified.

10 “ Kozakow came to borrow the East Tibetan blue-book with the Lhasa convention in it, and I lent him my copy. His own he said had been carried off by Pokotilow. Prob. he wants to put a spoke in the wheel of the negotiations at Calcutta for the Chinese adhesion, by

1905

insisting on the modification of art. 9.

Ross came to say that he was expecting papers abt. the proposals made by the B. & C. Corpn. for the extension to Hangchow and Ningpo. A draft agreement is on its way from London. I said enough had been done for the present by giving notice to Lord Li, & when the draft arrived we cld. consider whether any further step shld. be taken. He has also recd. papers abt. the regulations for conduct of the Shanghai-Nanking Board, wch. wld. place the whole power in Shêng's hands. These he is to send me to look at. I told him that Shêng had shunted the Canton-Kowloon line on to the Shangpu, and that the Viceroy of Canton had put forward a pretension to construct the whole of the Chinese Section & to have the preliminary agreement torn up, but we shld. refuse that absolutely. Said I was sending him the corresp'ce abt. land for the Shanghai terminus to read.

Rockhill has sent in a Note informing the Chinese govt. that they will be held responsible for any losses suffered by American commerce in consequence of the boycott, wch. is being engineered by high officials, some of them at Peking, & this has produced great alarm at the W.W.P. Na sent Bredon to him as a messenger of peace. He spoke strongly to B. & said the Note was much milder than his instructions.

Wu is at the bottom of it all, he is convinced. His instructions came direct fr. the President, to whom he suggested them & who replied 'Go ahead'. At Canton the organization pretends to be permanent, & to be used agst. any Power that does not do as China wishes. Rodgers telegs. that leading Chinese merchants have been to him & expressed a desire to 'call off' the boycott, but it is kept going by Taotai Tsêng, who has the students with him. Told him of the teleg. I had recd. fr. the China Association. He says it is a fact that most of the importation of American piece goods is done thro' English houses.

11 " Meeting of Dubail, Baroli, Rosthorn & Goltz here at wch. we discussed last Chinese note abt. trademarks and tenor of our proposed reply. Decided to reject Chinese amendments to our dft. & entrusted Dubail & Rosthorn with the manufacture of a draft.

12 " Ginnell & Siebold representing Paulings called to explain their scheme for building cheap railways for China & handing them over fully equipped for £5000 to £6000 a mile. Seems very promising. Suggested Paulings putting themselves in communication with the F.O. and getting their sanction before making proposals in regard to Szechuen-Hankow or any other lines in wch. Syndicates have already promise of our support.

Gaiffier told Carnegie that he had heard fr. Hankow that Chang Chihtung had agreed with the Govr. of Hongkong for £1,100,000 loan to buy back Canton-Hankow line, and £3,000,000 for construction. As Belgium is interested he wanted to ask whether the story was true. He also said Mumm had sent Cordes to Hankow to get this business, but without

1905

success. Went to Cottage.

14 “ Returned fr. Cottage for dinner to Hilliers & c.

Hillier called to say the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank has told H. & S. Corpn. they hear Chang is borrowing £1,100,000 & £3,000,000 for the above purposes, wch. they consider is a violation of “the agreement” and that they intend to take diplomatic action! I remarked to Hillier that he wld. now understand why I had been so reticent with him on this subject; my instructions had been to keep it a secret.

Told him of my quarrel with Shêng confid.

16 Aug. Rockhill came. He wanted to know whether in our exchange of notes with Germany about the protection of trademarks anything had been said abt. Schutz-genossen, wch. Mumm desires to use; he explains it to mean people like Swiss who are looked after by Germany, and employés of Consulates & Legations. Promised to look it up, & later on sent him copies of papers. He asked me whether it was true that the H'gk'g Govt. was going to lend Chang Chih-tung £1,100,000 to buy back the Canton-Hankow Concession, & £3,000,000 more for construction. I said the former pact was a fact, as far as we were concerned, but nothing had been signed, and as to the latter it was not yet determined. He said this wld. give the British govt. the concession, wch. I denied. Dubail had been to him for information abt. it.

Dubail came in the afternoon, talked abt. the murders at Batang, the trademark draft & various other things, but did not mention the loan to Chang Chih-tung. I conclude he does not like it. Went out to the Cottage & stayed there till

Aug 21, when Norris having left me I came into town. Yesterday a teleg. from Barrington “Sec. of State for F.A. hopes you will retain your post for at least another year from September” wch. means that my apptmt. is renewed for one year. This will necessitate my stopping over the winter, and going home before the heats of next summer.

Boyce-Kup came up to discuss amendments to final contract for the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway, and I gave him lunch. Cordes it seems will not be back here for a month. So the matter does not press. We went thro' the points. I explained to him that whereas, if the Chinese Central Railways Ltd. were going to put their own money exclusively into the concern, I shld. not express an opinion, as they are quite competent to protect their own interests, but seeing that the public is to be invited to subscribe to the bonds, I consider that H.M.G. of whom I am the representative & mouthpiece are bound to take care that prospective bondholders' interests are properly safeguarded.

Hippesley called. He was going to see Shêng this afternoon, presumably abt. German Treaty negotiations.

Left cards on Hippesleys, Frederick Palmer & Collins.

1905

22 “ Went to Dubail & thanked him for his notes abt. what had happened at Tseku, & told him that Forrest was reported to have escaped. Also informed him that I was pressing for the opening of Nanning, promised by the Chinese 7 years ago, that at the time it was demanded I thought that & Talienwan bay an unnecessary provocation to France & Russia, particularly after the publication in the “Times”. He said they had long ago withdrawn their opposition. I explained that it was mainly in the interest of Inland Navigation that I was pressing it, as the Chinese Govt. were doing all they could to evade the carrying out of their engagements in this respect, and before long I shld. be obliged to have a field day with Prince Ch'ing on the subject.

To Uchida. He has no official news, but hears privately that while Japan is willing to make concessions as to indemnity she will insist on Sagalien. Told him of our proposed joint reply to the last Note of the Chinese abt. Trademarks. He also had recd. it, having written to them to suggest some amendments. He had recently urged Tsai chên to come to an agreement with the Five Ministers, as delay was inconvenient to Japan. He doubted the Chinese allegation that the Japanese tariff of fees was as high as that proposed by the Chinese.

Met Bredon on the wall & spoke to him strongly abt. the levying of tonnage dues on the two wrecks brought by Wheelock & Co. to Shanghai to be broken up, & the duties levied on the O.W. desk for Tientsin. Said that so far fr. our getting any advantage fr. having an Englishman at the head of the Customs, we could not obtain as much consideration as other Legations. I said that levying 5% export duty on Chinese produce carried coastwise in addition to the 2½% coast trade duty was in my opinion contrary to the Treaties, & that Ld. Elgin could never have intended it. I did not believe the F.O. or the Legn. were aware of this interpretation put on the Treaty of Tientsin. He said it had gone on for 40 years or more & brought in a revenue of 5,000,000 taels.

Aug. 23 Thunderstorm abt. 2 a.m. and a good deal of rain till late in the forenoon.

Frederick Palmer, author of “With Kuroki in Manchuria” and Collins of Reuters called, and told some of their impressions. It appears that the Japanese are now drafting reservists of 40 years of age into the ranks. Great question is whether Japan modernised will continue to produce men of the type of Ōyama, Kuroki and Oku. They agreed with me that Japan has no lever whereby to exact an indemnity. Palmer says the Japanese are abandoning the rash tactics they used at the Yalu, and learning to take more advantage of cover. In a bayonet charge they walk right through the Russians. Collins said he had seen this on several occasions.

24 “ Went to Rockhill. The telegram abt. Conger's coming out here is without foundation. Pr. Ch'ing justifies in a note the proceedings of the boycotters. He showed me a letter from

1905

one Tschebatski or some such name, a privat-docent at Urga, introducing the Abbot of Sera & a friend, who wished to apply to him for help in connexion with the Lhasa convention: until that was disposed of the Dalai Lama could not go back to Lhasa. I put this into a desp. to F.O.

26 “ Lunched with Na at his place near the Summer palace. Dubail, Gaiffier, Wu Ting-fang, Lien-fang & Na's brother, & interpreter. I had Mayers with me, Campbell having gone to Peotaiho. Left with Na Chinese draft of a red note wch. I shld. have to send as a reply to one they wrote me the other day abt. the Tibetan negotiation. In this note I said that H.M.G. wld. agree to the wish of the Chinese govt. to excise art. 1. fr. the proposed adhesion agreement provided the rest were accepted without alteration, & H.M.G. wld. not be able to make any further modification. Thro' Mayers I said that if they liked to teleg. instructions in this sense to T'ang as coming from themselves, I wld. keep back my note; otherwise I must send it in. Mayers dropped a hint that if they did not accept our terms, we shld. not mind dispensing with their adhesion. He said he wld. look at the rest of the convention wch. contained points on wch. T'ang had raised objections. I urged him to overrule them.

27 “ One of the carriage ponies caught a chill yesterday and died this evening about 7 o'clock from pneumonia. Fault of coachman for not giving them sufficient exercise, so they got fat & soft, and the drive there and back was too much exertion.

28 “ Lunch at Prince Ch'ing's to the members of the Mission to Foreign countries and the RR. of those powers.

Na developed still further their little game of trying to get the negotiations abt. Tibet practically transferred here, by telling Mayers that there are objections to all the other articles of the adhesion agreement, especially to Art. 2. I mean to turn a deaf ear.

30 “ With Mayers to the opening of a modern school founded by Chao Erhsun with the assistance of Prince Su, Ch'ing K'ang & Li Shêng-tê in the Têng-shi-kou, abt. 100 students. French is taught by a student interpreter of the Belgian Legation, Japanese by some body, and they want me to procure the gratuitous services of an Englishman. Dr. Cochrane was there. An address by the manager, then they called on me for a speech, and then one was made by a Japanese professor in the University of Peking named Hattori, who has been here three years. He speaks English and studied nearly two years in Germany; was here during the siege of the legations & fought as a volunteer.

Dinner to Duke Tsai & the other members of the mission wch. is going abroad to study constitutional systems.

31 “ Mr. Frederic Jones, Commercial agent for Queensland came abt. import duty on coal, wch. he says bears hardly upon Australian coal. He wants it reduced to 5% ad valorem, or

1905

about what Japse. coal pays. I told him the tariff was fixed for 10 years. He then said the French coal from the mines of Hongay in Tonquin was admitted at the same rate as Japanese, & I told him if he cld. produce undoubted documentary evidence of this, I wld. see what I cld. do. He said he could get such a written assurance from the customs in Shanghai.

I took the opportunity of asking him to undertake the order for Peking ducks that came to us some months ago from West Australia.

[Margin: Funeral card from the Asaina family announcing the death of my old Tokugawa friend Asaina.] ¹

Hillier came. He is disturbed by the way in wch. the Viceroy is withdrawing the surplus revenue of the railways & made two suggestions 1°. that in case the bal'ce left for completion of the rlwy. outside the wall was insufficient, the Chinese Govt. shld. undertake to replace the £30,000 employed in the construction of the T'ung-chou branch. I told him that at the time of the negotiations for the retransfer of the intra-mural to the Chinese the only stipulation made or proposal in regard to the T'ung-chou line was that it shld. form part of the security for the loan, & that it was too late to propose any additional condition. He then adverted to the rlwy. indemnity, wch. he said shld. be applied, as far as necessary, to replacing the railway in the status quo ante the Boxer outbreak. I remarked that he probably alluded to the second pair of rails betw. Tientsin & Peking. I had always understood that Kinder had regarded this as a waste of money from the beginning, & it had been originally laid down because the Chinese wanted just such a line as we have in England; that after the Boxer outbreak its reconstruction was found to be unnecessary. If Kinder however certified that the railway had not been restored to the status quo ante, Boyce-Kup could represent matters to the B. & C. Corporation. But H.M.G. having, in spite of all my representations that the Northern rlwys. was a govt. concern, insisted on treating it as a private enterprise, they could not now come to the Chinese and say, "We have been too generous, we must insist on your setting apart out of the indemnity a sum wch. wld. suffice to lay down a second line." If the Corporation liked to induce the F.O. to give me instructions to that effect, of course I shld. have to act on them. But I wld. not give my support to such a proposal otherwise.

He left with me some papers.

Then Major Nathan, who read me some correspondence fr. Hopkins & Campbell abt. the ? [question] of differential treatment of B. & S. [Butterfield & Swire] & J.M. [Jardine Matheson] & Co. steamers. Campbell had written to him that Hopkins had full instructions & that I did not wish to discuss with him. Then he reverted to previous corresp'ce of

¹ Asaina Kansui. Satow paid him for information while he was Minister in Japan, 1895-1900.

1905

Hopkins fr. wch. he gathered that I was willing to discuss with him the general position of the C.E. & M. [Chinese Engineering & Mining] Co. I replied that this was a misunderstanding; & I read to him the instructions I had sent to Hopkins, the latter's report & my reply. He begged me to believe that he had come quite in the belief that I wished to see him, & I said it was evidently a misunderstanding. I then told him shortly the 3 points on wch. I had instructed Hopkins to approach him unofficially, & he said that if the two Cos. wld. each pay a 3rd of what Chinwangtao had cost the C.E. & M. Co. he wld. be quite willing that they shld. have equal treatment. I rejoined that if he told Hopkins that this was his final answer I wld. report to F.O. and take their instructions. He then began to get angry & talked abt. my having gone behind his back to get information. I retorted with emphasis that there was no ground for such an insinuation, that I had recd. Instructions from home and merely carried them out. He then complained that having come out by orders from the W.O. [War Office] to take up this billet, because it was of importance to British interests he had on arrival found every one against him, the Legation as well as the Military Auth: wch. he cld. not comprehend. I replied that if the W.O. had ordered him out it was clear that they had been got at, & I did not believe the F.O. had anything to do with his apptmt. That as regarded myself, I had been consist fr. the outside in regarding the position of the C.E. & M. Co. as quite uncertain, & had therefore declined to take up its defence as if it had been in lawful possession. 1stly Moring's [C.Moreing] communicating to the F.O. documents purporting to bear no date, wch. were evidently those of wch. he intended to alter the date subsequently, & 2ndly because the document wch. Chang Yi had presented to the Throne & wch. received a rescript, by no means authorized him to transfer the property to an English Ltd. Liability Co. I had great sympathy for him personally in the position in wch. he was placed, but cld. not do anything for the Co. & the F.O. were resolved also not to dip their fingers in the mess. So he went.

Mochizuki Kotaro came. He takes a very sober view of the peace conditions, admits it is doubtful whether Japan wld. have been uniformly successful if the war had continued, & that Russia has greater resources in men than Japan, wch. is nearly exhausted. It wld. cost 10,000 men to take Vladivostok, so his military friends assure him. Japan will after the war have to add £ 20,000,000 to her budget, to maintain 4 divisions in Korea & Manchuria and raise her peace establishment to 500,000 [men]; & he went at length into calculations. I consoled him by saying that what Japan had gained was well worth the price paid. She had gained the object of the war by turning Russia out of Manchuria, had risen in the eyes of the world to the position of a Great Power, regained the Liaotung Peninsula wch. she had to give up in 1895, acquired a prominent position in Corea, numerous vessels of war, recovered the S. ½ of Sagalien. As for an indemnity, she never possessed the means of

1905

extracting it from the Russians. To continue the war wld. mean the expenditure of more lives & treasure without the prospect of gaining anything by it.

He agreed, but said popular feeling in Japan wld. be very much excited, & it was quite possible that attempts on the life of Katsura & Komura might be made. The extended alliance betw. Japan & England he heard privately fr. Tokio wld. be published shortly after the conclusion of peace. I said I doubted whether the new treaty of alliance had yet been signed: if it was to be defensive & offensive it wld. be incompatible with the present position of affairs.

September 1905

1 Sept. Tsuchiya came. He spoke in the same sensible way as Mochidzuki. His paper has recalled him, & his place will be taken by Inouye of the Shuntien-pao [newspaper], who is assisted by a man named Ichinomiya, who speaks Chinese fluently.

Dubail came. We agreed that peace was arranged satisfactorily. Told him of the telegram giving report of Witte's having said that an international conference would be necessary to arrange Far Eastern affairs, wch. I thought shld. be taken advantage of to ensure the status quo, securing to each Power the rights it has acquired, only it wld. be necessary for everyone to put his cards on the table, e.g. Germany has been letting us all believe that she has acquired mining rights in 5 areas, whereas it was now certain that the agreement had not been signed. He told me had had [he had?] recently obtained the Chinese text of the mining agreement signed in connexion with the lease of Kiaochow; & wld. give me a translation. This I imagine must be the articles wch. Germany has not published, & wch. are given in Rockhill's book.

He asked abt. Amoy & I told him of the marines being landed from the Iphigenia to protect the Customs, wch. are in the British Settlement. But they wld. be re-embarked as soon as tranquillity was restored. We had no intention of taking possession!

Ross came. He says that a copy of the Canton-Kowloon rlwy. concession was given by Alford to the Consulate-General at S'hai, & he was almost certain that Alford sent a copy to Sir Claude in a private letter. I told him we had not been able to find any trace of the document in the Legation, but we had now sent copies to F.O. Hongkong & Canton.

Told him I had written officially to the W.W.P. asking them to appt. a negotiator for the Canton-Kowloon railway.

He asked whether I had given Shêng a reply abt. the regulations for the Shanghai-Nanking Board. I replied that I had not. I considered the B. & C. Corpn. were in the right. But I had quarrelled with Shêng abt. a trick he had tried to play on Jamieson, & I

1905

told him briefly how on Shêng's refusal to alter the false heading I had practically turned him out of the house & said that I wld. have nothing more to do with him.

Went to congratulate Uchida on the peace. He did not seem very pleased. I enlarged on the advantages Japan had gained by the war, in the same terms as to Mochidzuki & Tsuchiya. He says the point at wch. the railway is to be divided betw[een] Japan and Russia [is the reason for his displeasure?]. The latter proposed to give up only the portion actually occupied, while Japan claimed up to Harbin. In any case, both railways are to be purely commercial.

Farewell dinner to the Brewsters, also Capt. Venables & Lt. Tulloh of the West Kents.

2 Sept. Tsuchiya brought his friends Ichinomiya of the Shuntien Jihpao [newspaper] and Ozaki Wataru, corresp[onden]t of the Nichinichi Shimbun and the Ozaka Shinpō of wch. Hara Kei is now the editor.

Rockhill came to propose that we shld. ask Mumm to draft a joint Note to the Chinese about the Hwangpu, demanding a reply to our Note of two months back. I agreed.

3 “ Little T. Watanabe, the Turkestan traveller came to ask me for Protestant missionary statistics. Told him I had none of converts, only lists of missionaries, wch. were scattered about the archives. The inquisitiveness of these people is excessive.

Chu Paofay called. He is to go with the party of commissioners that is to visit England, & perhaps to remain in Europe. His friends say he is to succeed Chang Têyi, but he thinks he can be more useful in China than in London, on a salary not quite adequate to the needs of a Minister. I said that a diplomatist ought to have private means, lest he should think of saving out of his pay. He says Chang has lived too much apart & knows no one, & the Legation house is shabby. They want to get to London in February abt. the time Parliament meets. He told me that the Comrs. want to take presents for the crowned heads, and asked my opinion, as he thought presents cld. only be given by a sovereign to a sovereign. I confirmed him in this.

Campbell went to the W.W.P. and talked pretty straightly to Na abt. the unheard of pretensions to disregard the preliminary agreement for the Canton-Kowloon rlwy. Also he told him that the Br. Govt. wld. not hear of the transfer of Tibetan negotiations to either London or Peking, that unless our draft of the adhesion agreement were accepted we would do without & that I wld. not telegraph any more to India or to the F.O.

5 “ Hillier came to ask abt. tendering for the redemption loan on behalf of the B. & C. Corporation. Told him that was out of the question, as it was already provided for, but they cld. tender for the £3,000,000 required for construction. He told me that having written to Hunter abt. the excessive cost of the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy., wch. even allowing for a double track to Suchou works out at £12,000 a mile. Hunter inquired of Collinson, who

1905

said the actual cost exclusive of land & promotion money was £6,500. I commented on the estimate for Canton-Kowloon, wch. is £2,000,000 for 101 miles. Hillier said he had always urged the Chinese to build their railways themselves on the same system as the Peking-Shanhaikwan, & there were evident signs that this was what they proposed to do in the future. I replied that I too had preached the doctrine, & unfortunately it ran counter to my official duty of supporting Syndicates. I was afraid I must have made many enemies, B. & C. Corporation J.M. & Co. C.E. & M. Co. China Association & eventually the Peking Syndicate wld. be added to the list.

Dubail brought Fr. text of the dft. proposed by Rockhill for the note stirring up the Waiwupu abt. the Hwangpu. He referred to rumours in Tientsin papers of reduction of our forces, & I told him this was possibly due to an indiscretion in Genl. V's [Ventris's] entourage, & that I thought we certainly ought not to entertain any conversation with the Chinese on this subject until the Protocol was completely executed.

Kozakow came to ask me to obtain permission for an employé of the Russo-Chinese bank to pass thro' the Russian & Japse. lines from Kirin to Tientsin, where he is to replace Kou. Told him if he wld. write me the particulars, I wld. ask Uchida.

Lienfang to say that Wang Tahsieh is to go to London vice T'ang whose health will not allow of it. Replied that they must make the usual communication thro' Chang Têyi, & reminded him of the little hitch in connexion with T'ang's nomination.

Rockhill whom I met on the wall said he feared Roosevelt's insistence on peace being made wld. render U.S. unpopular in Japan. He scouted the rumour put forward by Japse. paper in Chefoo of a combination betw[een] Russia, Germany & America to limit Japanese influence in Corea. The same article said U.S. wld. take Chefoo Bluff as a naval station & Germany Haichou.

6 [Sept.] Hillier came to say that Chang Chih-tung wants the Bank to lend him 3,000,000 taels or half that sum, to teleg. to New York for the payment of the first instalment of the redemption of Canton-Hankow railway, and asked my opinion. I said it seemed all right. Then came a teleg. fr. Chang saying that he had Imperial sanction for the loan. He was urging the W.W.P. to communicate to me this fact, & wanted me to ask Nathan to pay the money in N.Y. Replied thro' Fraser that this was contrary to the draft agreement, wch. must be signed first before any payment was made.

Hillier came back later to say that the Peking octroi people again wanted to draw out money. He was to see them again in the afternoon. Chao had omitted to obtain an imperial edict authorizing the contract, so the Octroi people had no orders obliging them to leave money in the Bank. We agreed that in case of necessity I wld. write to the W.W.P. asking what interpretation they put on art. 4 of the octroi loan agreement.

1905

To Uchida & talked to him abt. report in the China Times that the Powers intended to withdraw troops, the proposal being attributed to me. He recalled that the para. said Japan alone was unwilling. I replied that it seemed to me that the retention of the troops might be useful in order to compel the Chinese to sign our Hwangpu [Conservancy] agreement, & perh. for other purposes. Hinted that they wld. have to arrange for the retention of Port Arthur & the Liaotung Peninsula, & explained to him that we wished to rearrange our W.H.W. agreement so as to have a lease as long as the Germ[an] & Fr[ench] leases.¹ He thought Chinese wld. not object to our remaining, but I said we must have it on paper, as Wu had some time ago talked to me abt. restoration of W.H.W. when Japanese army captured Port Arthur; & I had told him that a violent interruption did not put an end to the Russian occupation of Port Arthur in the manner contemplated by our lease. He told me that perh. in Japan they wld. think the presence of troops at Port Arthur wld. be sufficient without keeping troops in Chihli, but he wld. now put before them the considerations that might be urged in favour of retaining the garrison on the lines of communication.

- 7 [Sept.] Rain during the night. Went to Sir Robt. [Hart], to show him the last teleg. fr. Amoy abt. the attack on the Customs. He takes it all very coolly, attributes it not to harsh enforcement of regulations, but to machinations of a certain emissary of the Shangpu named Wang, who was there a fortnight ago, acting upon a populace excited already by the lottery swindle & the boycott. Has sent Hobson down fr. Shanghai to investigate. The Tartar-general takes the side of the rioters, & W.W.P. has been writing to him on the subject.

Tuan-fang came this morning, ostensibly to talk abt. constitutions and education, but finally he produced a memo. abt. the case of a prefect at Hêngchou who was dismissed in 1901 for the murder of a Catholic priest, whom he wants to have reinstated. This was the real point of his call. Told him that if Dubail & Baroli raised no objection I wld. not, & advised him particularly to ask the latter as the murdered priest was an Italian.

We talked abt. 1900. He said the cause of Prince Tuan's hatred of foreigners was that he had wanted to make his son Emperor, wch. was opposed by Junglu & others, but the son of a Taotai named Lo spread abroad a story that it was 'the foreigners' who had frustrated his plans, and Tuan believed this.

Then he talked abt. the Empress-Dowager & said she wld. govern well if she only had good advisors, but he seemed to imply that of high officials in Peking many were useless.

- 8 " Rain early, off and on till tea-time. With Carnegie to call on the Mochidzukis. He told me that telegs. had been recd. reporting riots in Tokio, and the destruction of the Police

¹ Britain took a lease of Wei Hai Wei in 1898 after the Russians took a lease of Port Arthur (C: Lushun: J: Ryojun). The British lease of Wei Hai Wei from China stated that it would be in effect for

1905

Central Office and Official residence of the Prime Minister. The people were incensed agst. the Elder Statesmen [*Genrō*]. Also agst. the Police, on acct. of their persecution last year of an M.P. named Akiyama, accused of being a Russian spy, and agst. the govt. for having expelled recently a University Professor who had denounced their peace policy.

9 [Sept.] To Rockhill. We discussed the provision of the Treaty of peace, wch. gives the belligerents 18 months for the evacuation of Manchuria. I said that I feared the end wld. be a partition of Manchuria between Russia & Japan, and that we have by no means entered on a period of peace. He tells me that he fears Roosevelt must have gone very far in pressing the Japanese to give way so as to secure peace. At a dinner at Aoki's where Brewster was present last night one officer said Japan had made peace to please Mr. Mrs. & Miss Roosevelt! The Japse. military men here are furious abt. the partition of Sagalien; giving up the indemnity they do not mind, as Japan did not go to war to make money. I suggested that Japan might have made peace for two other reasons, 1°. exhaustion of men, as 40-yr. old reservists were now being employed in the fighting line, 2°. Itō's well-known love of peace, wch. had delayed the outbreak of the war, & his influence over the [Meiji] Emperor; prob. also Yamagata [Aritomo] and Matsugata. For Mochidzuki had told me that the popular anger was directed chiefly against the elder statesmen. R. heard of the disturbances at Tokio and destruction of residences of some of the latter from Nat'ung. R. finds a remarkably strong feeling growing agst. Japan, even in Yüan's mind. Na asked him whether China ought now to approach Japan on the subject of Manchuria, in reply to wch. he counselled him to wait till Japan opened her mouth. The friendly Powers might perh. take the matter up, but China shld. not.

[This question of the evacuation of Manchuria is like that of the clause relating to Holland in the Treaty of Lunéville. We refused to execute the Malta article of the Peace of Amiens, because Napoléon omitted to carry out the Treaty of Lunéville to wch. we were not a party.]

He says that Roosevelt has been telegraphing to him direct instructions, e.g. to go himself to Shanghai, interview the leaders of the boycott & find out their objects: to wch. he answered, saying that it wld. be better for him to stop here & try what effect his representations wld. have on the Chinese Govt. Roosevelt distrusts the Japanese, on account of the intrigues carried on by some of them in Manila, where Japse. documents were found wch. proved corresp[onden]ce with the insurgent Filipinos. R. cannot get out of his head that Japan has designs on the Philippines. Certain it is that he had not wish to see Japan gain too great a preponderance in Eastern Asia, & Durand had said to himself that we did not desire to see Russia headed back from the Pacific, but that was because he

as long as the Russians were at Port Arthur.

1905

feared their energies being turned agst. Central Asia & India if they were shut out from the Pacific.

Heavy rain during the evening.

[Margin: 10. Mumm came. Told him my views abt. non-withdrawal of troops & legation guards for the present. He appears to agree as far as his opinion is concerned. The general asked him recently, because he needed £800 of ponies. M. replied that he had better buy.]

12 “ De Saumarez and his wife arrived.

13 [Sept.] H. Montague Ede abt. his prospecting agreements in Chêkiang. Advised him either to get his money back from Kao Erhyi or try to persuade the Chêkiang people to abandon their opposition. It seems to be purely local.

Dubail came. Told him my conversation of the 10th with Mumm. We agreed that to put things on a proper basis in the far east, the sanction of the Gt. Powers to the arrangements in regard to Manchuria wld. be desirable. Talked of going on leave in the spring. Edwin Morgan, U.S. minister in Corea called. He says the Japse. of the lower classes are getting all over the country & no doubt bully the Coreans, being beyond the reach of their own police & courts. That military colonies are being established at Söul, Pingyang & prob. Wiju. Surveys are going on for a Söul-Wönsan line, but prob. will be built fr. Phyong-yang across to Wönsan. Believes there are secret articles in the treaty of Peace & that Japan has stipulated that a Russian legation shall not be re-established at Söul. In that case prob. all the others would be reduced or withdrawn. The Japse. made immense haste with their arrangements for Japanizing the country, as if they wanted a fait accompli by the time peace came to be made, but they are still going on at the same pace.

Sept. 14 Mumm brought draft of a note from the Waiwupu accepting our wording of 8th clause of the Whangpu arrangement, but proposing to add that if at any future time the works should require land to be taken in the foreign settlements, the necessary arrangements shld. then be made. I said I had no objection to this. In the course of looking over the papers with the assistance of Campbell, we discovered a blunder made by the interpreter of the French Legation, retranslating literally from the Chinese translation of our original draft.

15 [Sept.] T'ing chieh 廷杰 Manchu, late Govr. of Mukden, who is going back there to preside over the reclamation of waste lands. He described the misery of the refugees in Mukden as extreme, 100,000 of them, and five or six families in one room. Webster and Cochran had been a great help. Relations with Marshall Oyama, Kodama and Fukushima excellent. The fighting had quite astounded him; he had never seen such courage and endurance on both sides. No Chinese could ever approach such a measure of achievement. The Japanese however besides being good fighters, also understood reason.

16-18 At the Cottage with the de Saumarez.

1905

18 Sept. L.B. Cholmondeley ¹ arrived on his way back from England to Japan.

19 “ Geo. Jamieson came. I said to him that he cld. not expect the Legation to be the ‘handy man’ of the Syndicate. If the Chinese did not observe the conditions of the agreement, the Syndicate cld. appeal to us, but they must do their own work.

He told me that Geo. Brown, an ex-consul is coming out to take his place; that he is going to Shanghai, & will be back in abt. a fortnight by way of Honan. The winning of coal is postponed now to the end of the year, as the difficulties are great.

Ross came to show me a teleg. in wch. he & Hillier were proposing to their principals that they shld. go to Hankow to see Chang about the railway loans, wch. it is thought ought to be divided, the Canton-Hankow portion going to the B. & C. Corporation, the Hankow-Szechuen portion to the Chinese Central rlwys. Ltd. I applauded their idea. As to Nanpiao, I thought Hillier shld. discuss the two dfts. with Liang, before going any further.

22 “ Ross came to say that he & Hillier were authorized to go down to Hankow on the 24th to discuss terms of loans with Chang Chih-tung. At his request I sent a teleg. to Fraser.

Returned T'ing Chieh's call. He talked abt. the damage done to life and property by the belligerents, and said it seemed as if China were to get no compensation. I replied that it was the duty of the Chinese Govt. to protect the lives & property of their own people, and they could not expect an indemnity for failing therein. But, he said, we could not help ourselves. Tei of the Japanese Legation had explained to him that the 18 months during which the evacuation was to be accomplished prob. meant three periods of 6 mos. each. The President [Roosevelt] had forced Japan to give way on the question of the indemnity and the N. portion of Sagalien by threatening to withdraw his support. Japan he (Ting) thought ought to have held the whole of Sagalien. I explained that Japan probably abated her terms in order to secure the good opinion of the Powers. As to an indemnity that was of course unattainable. You can only get that when you have completely beaten your antagonist, so that he can no longer resist, or you must occupy a portion of his territory wch. he is desirous of redeeming at all costs, and both of these conditions were wanting.

Took Cholmondeley out to the Cottage.

23 “ Mumm came. Said he proposed not to draw the attention of the Chinese to the untranslated portion of Art. 10 of the Hwangpu arrangement, wch. the interpreters have now made good. I said this would not do. It must be explained to Lien-fang, for otherwise they might afterwards say that we had played a trick on them. So he promised to send the interpreter up to draw their attention to it. He pretends that it is Cockburn's fault to have omitted the passage in question. We talked abt. the peace, and I told him the story was

¹ See ‘Lionel Berners Cholmondeley: A Chaplain in Tokyo, 1887-1921’ by Hamish Ion, Chapter 13, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume 2, ed. Ian Nish, Japan Library, 1997, pp. 180-89.

1905

current in Peking that the President had put pressure on at Tokio, & prob. had also told Japan that the Emperor William was in agreement with him.

Mochizuki & his wife dined. He was told by Hsü Shih-chang that the E-D. says she will not again be deceived by the Russians, and that she will treat direct with Japan abt. Manchuria. There are two proposals, either that Komura should come here or to Chefoo to meet a Chinese plenipotentiary, or that China shld. send one to Tokio. I replied that the latter wld. be better. He also told me that when Kodama went to Tokio after Mukden he explained the impossibility of enveloping the Russians, as the front was 100 miles long. Then Yamagata went over to Mukden in July or August & told Oyama that Japan could not supply any more men, quoting a letter of Hideyoshi to Ukida Hideiye that his place of birth was a small country and deficient in men. He also says there will be a new Cabinet, in wch. Kodama will be Minister President with the portfolio of war, Haya[shi] from London [Minister of] Foreign Affairs, and perh. Katō Finance, if they can get him to take it. This is a very difficult post to fill.

24 [Sept.] Cholmondeley left.

The Constitution Comrs. were to have started today. But a bomb on the person of prob one of their followers exploded in the corridor of the carriage in wch. they were, and the departure was deferred. The man was killed, several others badly hurt, and three or four more slightly wounded, among who were Wu Ting fang and Shao-ying. The man has not yet been identified.

26 “ Tyler, coast inspector, came to tell me that Choufu and Yüan Shih-kai have asked him to reorganize the Chinese navy, and he explained his plans. I promised him my assistance in getting what officers he wanted from England, if he wld. send me an autobiographical note, so that I might prepare the way by writing to Lord Lansdowne.

Lady Noel & her dau. & Lady Florence Boyle arrived to stop.

A duststorm and cold wind from the N.W. apparently the end of summer. The servants put on winter clothing a couple of days ago.

27 “ We signed the new arrangement about the Hwangpu conservancy at the Waiwupu with Prince Ch'ing.

Menzies came. He has been up here helping in the investigation into the affair of the bomb. The man who carried it appears to be a Southerner: he wore braces made of Chinese cloth, his trowsers were lined with flannel and his clothes had foreign buttons. They think a clue has been found and that in a day or two it will result in the discovery of important facts. There is no talk of the commission giving up their journey. The idea is that Tuan-fang was the person whose assassination was intended.

Cholmondeley kept an eye on Satow's family in Japan after he left in 1900.

1905

Platt, one of the partners who are agents for Kaye came to see me. I told him pretty frankly what I thought of Kaye's concession. He said he was not in charge of the case but Teesdale. However, Kaye was not a man of business, 2nd he did not trust the firm or tell them all he ought, 3rd he was not truthful, for when he telegd. to them that Higsons were coming out, that was not the fact. Platt also said the Chinese were becoming more anti-foreign every day. Mixed Court, abuses had become rampant. Since Mayers & Giles left they had not had a good assessor. I mentioned Twyman. He shook his head. Anderson was a first-rate chairman of the Municipal Council. Bayne no good. Bland is coming back. Teased him a little about the famous letter of E.S. Little. He says Anderson & Dudgeon put £1000 into Kaye's thing, and he must have got abt. £5000 in Shanghai in all. What Kaye wants is to sell the concession for a large sum; the firm advised him not to attempt this; the delays have been owing to Fr. financiers having to be consulted. Ilbert's have made lots of money, in spite of their sanguine enterprises. The firm is their legal adviser only in such matters as settlements & wills, not in their mining speculations. He said they are pleased with de Saumarez, who does not know much law, but is a practical man. What the bar wanted was a man fresh out from home, but for the salary given no one who had any practice could be got. I said it was just the same with colonial legal appointments, and couldn't be helped.

28 [Sept.] To Prince Ch'ing. Expressed my concern at the bomb-outrage on the 24th.

Discussed with him the Canton-Kowloon & Suchou-Hangchou railways, & derived the conviction that the Chinese Govt. are strongly inclined to repudiate the Preliminary Agreements. Mining Regulations. Urged their issue, and mentioned Ede's case & Lister Kaye's; he seemed impressed by the fact that £5000 had been paid by the latter, as stipulated in his contract, and that the Provincial Authorities do not offer to return it. Complained of action of Shangpu and I-G. in reference to Inland Navigation, also of Likin being levied in the city of Hankow and Changsha. As to Tibet, gave categorical notice that if China did not agree to our draft H.M.G. wld. prefer to dispense with her adhesion.

29 “ To the Cottage with Lady & Miss Noel and Lady Florence Boyle.

30 “ Returned to town.

Decrease of Legation guards. Mumm's personal view is that his govt. wld. begin with Langfang and Yangtsun, and leave the Legation Guard undiminished till the last.

Rockhill has recently decreased from 150 to 100, and is willing to go further if the rest do. Dubail has told him that as far as he is concerned he wld. like to see them all go. But just now ¹, after the bomb-outrage especially, the Chinese Govt. seemed to desire that the Legation Guards shld. remain.

¹ PRO 30/33 16/8 ends and 16/9 starts here, in mid-sentence.

1905

He says that the Chinese are alarmed at Art. 4 of the Anglo-Japanese agreement, wch. one of them remarked to him must mean Tibet. His reply was that it means Afghanistan.

His troubles abt. the boycott at Canton are not over. The Viceroy of Canton seems afraid to act strongly, lest it shld. provoke an insurrectionary movement.

Says it is quite true that Wu Ting-fang told Harriman that the Br. Minister got permits to visit the Imperial Palaces at least twice a week; & that he having written to Prince Ch'ing to say he knew it was difficult to get permission, but nevertheless could Mr. Harriman get one, & the Prince having replied that a special decree had been necessary in the case of Miss Roosevelt, he cld. not ask for another, Wu at once wrote to Harriman that Prince Ch'ing had refused, as Mr. Rockhill had evidently intended he shld. tho' there was no real difficulty.

Tcherbatskoi was the name subscribed to the letter of introduction from Urga to the two Lamas who came to him for the Dalai Lama. We examined the letter again and came to the conclusion that it must have come thro' the Russian P.O. at Urga and the Legation here. R. also showed a letter in cursive Tibetan written by the Dalai Lama to him, and sealed with the same small circular seal as one of the documents obtained by Younghusband at Lhasa. Pereira & Col. Allason to lunch.

October 1905

1 Octr. Bishop Graves, American, of Shanghai & Bishop Scott to lunch.

2 “ Mochidzuki came. He is quite convinced that it was a blunder to expect an indemnity from the Russians, and puts the blame on foreign press suggestions or encouragement. Waiwupu has officially protested to Uchida against the 18 months for evacuation and agreement to put 15 railway guards per kilometre. He says Yüan Shih-kai is determined to refuse signing any final agreement for the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway, and that he is very opposed to the Germans; he has the former from Yüan himself. I gather from M. and Teshima and R. Kamei who came to call after he had left that the extension of the Anglo-Japanese alliance has given great satisfaction in Japan.

Odagiri called. Says Komura and Inouye put great pressure on him to join the Yokohama Specie Bank, and that he has quitted the public service for good. Says that as far as he can see the accusations against Choufu of being pro-German are without foundation. He asked abt. Yüan Shih-kai whom he regards as the most intelligent of all Chinese officials. I said that rumours were going about that he was not so friendly with the Japanese as formerly, but that he certainly was not pro-German.

Sir R. Hart to say that Chang Chih-tung had asked the Comr. of Customs at Shanghai to

1905

sign a loan contract for the Canton railway, and that Chang said I had it. Replied that all I knew of was the redemption loan signed by Chang and Fraser, to wch. the countersignature of the Comr. seemed unnecessary, but I knew of no other. If I heard anything I would let him know. Talking of Manchuria, he said that the note to Japse. & Russian ministers at the beginning of the peace negotiations, declaring that China wld. not give her consent to any stipulations on wch. she had not been consulted was drafted by Yüan Shih-kai and shown to himself, he had suggested an alteration of two characters: as to sending a delegate to Portsmouth he had advised against it. Speaking of Ts'ên, he said the latter had recently been putting difficulties in the way of inland navigation. So I told him of the language I had used to Prince Ch'ing the other day, and especially abt. his own circular to the Commissioners of Customs, wch. I felt sure had been on instructions from the Waiwupu. He says that the circular said that certificates were not to be issued unless the particular route had previously been sanctioned, and that it was sent out a year ago. Dr. Christie of Mukden called.

- 4 [Oct.] Lady Noel and her daughter left for Chinwangtao. Funeral of Sister Jessie Ransome at the cemetery, conducted by Bishop Scott, Brown and Partridge. I helped to carry the coffin. Only Mrs. Carnegie and Gray from the Legation besides.

Dined with the Mochidzukis to eat a Japanese dinner, prepared by a Chinese whom they have taught. There were also Odagiri, the ex-Consul-general and two Japanese spinsters, who are travelling in Japan [sic. China?] as representatives of Marchioness Nabeshima's Far Eastern Ladies Association, Tōhō Fujinkai, Miss Kawara Torako and Miss Kiyofuji Aki. The former after dinner was persuaded to chant two Satsuma Biwa [lute] songs, the death of Colonel Tachibana and the Mother's feelings. She has a fine voice.

M. says it is quite true that the Chinese Govt. sounded the Japse. a little time back about the recall of Uchida, and that he himself had made up his mind to go to Tokio in order to confer c. Komura. He evidently knows little about the precise terms of the Treaty of peace. It is true that China has officially protested agst. the term of 18 months for evacuation of Manchuria and the retention of railway guards. I said this furnished an opportunity for a conference of the Great Powers being held to discuss the clauses affecting China, & perh. obtaining modification of that abt. railway guards, as it amounts to an occupation by Russia and Japan respectively of the two halves of Manchuria, and a recognition of the new status established in the Far East. If at the same time the Powers including China recognized the leases of the Liaotung Peninsula, Wei hai wei, Kiaochou and Kwangchou wan, and clauses could be obtained giving China a right of redeeming the Chinanfu and Yüunanfu railways, the peace of the Far East would be secured. M. was of

1905

opinion that Japan would approve this proposal. There was a good deal of talk about the cowardice exhibited by the Chinese officials & soldiers on the occasion of the bomb explosion. I told them the two stories of the bribery of officials to secure the lease of Port Arthur, with Chang Yin-huan's lament on his way to exile, and Ting Chiêh's remarks about the fighting capacity of Japanese, Russians & Chinese.

6 [Oct.] Empress-Dowager's garden party for ten o'clock. Drove there with C.W. Campbell in the victoria along the stone road, taking 2¼ hrs. Five mins. after my arrival we all went off to the Palace. Came home by the canal road, part of wch. was deep in sand, and took the same time, getting back a little after 3. Brilliant warm day.

7 “ Garden party for the Ladies. A little rain fell abt. ten o'clock, but it cleared up & was fine in the afternoon. There were some Russian women there, who looked like jacks, so Mayers tells me. Kozakow says they were 'wives' of the Russian officers interned at Chefoo. Gaiffier says Lienfang tells him there will be no more of these functions, wch. will suit everyone.

8 “ Dined at de Prelles. 9. Mosquito net down.

10 “ Carnegies went off to Japan for a trip.

Boyce Kup came up to deliver a letter from Jardines at Shanghai enclosing corresp'ce with Shêng abt. cancelling the preliminary agreement for Suchou-Ningpo railway. Showed him the note I had recd. fr. W.W.P. on this subject and draft reply, & promised reply direct to J.M. & Co. & also send copies of the corresp'ce to Warren for communication. Told him the reason why I had broken with Shêng, and declined to have him apptd. as negotiator for final agreement.

Called on the Mochizukis. Found there Teshima & his wife and another married newspaper man. They talked a great deal abt. Yüan Shih-kai and his immense influence over the Court. Called on the Rockhills, & talked to them abt. the bad arrangements for the Ladies' audience at New Year and Garden Parties, wch. they agree with me ought to be reformed.

11 “ Bemers, the Manager of the Gt. Northern teleg. line called. Talking of the Japanese war, he said he knew they had imported 1000s of miles of cable, & were even said to have laid a cable south thro' the Formosa channel to the neighbourhood of Saigon, where they stationed a cruiser or buoyed it. He raised the question of the ownership of the cable between Port Arthur & Chefoo, wch. was Russian. I said the Japanese had prob. included it among the paraphernalia of the fortress.

Took Mrs. Rockhill for a drive.

12 “ Heavy rain steady from before daybreak, and all day long. Dined with Dubail, & met François Deloncle, the deputy for Indo-China, travelling with his sister-in-law, son &

1905

daughter. He is a short, thickset, dark haired man, with a roundish face, determined look. We sat together at dinner, and he was very cordial. Says that it is true that everybody talked abt. our going to the help of the French, that at present we could only furnish 100,000 men to seize the Kiel Canal, but 18 months hence 250,000; however if France marched we would. It is difficult to believe that this was more than talk of journalists. He was in London, and dined with Lord Lansdowne when he entertained the Fr. officers of the fleet. Saw Manse & Chirol; the latter said that he did not see how Japan could expect an indemnity, tho' he felt bound to support the demand. The former, a month before the conclusion of peace, prophecied to him that Japan would abandon her claims. Says Beau comes back for six months, and then returns to the F.O. as directeur politique. He said he had met an American senator named Burke Cochran who expressed great regret that they had the Philippines instead of Japan, but Deloncle would much rather see us there. I replied that we have too much already.

Mochizuki was with me this morning for an hour and a half asking for what he calls 'instruction' with respect to Russian agreements in regard to Port Arthur and the Chinese Eastern railway, the benefit of wch. is to be transferred to Japan. He admits that all Japan can ask for in regard to Port Arthur with Russia's aid is the remainder of 25 + possible extension, and that afterwards she may ask for 99 years, as in the case of Kiaochou, Kowloon & the Fr. lease of Kwangchou-wan.

13 “ Lit a small fire in the drawing room. An oil stove yesterday.

Went to Nat'ung & had it out with him in a friendly way about the obstruction we are meeting with everywhere in connexion with our railway and mining concessions, inland navigation & likin. His defence was weakness of Chinese Govt. since 1900 & rise of opinion in the provinces wch. they cld. not suppress or sit upon. Time & patience were necessary to bring the gentry to understand. The fons et origo mali was the success of the Hunan gentry in getting back the Canton-Hankow rlwy. concession. He said he was not on the Gr. Council, & suggested my having a talk with Chü Hung-chi, who if he chose cld. do much.

Rain again heavy in the evening.

16 “ Dined with van Citters.

17 “ Wu Ting fang came to return my call after his hurt on the occasion of the bomb explosion. He looked very pale & ill. His wound was caused by a splinter of wood [sic. wood?] which struck on the l. side of the top of the head, and has left him deaf of that ear. Seemed to have no theory of the reason for wch. the act was committed. Says Hsü Shih-chang has manœvred himself into the presidency of the new ministry of Police (of wch. he evidently has no high opinion) so as to avoid going abroad. Shao-ying, who is the

1905

uncle of Duke Tsai, and the latter will prob. not go, nor Tuan-fang, who may try to get a billet at home as Acting Viceroy somewhere. The only one ready and willing is Tai. He has told them all that they ought not to be frightened, but start at once. The E-D is much alarmed, and came into town in a great hurry, & he smilingly alluded to the three chairs, one of wch. contained her.

He asked about Lister Kaye's concession, so I told him that we thought he had been badly treated, and that I was preparing a Note. To this he replied that I might make it as strong as I liked, the W.W.P. wld. merely pass it on to the Govr. The country is now ruled practically by two men, Prince Ch'ing & Yüan. But the students & notables have taken to sending them telegrams on all sorts of subjects, wch. ought not to be allowed, and he has told his colleagues so, but they have no strength of mind, and let it go on. The E-D. of course is the person in whom authority resides, but she leans on Prince Ch'ing & Yüan Shih-kai. The latter has the military power on wch. all rests, and Prince Ch'ing depends on him. He has recently taken to sending up drafts, wch. the Govt. [Govr.?] adopts. In the Grand Council are three of his creatures, Hsü, Tiehliang, and Yung-ching. Lü Chuanlin will resign before long. For Chü Hung-chi he is very sorry, he is of little use to Prince Ch'ing, but has no power. The talk of Chang Chih-tung having 'cancelled' the agreement for the Hankow-Canton railway is all rubbish; he has merely bought it back at a very high price. Was it true that the Hgkg & S'hai Bank had lent the money? I explained that the Govt. of Hongkong had advanced the money, but that for a few days the bank had found it, till the agreement was signed. [Sir Matthew] Nathan being a Jew was in touch with the great financiers & knew where to get it. (Wu having said he knew the Hgkg. Govt. had not so large an amount to its credit anywhere.) He went on to say that this supposed success of Chang's had put it into the heads of people in the other provinces to do the same. He disapproved of the railway agreements that had been made, but still, there they were, & he had told his colleagues that they cld. not be broken. I said that if they wanted to recover their railways, as they call it, they shld. begin with those wch. had been granted to foreign govts. Kiao-chow Chinan, Yünnan & Manchuria, not those wch. had been conceded to private capitalists. On this he remarked that the latter were easier to buy out, & the Govts. wld. not make any concession as to what they had got.

I observed very gravely that all this indicated two great dangers. (1) China repudiates her obligations in respect of railway agreements, the next thing will be loan agreements, hence full of credit, then treaties (2) If the Central govt. with wch. we have treaties & diplomatic relations abdicates its functions, and lets the provinces do as they choose, foreign powers will have to pass over the govt. & go direct to the Governors, to whom they will speak much more strongly, since they have no treaties & no diplomatic relations

1905

with them. Of the two I considered the latter the greater danger, as it would lead to the still further weakening of the central Power.

He asked why I did not take the advice he had given to me on a former occasion, & go to the E-D. direct, & he urged this very strongly, as a thing wch. cld. not be refused if I asked it. So I said I wld. think over it.

Asked abt. his codification work, he replied that he is engaged in drafting those of civil & criminal procedure. He thinks the time has now come when he may introduce the idea of a jury, at request of a prisoner or a deft. [defendant] as the case may be, to be six or 12 acc. to the gravity of the case, and to decide by majority. He had been told by people at the Fr. Legn. that the jury did not exist there, so I pulled down Block and showed him that it does.

18 “ A great deal of rain during night & forenoon. Then it stopped and by 6 had almost cleared, with the aid of a bitter N. wind.

Meeting of Dubail, Rockhill & self at Mumm's to discuss the Chefoo municipal regulations.

19 “ Deloncle came and talked for an hour & a half. His great idea is that England & France shld. work together in China, especially in railway construction, they finding the capital & we undertaking the work (this is the idea underlying the admission of Fr. financiers into the Chinese Central railways Ltd.) I told him how the Fr. name had come to stink in Chinese nostrils, because of the Luhan and Canton-Hankow [railways]. He said the K. [King] of the Belgians had tried to get money in Paris fr. one Clairoux (a big financier) to carry on the latter, & prevent its being bought back by China. As to general commerce, Fr. has very little to sell to China, & desires us to be predominant. Japan, Germany & the U.S. the dangerous commercial rivals, but our alliance with the former will act as a restraint & any how it is much better not to have Japan agst. us. Yüan Shih-kai he thought stupid and brutal, also dangerous and possessed by/of an overweening sense of his own importance. At Peking he found no one with any backbone; it is a condition of anarchy. I told him he was wrong abt. Yüan. He is strongly anti-German, and not very fond of America. Of the Russians he spoke with contempt. Thinks that a constitution will end in the break-up of Russia, even Siberia splitting off. I reminded him of the prophecies abt. Brazil when the republic was established, to wch. he replied that we had yet to see. We agreed that the future of all the corrupt bureaucratic countries was hopeless, & I told him I had always fought agst. the partition of China & Yangtze Valley sphere of influence party.

23 Octr. Dubail came to tell me he hears from Paris that German Emperor has telegd. to Loubet proposing that the war being now over the troops on the lines of communciation shld. be withdrawn. And that the fact of this proposal has already been communicated to the E-D.

1905

I went off to Chü Hung-chi and discoursed to him respecting railways, mining agreements & inland navigation in a 'private and friendly' manner. As to rlwys. He said they must have time to enable the disputes betw. the local gentry and Shêng to be fought out; of Shêng he did not express a very high opinion. A. Little's extension of time he hoped cld. be arranged. Kaye's Anhui case difficult, but not so bad as Ede's, Kao Erh-yi being a man with a flaw in his reputation. Cha-shêng-Foochow inland navigation case; they wld. write again to the Acting Viceroy.

Mumm wrote me a letter conveying the first part of the informn. got fr. Dubail, but not the latter. However, on my suggesting that when we had come to an understanding among ourselves we shld. simultaneously inform the Chinese, he said there were indications that the [German] Emperor had told the retiring Chinese Minr. at Berlin 3 or 4 days ago when he went to take leave. Mumm says he will not stay for matter to be settled. His idea is that it shld. be gradual, perh. in 2 or 3 instalments, but we shld. all act together harmoniously. I said certainly; there shld. be a clean sweep, not as at Shanghai where the Fr. left 2 officers & 6 men who on occasion appeared as the Fr. contingent, & also that there shld. be no other incident like that connected with the evacuation of Shanghai. He asked what this was, so I said that if he did not know Goltz & his govt. could tell him. It led to a correspondence betw. Lord Lansdowne & Metternich, part of wch. had to be suppressed when the white book was published, in order to avoid unpleasantly affecting public opinion. He said he remembered Goltz had kept something back fr. me wch. he afterwards admitted. I replied Yes, & G. had told me he did this by order, so he was not to blame. !!

M. is to have an audience to take leave. Chü in mentioning this seemed to hint that M. had given them a choice of days, wch. seemed hard on the Emperor, so I observed that he had probably said unofficially that either of those days wld. suit him, but without dictating.

24 [Oct.] Dined at the de Almeidas. Rockhills, Cárcers, Kozakow & Shemoukhow. I told R. about the German Emperor's teleg. regarding the withdrawal of troops, and what I had said to Mumm on the subject. He said if I came to see him he wld. show me the President's [Roosevelt's] private letter abt. the Russians, I having mentioned to him the President's private letter abt. indemnity &c. to the Japanese plenipos.

25 “ To Uchida, to whom I told what the German Emperor had done, and my observation to Mumm abt. a 'clean' withdrawal if it took place. He has no information from Tokio, but wrote to them recommending retention under present circs. in consequence of my conversation with him on 6 Sept. There is a report going about that the [Chinese] Emperor has again been confined by the Empress-Dowager, but he scarcely thinks it can be true. Anyhow, he will shortly know, as he has asked leave to present old Count Hijikata, who is here on a visit.

1905

To Dubail, and told him what had come to me from London abt. telegrams exchanged betw. the King & [German] Emperor abt. guards. He read to me the reply of the Fr. President [Loubet], wch. was very non-committal. But he knows his people wish to withdraw, the sum provided in the indemnity having been exhausted, and the annual cost being £160,000. He spoke of a tendency on the part of some military people to claim from the Chinese payment for the cantonments they had erected, wch. he thought was greedy & unfair. I rejoined that it certainly was, seeing that the Powers had agreed not to charge any military expenditure incurred later than July 1, 1901. He then referred to the proposed indemnity compromise, and sneered at the shabby plan of extorting one half of the difference of exchange from the Chinese. He had told Nat'ung that he could have got much better terms if he had come to me or to himself.

I asked whether it was true that he & Gaiffier had claimed the prior right to the Canton-Hankow railway, in consequence of the concession having been redeemed fr. the Americans. He said it was so, & he had supported Gaiffier on the strength of a letter from Shêng, who had negotiated the Luhan agreement; it was printed at the end of the agreement. I said the result was that no one would be able to do it. Asked if it were the case that the Chinese Central railways agreement had been signed. He said yes, but read me a desp. fr. the Fr. F.O. reporting conversation of Cambon about the Chairman being a B.S. [British Subject] & having a casting vote. (Fr. F.A.C. [F.A. Campbell] I have a private letter about this matter, in wch. he says we shall stick to the letter of the signed agreement). I said we were negotiating with Chang Chih-tung for a loan to construct the Hupei section of the Szechuen rlwy. wch. of course was for joint account. He suggested that the best way out of the impasse in regard to the other wld. be to let the Chinese Central railways have it, and then admit the Belgians on the same terms. I thought this a good idea, & told him these assurances given by letter were the mere implements of the game we are playing.

After discussion with [C.W.] Campbell sent a teleg. to F.O. Hgkg. & Hankow telling them that Chang was forbidden to borrow in consequence of this protest of the Belgians & French. He has represented that all that is wanted is for him to pay off the Belgian bondholders, wch. is false, in order to set him free to borrow.

Mumm came to say that having asked his govt. whether they wished him to stay, to work out the details of withdrawal, they had told him to remain. It might take 4 weeks. He shld. tell people that it was on account of the Commercial treaty negotiations. He does not himself care for the treaty, as they will only get what Engld., America & Japan have got, but Knappé who is going to retire of course wants to go off with the Treaty in his pocket. They will have to accept the article about abolition of extra-territoriality if they are to get a treaty at all. On likin they are putting in a provision wch. will enable the question to be

1905

thoroughly discussed before it is accepted. I said that was wise, for my conviction was, fr. various experiences, that the Chinese would never honestly carry out any stipulations in regard to likin. As to withdrawal, I told him I had the Emperor's teleg. & King's reply, but no instructions, & did not expect any. In any case, I did not see how any part of our men could withdraw before 1 April; this was in reply to his observation that as budgets ended then, the Govts. wld. have to ask their parliaments for funds. My reason for what I said was the necessity of consulting so many departments, and then providing transport. Embarkation at Chinwangtao was out of the question, so it could not be done before the ice in the Peiho river breaks up. He wanted evidently to get me to discuss & agree personally on various points, but I avoided falling in to the trap. It is certainly wise of him to stop, for with his ceaseless energy and running abt. fr. one colleague to another he will achieve much more than Goltz could.

Agreed to return the functions and archives of Doyen to him. That will effectually convince people that he is not going, altho' he has had his audience of departure.

Called with Collier on Mme. Uchida.

27 “ To the races and then to stop at the Cottage with the Mayers' & Collier till the 30th.

30 [Oct.] David Fraser, correspondent of the “Times” at the recent manoeuvres, came to call. He was with Kuroki from the battle of the crossing of the Yalu till Liaoyang, & then with Nogi. Thinks the Japse. could not help making peace. Liaoyang was a drawn battle, and at Mukden the Japanese merely drove the Russians off the ground, with about equal losses, the Russians retreating in good order. After that they lay unable to move for want of transport. Conjectures that they made skilful use of Roosevelt, to whom they no doubt secretly made known their desire for peace after Tsushima. I said I believed the initiative came from the German Emperor, and if the Japanese applied to him, it had been very skilfully concealed; of course it was not impossible as [premier] Katsura is pro-German.

Bower back from the [Chinese army] manoeuvres. About 80,000 men on the field. The plan was he thinks beyond a doubt worked out by the Japanese advisers, who however kept entirely in the background, tho' some of the foreign officers pretended to have seen 20 of them, but these were prob. Japanese-speaking Chinese. Yuan and Tieh-liang in foreign uniforms, with swords, on horseback. Faults in tactics, but the plan was worked out very accurately. Does not on the whole think the force is formidable. A division of European troops could overthrow it. Diversity of guns and small arms a great defect. Of the former there were about 120, of four different types.

Returned calls of Li Ching-mai and Li Shêng-te. The latter and Shang Chî-hêng, late Provincial Treasurer of Shantung, are attached to the mission in search of a constitution. Li is to go to England with Duke Tsai. They would not say when the commission was to start.

1905

Irwin Laughlin, 2nd Secy. of the American Legation at Tokio called. He says it is not true that Mr. Harriman or any of his party were mobbed during the disturbances in Tokio, but his doctor trying to go thro' a crowd in a jinrikisha with two men had stones thrown at him, one of wch. hit him on the head, but it was absurd to suppose the crowd knew who he was. They would have done the same to anyone who tried to force his way through.

November 1905

3 Nov. Cold winds yesterday and today, wch. bring down the Sophora leaves in heaps. Ailantus is already bare. Willows look withered; but still green. This is one of the most remarkable phenomena in N. China. Hardly any autumn colouring. The leaves die green.

Went to Mumm to get from him the copy of the Chefoo regulations wch. was sent to him as Doyen. He says he has sent it on in circulation. I don't think he is particularly anxious to see it advance a step.

General Ventris came up with [Captain] Daniell. Train late, owing to much movement of Chinese troops returning from the manœuvres to their camps.

G. Jamieson came. Gave him drft. to read. Note abt. the mines opened by Chinese in Pingting chou, Shansi, wch. he approved. Exhorted him to put his shoulder to the wheel and to work amicably with the Chinese, for controversy by notes to W.W.P. will lead to nothing definite. He wants to shove everything on us. I have however committed him to a journey to Taiyuanfu to fight the question with the local authorities. These syndicates are a terrible nuisance, and I should be sorry to stay here to fight their battles.

4 “ Showed the General all the telegs. exchanged betw. F.O. and self abt. the removal of troops. The W.O. [War Office] agrees to my view that all the outlying detachments shld. go first, and that they cannot leave before March, unless they can be got away before the end of this month (wch. I regard as impracticable). The other condition that all buildings erected or maintained out of indemnity money, with exception of those in the Foreign Settlements, shld. be restored or given to the Chinese free of cost they are considering. He is mainly in agreement with me, I think, tho' rather slow in forming an opinion.

He spoke abt. Bower taking command when he goes, and said that of B. wld. ask thro' him, he wld. support the proposal, and add that I concurred. I told Bower this was the best way to get it arranged acc. to his wishes. Ventris and Daniell left by the afternoon train.

J. MacGregor of the Chartered Bank came to read telegs. abt. the £2,000,000 loan for the Hupeh section of the Hankow-Chêngtu rlwy. I said H.M.G. were supporting the Chinese Central railways Ltd., of wch. he seemed never to have heard, and recommended that his people shld. interview F.A. Campbell.

1905

Then a call fr. Henry T. Thomas, a young lawyer, out here to discover means of checkmating Japanese attempts at taking away from us the trade in printed calicoes. An idea he has is to establish a factory in Japan, or in China. It wld. cost £300,000. As to Japan I said I only feared the boycotting by Japan; his apprehension that they might put an export duty on all manufactures of foreigners seemed to me groundless. In Shanghai the only thing to fear was likin on cotton. But if they imported imprinted goods, & printed them there, perhaps he might manage it. But he had better see Hosie on the subject of duties imposable. He stayed a long time. We discussed Japanese skill in metal-work, etc. wch. we both thought was incomparable.

Reading old Baron Hübner's diary.

6 [Nov.] Dubail says Poko.[Pokotilov] replied on the 4th to his govt. that there were only 80 men or so at Tientsin & Shanhaikwan, & that they could be withdrawn at any moment.

He thinks Komura must be coming here to make a treaty of alliance with China, besides arranging the questions wch. form the ostensible purpose of his visit. For his own part he believes Japan has greatly lost prestige here lately, and he has advised the Chinese rather to turn to England & France wch. can give moral support to her, than to Japan. I said I had never believed China wld. put herself in the hands of Japan: the latter had not the same means of conciliating opposition as the Russians. Dubail thinks Mumm is staying here to watch the Japanese negotiations; the same doubt has occurred to me also.

Teshima says Germans are trying to get leave to lay a cable betw. Kiaochou and Shanghai, & the Americans one betw. Tientsin & Shanghai, but Yüan will prob. refuse. That the Russians are negotiating for a revision of their frontier trade treaty and leave to build a railway to Peking thro' Mongolia, as they can no longer get here by the Chinese Eastern railway. He left with me a copy of reports he receives from a Chinese informant.

Uchida came. Told him there were those who wld. try to create difficulties for Komura, but Rockhill was not one of these. And that as to withdrawal of the troops, it was quite evident we at least could not get away before March.

Baroli came. Mumm tells him I must be March. All he (B.) cares about is to sell the buildings they have put up to the Chinese. I told him I had no instructions, but believed we cld. not get off before March. Mentioned rumoured autographed letter from the Empress Dowager to Germ. Emperor thanking him for his good will in the matter, to wch. he replied that he believed the Empress-D. had telegraphed. I hinted that it was not quite fair of the Emperor to pose as desirous of helping China, when the real truth is that the Reichstag will not vote the money, and they have spent all they added to the indemnity for military expenditure after July 1, 1901.

Baroli is much upset about the trouble Yüan Shih-kai makes for him about Italian

1905

subjects, one of whom has to be sent to Ancona [on the Adriatic coast of Italy] to be tried for manslaughter. I said to him frankly that I regarded as the duty of the Powers to make provision for the trial of foreign criminals in China & not to send them elsewhere. He expressed himself in favour of Mixed Courts on the Egyptian model, to wch. I assented, but added that their establishment wld. take an unheard of time to bring about.

9 Nov. King's birthday. Usual parade of the guard at ten o'clock on the parade-ground, we in uniform & decorations, I taking the salute. Sports in the afternoon. Ball at half past 9. Thirty five ladies and about 140 men. Cotillon [waltz] led by Mrs. [C.W.] Campbell & F.S. Lowder a great success. Supper in the dining room at two long tables, looked very well. Sir Robert Hart's brass band.

10 “ To Dubail. Spoke abt. evacuation, & told him the contents of the F.O. teleg. of the 8th. He said he had not yet received the instructions foreshadowed in it. We agreed that we wld. not agree to a conference of colls: , but if Mumm worried us about it, we wld. reply that it was sufficient for us to exchange views separately with our colls: That we wld. not join in any communication to the Chinese govt. as Germany has already informed China of her intention, but wld. act individually. Personally he agreed with me that the Chinese shld. not be asked to pay for buildings out of indemnity funds, and would telegraph for the views of his govt. He thought no one ought to obtain anything in the way of “conditions”, unless it was connected directly with the removal of troops, as he intends e.g. to make use of it to obtain what he has not yet been able to get in regard to the French establishment at Tongku. I made no reply to this, but if Yüan talks to me on the subject, I shall try to make our withdrawal conditional on the Chinese Govt. abandoning their attitude abt. mines & railways.

In regard to Mumm's proposal to compromise abt. the indemnity, I told him I had recd. authority to agree, but wld. not inform Mumm until he was ready to do so. He said he wld. teleg. to his people.

Told him I had been invited to join the party to go to the opening of the Luhan railway, but was going to send Collier in my place.

(Yesterday a certain Taotai Ko came on behalf of Shêng and Tang Shaoyi to all the Legations, in order to invite the FRR. no doubt as a demonstration that it is a Chinese and not a Franco-Belgian railway that is going to be opened. I gathered from some colls: last night that Dubail resents this step, as encroaching on French rights, but he showed no signs of this.)

Mumm came. He began by saying that he felt for 3 wks. past that I suspected him of wanting to tripoter [Fr: play with] the withdrawal of the troops, wch. was not the case; he was not making any conditions. I said I did not imagine anything of the kind, but of course

1905

the communication to China before the PP. took the wind out of our sails, and I quoted William II's teleg. to the King. He argued that it was done simultaneously, & that the Emperor had told the Chinese minister that he was going to propose it.

Then he said he had prepared draft of a Note abt. the indemnity, wch. he wanted Dubail, Gaiffier and myself to meet tomorrow and discuss. I objected to a meeting, & he then said Gaiffier had seen the draft and accepted it. I observed that only 5 had declared their adhesion, to wch. he replied that the others were willing, if Dubail & I consented, and he assumed that our Govts. wld. have no objection. I said Dubail had made no sign; and abstained from informing him of my instructions whereupon he told me Dubail had telegd. 2 days ago.

Seeing [Count] Hijikata coming, I made a remark to that effect, on wch. he took his departure, & said he had other matters to speak of, and wld. come again. He said also that he had mentioned the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway to Yüan Shih-kai, without going into details, and that he felt that it was the fault of H.M.G. that the thing had not been put thro' already. I rejoined that it was the Chinese, who were carried away by the idea of getting more control over their railways than in the past.

Hijikata was very cordial. Said the Anglo-Japanese alliance had been of the greatest value to them in preventing other PP from interfering, and that we had observed our neutrality perfectly, refusing to let the Russians procure coal in our ports, while the Fr. had been not quite so impartial. Their success over the Russians at sea had surpassed their wildest expectations: on land also. The Russians had despised Japan, because they regarded it as a small country. He was accompanied by Nishida Kōichi (畠一) who reminded me that he had travelled home with me in 1900, and Hamaguchi Kichiyemon, whom I knew nothing of. The dear old fellow is now 73, hardly a grey hair, except his moustache.

- 11 Nov. Went to Rockhill. He says the President has telegd. to him that he may tell the Chinese, if the occasion arises, that they ought to give to the Japanese exactly what Russia had in the Liaotung Peninsula, & that he has informed Uchida. He does not believe the U.S. will appoint a man to Antung, the object having been fully obtained by getting it inserted in the Treaty. It appears that there is a flourishing town of 3000 Japanese there. Returning home, I drafted a teleg. to F.O. about the assistance R. is to give to Komura, & suggested that I shld. be similarly instructed.

Cloudy all day with a little rain, but at night the moon shone out brightly.

- 12 “ Music at Mumms. Fräulein Schaefer, a young violinist played the Kreutzer sonata, accompanied by a skilful pianist Frau Kleeschulte.

- 13 [Nov.] Taotai Tsai called. Told him I heard that Chinese were suspicious of Japanese intentions

1905

in regard to Manchuria, but they had only to look at the plain wording of the Treaty of Peace and the Anglo-Japanese alliance, to see how clear it was that Japan harboured no sinister intentions. Some people said she wld. ask for a slice of Fuhkien in return for clearing out of Manchuria, but that would be in flagrant contradiction with both instruments. Of course the people who used to advocate the partition of China did not like the Japanese alliance, wch. had completely turned the scales in favour of those who were on the side of upholding the integrity of China, and wld. naturally try to sow mistrust.

At one time the upholders seemed to have no chance, because defence is always weaker than attack, but the alliance had weakened the latter and strengthened the former.

Going away he said that he should remember to impress this on Yüan Shih-kai; he came from him to explain that for some days he wld. be unable to call.

Wrote to Uchida saying that as Komura had come here as ambassador, he is entitled to receive the first visit, and to ask him to find out when it would be convenient to Komura to receive my call.

Last night v. Citters seemed much disturbed by a report fr. Bredon that de Rijke is not to come fr. the Shanghai conservancy, and that another candidate, Holder, either Swedish or Norwegian, is in the field. Wrote to Bredon to inquire, who replied that there is no hitch about de Rijke, and that as to the other man, he Bredon had told the W.W.P. that he believed this man wld. not be acceptable to the FRR. So wrote to v. Citters to calm him.

Recd. a semi-official letter fr. Lord Lansdowne, informing me that my apptmt. here is renewed for one year from 25 October. That I think quite settles the question of my retirement. I have clearly stated that I do not wish to return to Peking after my next leave, and they have made no sign as to another post.

- 14 [Nov.] Mumm came. He discussed the question whether Komura was entitled to hold a reception of the Dipl. Body. I told him I had written to Uchida offering to make the first call, and that if it were desired that the FRR. [Foreign Representatives] shld. go to Komura in uniform I had no objection. He thinks it wld. be civil of K. to call privately on those who had been his colls: here before, but wld. not try to insist on it.

Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. He hears that the two groups have come to an understanding on the points I had advanced. Told him I had not yet heard of this, but had telegd. that if an arrangement was come to, I wld. give my support to the negotiators as best I could. I warned him that tho' willing to write a Note to the W.W.P. that cld. only be a mere formality, as the decision of the question lay with Yüan Shih-kai. M. opined that we had lost our opportunity. I said that was possibly the case. He says the Chinese now wish to take our money, & build themselves, having a majority on the Board, employing German & Br. engineers, and ordering the material from the two countries and from Tongshan, but

1905

he did not know what view his Govt. wld. take of this, or whether the financiers wld. provide the money. I said H.M.G. wld. stand out for the recognition of the preliminary agreements as valid and binding, and any other proposals must be brought forward by the Chinese with that understanding. At the same time we wld. not go to war to force the Chinese to accept the dft. final agreement. As to funds, I believed that as much as £5,000,000 cld. recently have been supplied from England at 94 with 5%, on just such conditions as he had sketched. I ended by promising that as soon as I recd. definite instructions I wld. let him know.

Evacuation. A week [ago] he recd. a teleg. fr. Berlin that I was instructed on this matter, and he understood that the FRR. were to agree together abt. the time and "modalités" and then settle with the generals. Replied that I had submitted some suggestions to F.O. and had not recd. a reply on all of them. I hinted that the original proposal of the German Emperor was for a gradual withdrawal; that I thought the first step shld. be to take away the outlying detachments by 31 March, but I had no indication how long the Tientsin garrison shld. remain. M. said that Genl. Petzel was of opinion that all might be withdrawn by 1 April. When the proposal was made, the idea was that some could go at once, but if the other Powers were unwilling to remove all the troops by the end of the financial year, the govt. wld. go to the Reichstag and ask for the necessary funds. I hinted that common action might be found impracticable. In reply to a question I said I did not know what Uchida thought. M. said that for him it was partly a personal question, as till it was settled he could not leave. He thought it wld. be more practical for us to agree here, & then recommend to our govts., for if we got each of us cut-and-dried instructions it wld. be perh. impossible to come to an agreement. To this I again said I had submitted three proposals to H.M.G. & had recd. a reply on only two. On the whole I was not encouraging.

Indemnity question. He will try to introduce the modification I had proposed, wch. he saw was in acc. with my usual practice of desiring to provide for everything. Dubail just before starting for Paoting had written that he accepted the drfts. Had I any objection to his going on talking with Nat'ung, as the negotiaition might take some time. I said I had none. He has not told Na who have accepted, and who have not, tho' some of the colls: have done this.

Passports for Hsin min tun. The German Assocn. of Tientsin have written about the difficulty of getting passports for Manchuria. Had I had any trouble in regard to this matter. I said not, as Br. merchants seldom leave the Ports. He has it appears, and the Japanese, who let their own people establish themselves all over Manchuria, refuse to allow others to do so.

1905

Troops & officers passing through the Imperial City stopped. We agreed that it was not right to stop single officers, tho' they might well object to bodies of troops marching through.

v. Citters came to thank me for my note of yesterday; Bredon had shown him a copy of his letter to me abt. de Rijke, and he is now quite satisfied there is no hitch.

15 “ To Sir R. Hart, to stir him up abt. Newchwang customs revenue, & wrote what he said on the subject to F.A. Campbell.

To Dubail. He says he has recd. no instructions either abt. withdrawal of troops or indemnity. In conversation with Mumm he has said that of course each one of us must arrange separately with the Chinese, tho' he has no objection to exchanging views with his colls.; there can be no conference. Mumm rejoined that at any rate the fact that Germany took the initiative remains. Dub. thinks M. will take the hint that he behaved indiscreetly in negotiating for six weeks abt. the indemnity without telling any of us, fr. the fact that he (D) only telegd. on Friday the 10th. But he agreed with me in thinking it wld. be settled before the end of the year. I told him M. had asked me whether I objected to his discussing the draft notes, & that I had said I did not.

To Mumm, & told him that I had heard fr. Boyce-Kup abt. the modifications I proposed in the dft. railway agreement, & that I was ready to support the negotiations as far as possible. He says Cordes wishes to retain the price of 90 for the bonds in the draft, leaving it to the Chinese to ask for a concession on that point.

He has arranged that he shall present the colls: to Komura tomorrow, there being no Chinese master of the ceremonies. Also that Komura intended to call on him, Rockhill & myself privately this afternoon.

Legation quarter. He wants two members to be apptd. fr. each side of the Canal, & suggested Oudendijk & Bower. I said I had thought of Carnegie, but wld. consider the matter. The present delay is caused by Pokotiloff & Ogorodnikoff not having decided what share is to be paid by the military.

Genl. Salis Schwabe, who had letters of introduction from Lady Arthur Russell and the usual ticket of soup called. His object was to find out whether there was any opening for his son Edgar as a Commercial agent in China under the F.O. I said I thought there was not.

[H.W.] Denison of the Tokio F.O. and Satō Aimaro called. No political talk.

Yüan Shih-kai called, with Tsai. Said he wld. rather have avoided being apptd. Plenipo., as he has plenty to do at Tientsin. He expects to be here a month. I responded that he was a clearheaded and prompt negotiator, and the discussions need not take long if the Chinese did not listen too much to outsiders' opinions.

1905

Dub. this morning affected to believe that Komura has not come here merely to discuss Arts. 5 & 6 of the Treaty of Peace. Perh. they want an alliance with China. They will stick to the rlwy. betw. Port Arthur, Dalny & Newchwang, & it wld. not be worth the while of China to buy the piece betw. Changchun and the crossing (at Ta-shih-chiao).

Dined at Baroli's. Telegs. viâ Shanghai represent Vladivostok as in a state of anarchy, the soldiers and sailors having revolted. One wonders how much is true.

16 [Nov.] Reception by Komura at the Japanese Legation of all the Dipl. Body, in frock coats, Mumm acting as Master of Ceremonies.

Returned the call of Shang Ch'i-hêng.

17 “ Rockhill came in to propose stirring the Chinese up about the Mixed Court, and drafting a reply abt. de Rijke's apptmt. to take charge of the Conservancy works.

He is much scandalized by apparent neglect of him by Komura, Denison & the others, who have only had cards left & not returned his call in person; says that under these circs. his only course is to have nothing but the most official relations with them.

20 [Nov] Komura came. Says that he anticipates no difficulty about arts. 5-6 of the treaty of peace, but there are various details to be settled in connexion. Particularly he desires to get the Chinese govt. to consent to the opening of Harbin, Kirin, Chichihar, Ninguta[?], Manchuria and 春暉 [Chunhui] at the eastern end of the railway. It is recorded in the Protocols of the Peace negotiations that Russia wld. not oppose this. Witte is a great intriguer, and Roosevelt quite saw that. Altho' he was really desirous of making peace, he pretended to have come to Portsmouth merely to hear what the Japse. had to say. He K. [Komura] proposed a compromise by wch. the Russians wld. buy back the N. half of Sagalien, but the [Russian] Emperor declined to approve Witte's recommendation. He K. had discretion to accept ½ Sagalien or insist on the whole. He has no doubt the war wld. have gone on if he had insisted on the whole. Russia cld. have paid an indemnity now, but after another year of war it could not have been obtained, because Russian resources wld. have been completely wasted. Japan wld. have continued the war at a great expense to no useful end. He agreed with me that there was no guarantee for Russia evacuating the N. of Manchuria, but hoped Japan wld. be able to maintain the position she has acquired. He was rather vague about Russia having given up the restrictions in regard to railways & troops contained in the evacuation convention: but the Protocols admitted that with the exception of railway concessions she had none other in Manchuria. There is no agreement to concede a railway fr. the Ch. Eastern rlwy. main line towards Peking in the direction of the Great wall. Treaty with Corea signed two days ago by wch. a Japanese Protectorate is established over Corea & Japan takes charge of Corean foreign relations, so that the foreign legations will have to be withdrawn. He says Sir Claude MacD[onald] is apptd. Ambassador

1905

provisionally, and that he will go home after the visit of the Garter Mission, when some one else will be apptd. [I suppose this means that Japan is to get some one from the regular diplomatic service, who knows nothing about the Far East.]

- 21 [Nov.] Dined at the Japanese Legation to meet Komura & staff. All the colls: there with their wives, even Mme. Huerta the elderly. Denison confirmed what I had heard fr. Mochidzuki about the necessity for Japan to make peace. When Yamagata visited Manchuria last summer, after Mukden, the staff asked for 10 divisions. They could not they said with those reinforcements get to the Sungari before April 1906, and Harbin later. Moreover they had not enough rifles or ammunition to go on with. (I suspect transport was the difficulty.) He says the Chinese are making difficulties abt. the transfer of the Liaotung Peninsula, demand compensation for losses, and object to give an undertaking to reform the administration of Manchuria. Campbell says this is a bluff, just the sort of objections they would begin by advancing.

Chinese newspapers give a wholly ludicrous acct. of the Tibetan negotiations, from wch. one draws the conclusion that the W.W.P. are preparing to give way rather than be left out of the arrangements betw. India & Tibet.

- 22 Nov. Returned Yüan Shih-kai's call, but talked generalities abt. education only.

Dined at Mumms to meet Komura & staff.

Campbell went to see Wu, who said he was glad to be out of the Foreign Board, where things were mismanaged. He declared that he had only advised T'ang being sent to Tibet to reform the administration, and that it was Prince Ch'ing who insisted on the mission to Calcutta, Wu being in favour of negotiating either here or in London.

Komura the other day said that the way in wch. the extension of the [Anglo-Japanese] alliance came about was this. On the anniversary of the first agreement [January 30th] he made a speech, wch. MacD. telegd. home, then Lord Lansdowne "approached" Hayashi, and the negotiations began in May.

- 23 [Nov.] Drove Norris out, fine warm afternoon.

Went to Rockhill for a chat. He says he hears from Morgan that the letter presented by Itō to the King of Corea was in very strong language. It frightened the Coreans. Then Itō had a 3 hours conversation with the King, at wch. no one else was present but Pak Chai-sun and the Korean-speaking Japanese interpreter. On the 17th the whole Japanese force, artillery and foot was drawn out around the Palace, and the agreement signed that afternoon. Komura told R. that Japan wld. not ask the Powers to withdraw their legations, but if the U.S. were to take that step the Japse. Govt. wld. look on it as a very friendly act. So he at once telegraphed this to Washington. R. had seen Yüan Shihkai yesterday, who asked what he thought of Japanese aims & intentions. R. replied encouragingly, on wch. Yüan's face

1905

became very grave, and he said: But what are we to think of them after what they have just done in Corea. Denison gave R. a copy of the Agreement in English, wch. speaks of the Foreign relations & affairs of Corea being conducted at Tokio, wch. he thinks seems ambiguous. He hopes Japan will now put forth a declaration of the line she means to pursue, otherwise all the PP. will regard her with mistrust. From Komura & Denison he gathers that the Chinese are willing to declare verbally that they will introduce reforms into Manchuria, but will not put it on paper, tho' Japan offered to withdraw the railway guards if they will agree. This is a point however on wch. Japan will be firm. I remarked that it might perh. be useful if one of us were to tell the Chinese that unless they gave way on this point, there was danger of them losing Manchuria altogether. Rock[hill] replied that Komura had said to him that Japan wished to complete this negotiation off her own bat, and without invoking the assistance of any Power, certainly not that of Russia; but in case the difficulties were insuperable he wld. first appeal to England and then to the U.S. R. also says the Japanese are not going to bother themselves about the concessions wch. the Russians have obtained in Manchuria. All they want is to secure the open door. The railway will be continued from Hsin-mun-tun to Moukden, and from the Yalu also to a junction with the Port Arthur main line. He has been surprised to hear that the Japanese think very little of the commercial capabilities of Dalny [Ch:Dalian; J:Dairen]; they consider that it can never rival Newchwang with its inland water communications, in spite of the river being frozen up during the winter. So it seems that the Japse. are not going to make much fuss about Manchuria, and R. is of the opinion that they have plenty to occupy them in Corea. He thinks Pokotiloff fr. a few remarks he dropped is going about working against the Japanese. I told him what Dubail had said regarding the newspaper reports of his having advised the Chinese agst. Japan, & his volunteering a denial to me, wch. I did not in the least accept. As to Japan, she would have to repair her losses in men and material, and would lie low for the next ten years, when there would be another outburst of energy. She, like every other nation, wld. expand where she could, there was no finality about the present arrangements. The next time anything happened, it wld. be Vladivostok or perh. the Amur province. Then subsequently the position of Germany at Kiaochou would become precarious, as everybody in the province had been saying during the war. Then as a third stage, the Fr[ench] in Indo-China. These would be stages in a long evolution of Japan, the only Asiatic Power that had backbone enough to maintain her independence & expand. R. is surprised at Dubail being so strongly anti-Japanese, but I explained that by his habit of looking ahead, and expecting an ultimate attempt to turn France out of Tonquin, and I told him about Kawakami before 1894 having carefully examined the military capabilities of Indo-China. No doubt all nations had plans of invasion of every other up

1905

their sleeves, except U.S. & Gt. B. and it was merely a part of defensive preparations.

He agreed, and told me an anecdote of a conversation he had with Roosevelt about Russian affairs; R. was much incensed agst. Russia, said he wld. if provoked not hesitate to go to war, and turning round gave an order for the Navy Dept. to be told to prepare a plan of maritime war agst. Russia. I forget what R. said was the particular question wch. so excited the President, but that is the gist of the story.

24 “ Dinner to Komura, and his staff., to wch. I asked the chefs de Mission except Chargés d’Affaires.

25 “ Menzies related to me an interesting conversation he had with Uchida. They have come to the conclusion that Mumm has been told to stay here, to watch the negotiations betw. Japan & China, and by all means in his power to prevent the conclusion of a secret alliance betw. the two countries. Mumm tried to pump Uchida about this. Dubail has recd. instructions to cooperate in every way with Pokotilow. The Belgians they detest on acct. of the way they play into French hands. Cárcer, Uchida thinks, is under pecuniary obligations to the Russians, as he is always hard up, owing to his gambling habits. The Cárcers are closely intimate with Major Nathan and Laptew.

Dubail came yesterday and talked over the situation. I told him I was much afraid that the Chinese were obstructing the Japanese demand for a written undertaking to introduce reforms into the administration of Manchuria in return for the withdrawal of railway guards: it might end simply in China losing N. Manchuria to Russia and S. Manchuria to Japan, as the 15 men per kilom. wld. quite suffice as a corps d’occupation. He said he had counselled Nat’ung that Japan must have the Liaotung Peninsula, and that China cld. not be surprised if Japan insisted on occupying as favourable a position in S. Manchuria as Russia had before the war. (Not much use his talking to Na, who is quite ignorant of the negotiations, and is rather grieved at being left out of them.)¹ I mentioned to him that part of the land he was trying to acquire fr. China at Tangku belongs to the railway, and reminded him that Père Derouin was still at Miaoyütsao. He promised to write to Bous d’Auty & urge him to get Derouin out of the place. He is very strong on the idea that no one should get anything in return for the withdrawal of the troops (except himself).

T’ang Shao-yi called. He gave me to understand that the Chinese govt. were much disconcerted on hearing that Fraser had notified Chang that the Tibetan negotiations were at an end, and said he got no instructions abt. the omission of clause 1 till 3 weeks after he had telegd. recommending it, & then was only told that I had promised to recommend it. I replied that the Chinese govt. had been repeatedly warned, and in plenty of time that if they did not agree, negotiations wld. be terminated, & I dwelt on the way in wch. after

¹ This comment in parentheses is in the margin.

1905

telling me that the removal of art. 1 of the adhesion agreement was the main point, Na later on informed me that art. 2 was particularly objectionable. T'ang said that China had no desire to quarrel with us, & he wld. like to get authority fr. Prince Ch'ing to come & talk things over with me with a view to a settlement. He also said that China must pay the Tibetan indemnity, and that the principal object of his mission to Calcutta was art. 9 of the Convention. I replied that I had neither instructions nor information, except that negotiations were at an end. No alteration could be made in the remaining articles of the adhesion agreement draft, and I wld. not undertake to make any representations home unless he came to me with a message from Prince Ch'ing offering to accept the draft unaltered.

Then he talked about railway matters. I told him he would find at the Waiwupu my notes to Prince Ch'ing about Suchou-Ningpo and Canton-Kowloon, and that I was sending in today a note about the way in which the Shanghai-Nanking railway was impeded by rings who bought up quarries and land. He has been apptd. director-general of the Shanghai-Nanking, but cannot at present go down to Shanghai. Also assistant director-general of the Lu-han. Asked abt. Shêng he seemed to suggest that the latter wld. give up. In regard to the Luhan paying the cost of the guarantee he seemed doubtful; there would be no goods traffic to speak of N. of the Yellow River.

28 “ Dined with Rockhill to meet William J[ennings] Bryan the Democratic silver coinage man who was defeated by McKinley for the President's chair. There were also Mumm, Sir R. Hart, George Kennan the newspaper correspondent and Williams the U.S. Legn. interpreter. Bryan is a large man, big domeshaped head, clean shaven, fresh complexion, thin lips to a wide mouth, very mobile. We talked about bimetallism after dinner, wch. for the present seems not a practical issue, & agreed that it was a dispute between the owners of gold & gold creditors against the gold debtors. In London he sat betw. [A.J.] Balfour and C.T. Richie, who had not spoken to each other since the latter left the cabinet. To the one he talked bimetallism, to the other free trade, & so got on quite well with both. He believes in the sane & sound judgment of the people. Kennan is full of Port Arthur, the siege of wch. he witnessed from Oct. to Dec. also the landing of the 2nd army near Dalny; the Japanese had one immense boom of huge timbers, 3 inch wire rope & nets to protect their transports from torpedo attack. Rockhill read me two letters of Morgan's abt. the enforced signature of the Protectorate agreement: the way in which it was done will he thinks produce a bad impression agst. the Japanese. On the 25th the U.S. Govt. told Takahira that their legation would be at once withdrawn, & Komura has written to him his gratitude.

29 “ Dubail came to tell me that he has just recd. his instructions abt. the evacuation of the

1905

troops, originally despatched to him by overland teleg. prob. interrupted by the disturbances in Russia. They tell him to report the result of conversations with his colls: particularly Pokotilow and myself, and to insist on obtaining what is required at Chinwangtao & Tongku. The former he has already settled with Nathan, subject to ratification by Paris. Uchida he says will receive instructions from Komura directly the negotiations abt. Manchuria are completed. We agreed therefore to recommend the withdrawal of the outlying detachments, leaving the Tientsin garrisons alone, for the present, and I said that perh. the two companies of Indian troops at Shanhaikwan might for greater convenience be united to their regiment at Tientsin. We shld. then have 1000 men there, wch. is what the French have there at present. I told him I had not yet heard fr. home what view they take of my proposal that the buildings shld. be handed over to the Chinese without payment. He remarked that Yüan Shih-kai's offer of 165,000 taels to Ameglio for the purchase of barracks at Huangtsun was more than their value, and that prob. Yüan offered this sum in order to get one nationality out, and so make a breach in the concert. As to further withdrawals, I expressed the opinion that it might take place next autumn, but I should prefer to leave it to my locum tenens.

He asked abt. Komura's negotiations. I had no information. He suggested that K. wld. try to convert the 25 years of the Russian lease of Port Arthur into 99. I combatted this notion. Then he thinks either there will be an appearance of agreement, expressed in vague terms, or that no agreement will be come to, in wch. case there will be nothing for it but for the Japanese to remain in statu quo. Which wld. please the Russians also.

30 “ Mumm came. Talked indemnity. Rosthorn holds out because he has a dispute with the WWP. in regard to the apptmt. of Li Ching-mai to Vienna. He insists that because China is an extraterritoriality country, she must ask whether Li is acceptable, without reciprocity on the part of Vienna! I promised that if he needed it I wld. join him in teleg'ing home that every one was agreed, except R.

Told him abt. his soldiers shooting cockyolly [small] birds on the city wall, & Italian & Austrian sailors caught doing the same in the Temple of Heaven last Sunday.

Long discussion abt. withdrawal of troops. Told him the instructions I have & what I have not.

Carnegies returned from Japan.

Dined at the Baroli's, a Komura dinner. Uchida says that the censorate of press telegs. has been taken off. It was ordered by T'ang Shaoyi, but he pointed out that it wld. be useless, because the same information, good or bad was being published in the Tientsin newspapers, over wch. the Chinese govt. had no control. U. added with a smile that there was nothing of a serious or alarming nature for the correspondents to report.

1905

December 1905

1 Dec. Returned T'ang's call, but he was out. Menzies tells me he has not yet called on the other Ministers.

3 “ Went to Komura and told him H.M.G. were prepared to withdraw the Legation at Söul and leave there a Consul-general. He said that [John Newell] Jordan had quite foreseen that this would happen.

Asked him how the negotiations were getting on. He said the transfer of the Liaotung Peninsula and railway were agreed to in principle, but the Chinese want the period of evacuation shortened to 12 months and the railway guards given up. If Japan wld. agree to that then they cld. go to the Russians and ask the same for them. It had been calculated by Japanese military experts that 18 months wld. be needed to completely evacuate the halfmillion of men Russia had in N. Manchuria. Japan cld. do it in 10 months, but of course she wld. not go away until the Russians did.

He did not look on the retention of railway guards as necessarily a permanent arrangement. At Portsmouth he had proposed 5 per kilometer. Witte wanted to say nothing abt. that in the treaty, wch. wld. have left the Russians free to keep as many as they liked, so he let it be understood that he would not sign the treaty without some such provision. Then the Russians proposed 20 which was finally cut down to 15.

I said that obviously as a transitional arrangement it was necessary, and suggested that the Japanese might agree conditionally. Asked abt. the demand for compensation, K. said they did not ask for compensation for damage done by the Japanese army, but by the crowd of followers and settlers. (wch. seems absurd). He recognizes that dealing with the Chinese is a slow process: He lets them talk on and listens patiently to all they say, and does not know when it will finish.

I talked abt. the withdrawal of troops, and gave him a statement of my instructions, adding that as Germany had already made her intentions known to the Chinese govt. my proposal was to say nothing about it till the time came, and then merely inform Yüan Shih-kai that we were ready to hand over to him the buildings occupied by our troops at Lutai, Tongshan and Shanhaikwan. He asked whether I was making any reserves, and I said No. What he had in his mind was the right to return if necessary, but he added that the Protocol gave us the right to station troops, without any limit of time.

Dined at Pokotilow's, in honour of Komura. After dinner Uchida told me that Komura had repeated to him our conversation of this morning about withdrawal of troops, and that as soon as he recd. his instructions, he wld. come and consult with me. I interjected that

1905

this would probably been [sic. be?] after the Manchurian negotiations were concluded, and he said Yes. He was very amusing abt. the way in wch., as he said, even Komura who knew the Chinese, fancied that business cld. be put thro' here with celerity, simply because Tokio wished it; and I told him my little experience with the F.O. abt. the ratification of the Coolie emigration convention, when because I told them it would take [] days to obtain, they telegd. to me "these delays are intolerable".

With Komura I had talk abt. lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and Weihaiwei. He said he was only asking to have the lease of the former for the unexpired term of the Russian lease, coupled with other conditions, including the provision as to renewal; that wld. do for the present. Japan was entirely averse to our giving up the lease of Wei hai wei, lest any other Power shld. step in and ask for it. I remarked that under the German lease of Kiaochou, they could call upon China to repay to them all they had expended on that place, take it over and give them Wei hai wei in exchange. The latter was very useful as a summer station for our squadron, and I was altogether opposed to giving it up.

- 4 " E.S. Little came. He had the brazenfacedness to tell me that the agitation he got up about Chinese neglect of treaties was merely for the purpose of "strengthening my hands". I retorted that I did not need it, and if he supposed I wished for such help he might have asked me before acting. But he had written to the N.C.D.N. [North China Daily News ¹] insinuating that Warren and I did not keep H.M.G. informed. The whole thing was based on a travesty of Lord Percy's language telegd. out by Reuter. He next tried to vindicate his support of Bennertz wch. I repudiated, & brought forward his foolish arguments that foreigners may buy land in the interior & acquire mines. I told him he was wrong. He then talked abt. his controversy with Tours, & I told him I thought Tours was right.

Dubail came. He suggested that 500 men left at Tientsin wld. suffice. I told him this wld. be inconvenient to us, for reasons of military administration, but I can see his govt. is pressing him. I said that we need not anticipate anything from the Japanese until the Manchurian negotiations were finished, and gave him an account of my instructions to discuss with my colls: As to making reserves when we move out of the lines of communciation, he thought it wld. be safer, and perh. he is right.

Hosie arrived.

- 5 " Went to the Cottage with Robertson & Garnett. Sutton Timmis a friend of Fedor's [Fedor Satow] and his travelling companion N.C. Cockburn arrived.
- 6 Dec. Rain during the night, a most unusual phenomenon in this month. Weather mild. To Natung, with whom were Chu Paofay and Lei.

¹ The North China Daily News (1850-1951) was the first English language newspaper to appear in Shanghai.

1905

Lister Kaye. Urged the necessity of a reply. He said the Governor of Anhui's report on my Note had not yet been read.

Kowloon-Canton rlwy. Complained that the viceroy had refused to see Ross and had not appointed anyone to confer with him. Asked for a written confirmation that he had been asked to negotiate with the B. & C. Corp., & for him to be urged again.

Shanghai-Nanking railway. They got out the note they wrote to me the other day, to the effect that T'ang was apptd. in place of – to administer the affairs. Na explained that this meant in place of Shêng, & that T'ang was director-general. He said they had merely copied the decree, to wch. I replied that they might as well explain the obscurities of a decree, even if they were bound to transmit it textually. I brought out the impertinent reply to my Note, in wch. I had complained of the difficulties the B. & C. Corporation met with, and maintained that I had a right to complain on their behalf, and said I wld. not accept a Note wch. said that Collinson shld. complain to the Director-general, & implied that I had nothing to do with the matter. I got rather warm over this. Na said he knew nothing of this Note, & rising hurried from his seat talked with the other two, the result of wch. was that they said T'ang must be communicated with; he had been to the Board only 2ce since his apptmt. I said I wld. leave their Note with them & laid it on the table. As it came to me with the seal of the Board, I assumed the Board to be responsible for it, but as he disclaimed all knowledge, I accepted that.

Note abt. a police regulation allowing parties of soldiers to go to the Pei-t'ang, & said I had nothing to do with this question, & wld. not accept the note. Na explained that they had discussed the question whether the circular shld. be sent to me, & he had decided that it shld. be. I reminded him of my reply to the previous circular, and intimated that I wld. return this note too, but eventually I let it remain, & said I shld. answer it as before. I told him I knew its genesis. Some one had come to him abt. the matter, he had written to the police Board & got this addendum, but I was not willing to be lumped together with others who had not shown the same consideration for the Imperial City as I had. Perhaps some day they wld. write me a Note to say that soldiers were not allowed to carry off instruments from the Observatory.

Shanghai Ningpo Rlwy. Told them I had seen the telegs. exchanged with Hangchou & was not at all satisfied. It was evident that the W.W.P. instead of ranging itself on the side of right was flattering the foolish notions of the Chêkiang gentry. He said that the acting govr. cld. do nothing, & must wait till the new man arrived.

Changsha. Pressed for an answer to my Note of a few days ago. He said he was going to see Prince Ch'ing and Chū Hung-chi abt. it tomorrow.

“Columbia” case. They said they had written to the acting Vice-roy on Nov. 5, & had

1905

no reply. I was ugent abt. this.

Peking Syndicate explosion. I told him some particulars, & said such outrages were the fruit of the encouragement given to the local gentry by the two governors to oppose the Syndicate. Also demanded an answer to my note refuting their argument that 'sole right' was exclusive only of other foreigners. Chu Paofay appealed to said our interpretation of it was right.

Uchida came to say that he had instructions abt. the withdrawal of troops, wch. implied that after he had agreed with his colls: the whole were to be removed in 2 months. I told him I was instructed only to agree to the withdrawal of the outlying detachments, and to retain the Tientsin garrison until further orders, no date being mentioned for its withdrawal; & that the outlying detachments could not leave before March. Dubail had talked to me about leaving 500 men only at Tientsin, but that would be very inconvenient to us, as it would mean the further splitting up of the native regiment. I also hinted that we had not desire to be taken in tow by the Germans. He grinned, and said Mumm was always at him to find out what Japan intended to do. I also mentioned the subject of the communication to the Chinese Govt. wch. of course we could not make in concert, as the Germans had anticipated us, & that I thought a mere intimation to Yüan Shih-kai that he cld. have the buildings wld. be sufficient, tho' Dubail thinks we ought to make reserves as to our right to occupy the lines of communciation betw. Peking & the sea.

7 " Rain again this evening.

8 Dec. Dubail, Mumm & I met at Mumm's. He showed us a letter fr. Almeida protesting agst. not having been invited to the meeting at wch. we discussed the rules enacted by the police bureau restricting the entry of soldiers in the Imperial city. We approved Mumm's reply that the matter concerned only the signatories of the Protocol.

Dftd. a reply to the Chinese asking us to prevent soldiers & others from going on the wall on the 21 & 22 when the Emperor goes to the Temple of Heaven.

Also a proposal from Yüan & Hu to allow none but the Dipl. Body to go to the station by the watergate, wch. we cannot agree to. I suggested that it wld. have been proper to notify the diplomatic body of the withdrawal of American & German sentries from the Watergate, on the ground that their being posted had been communicated to us, and as we had all subscribed to the creation of the watergate, we had an equal interest in its management.

Dubail told me he had a teleg. about the withdrawal of troops, wch. he wld. bring to me in a day or two. I said I had no authority to discuss removal of the Tientsin garrison, & he intimated his readiness to join me in trying to bring Mumm to agree with us on that point.

Drove Mrs. Gray to see some of Headland's Chinese pictures, some of which are

1905

excellent, and then to Mme. Pokotilow's day.

- 9 [Dec.] Tsêng Kwang-hsian came to call. He says the Koreans detest the Japanese, who will have a much harder job in Korea than they found in Formosa. He finds Peking fuller of intrigue than ever. Prince Ch'ing too weak, Nat'ung too affable. But he thinks the Waiwupu will now be stronger (an evident allusion to the importation of T'ang Shao-yi.) He told the Empress-Dowager that Chinese diplomatic affairs could not be properly conducted without a strong army. I complained of the difficulties wch. the best friends of China met with, and I despaired of the Govt. wch. seemed to appreciate nothing but rough treatment. That was contrary to my habits and inclinations, but it was necessary. He responded that it was the only way to get anything done. I observed that Rockhill, one of the best friends China ever had, was plunged in difficulties; the boycott and the murder of the missionaries at Lien-chou. I also remarked on the fact that opposition was raised to our building railways, in wch. we had an excellent record, while nothing was done in regard to the German & French railways in Shantung and Yünnan. He explained this to be due to the superior intelligence and creativity of the gentry in Chêkiang, as compared with those in Shantung & Yünnan.

J. McLeavy Brown, who has just left the Korean Customs dined with me alone. He seems an eminently sane person. He said the Japanese were now universally detested by the Koreans, who had been oppressed by the hooligans that have overrun the country. No Korean can get justice agst. a Japanese. He too anticipates great difficulties. Of the 11 students who were here [in Peking] together in 1862 he and I alone are still in active life: Herbert Allen, Christopher Gardner & Stronach have retired. The other six are dead.

- 10 “ Mumm came. Tried to get on a bit with regard to the evacuation of the troops. I told him my definite proposal was the reduction of the outlying detachments & the retention of the Tientsin garrison till a date wch. I did not desire to see fixed at present. If we fixed it, then the whole question was at an end. In any case I thought the present a bad moment.

Rockhill also came. He & Mumm have referred the Mixed Court rules as amended by the Chinese to their consuls-general at Shanghai. I said we knew quite as much here abt. the question as Warren.

Mumm has recd. a teleg. fr. his acting consul-genl. at Shanghai that the Br. Assr. [British assessor] on the 8th insisted on sending a Chinese woman to the Municipal gaol, while the magistrate ordered her to the Mixed Court gaol. A row ensued in wch. the municipal police were victorious, and the result has been a public meeting of Chinese & threats of boycott. I telegd. to Warren to ask for the facts.

- 11 “ Dinner to the Pokotilows.

- 12 “ Hard frost last night. T'ang Shao-yi came to tell me on behalf of Prince Ch'ing that

1905

the women held in the International jail at Shanghai are the widow of a Chinese official fr. Szechuen and her widowed daughter returning to Canton with the latter's children and some girls (described in Chinese as serving-maids, but really purchased) & that there can be no question of kidnapping in the case. He hoped I would teleg. to Warren to have them released, and leave the question of principle to be discussed afterwards with the Taotai.

I said I wld. teleg. this information [to] Warren, & add that if it is so, they ought to be released at once.

He then spoke abt. the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. He had been unable to go to the meeting of Kiangsu gentry after he last called. At that he had intended to explain to them that certain things, such as the high price of yarra sleepers, was due to their much greater durability. I said that the Br. C. Corpn. were interested in the railway being constructed as solidly and cheaply as possible, and that the 'corners' in land and ballast that had been got up prevented this. That was why they had complained to me. He said he intended to go to Shanghai himself as soon as the negotiations abt. Manchuria were completed, & he hoped to be able to put everything on a proper footing. He was sending down one Chung Mun-yiw (鐘文耀) who speaks English. The difficulty with Shêng was that he did not understand English. He has also a member of the Railway Board, Wong Kwok-shan, coming up to see him, who started yesterday fr. Shanghai.

Prince Ch'ing had directed him to look into the Shansi affairs of the Peking Syndicate, & 4 bundles of papers had been sent to him. As soon as he had acquainted himself with their contents he wld. come to see me, and hoped to be able to put matters on a proper footing. He hoped that all our controversies wld. be settled. Prince Ch'ing felt that there was every reason to cultivate friendly relations with England.

Abt. Tibet too he wished to speak: it was in Prince Ch'ing's opinion necessary to recognize that Gt. Br. & China had common interests there, but it was scarcely fair for one side to present to the other a draft in wch. it was not permitted to alter a single word, as was implied in my recent Note. I told him that my Note was in accordance with instructions from London, but did not decline to hear what he had to say.

But when he comes, I shall have to tell him that the reply I gave him on 25 Novr. [was my final word? Sentence incomplete.]. I had been to Mumm & told him what I had heard fr. Warren abt. the Shanghai row. He had seen Prince Ch'ing yesterday at the Waiwupu, & discussed the affair. The Prince said the woman was the wife of a deceased Szechuen official going home, a respectable person, with a number of females in her train, and that he had recd. telegrams fr. the Taotai and Canton notables in Shanghai stating this. He was writing a note to the Doyen, & Mumm had suggested his sending me a note to the same effect, as a Br. assessor was concerned.

1905

On my return [C.W.] Campbell told me the note had come, and almost immediately afterwards T'ang was announced. When he left I despatched the promised teleg. to Shanghai and wrote to Mumm to tell him what I had done. He wrote in the chit book that he quite agreed.

Almeida came to ask my help. The Viceroy of Canton has seized a Portuguese lorch¹ going fr. Yanmati to Macao loaded with salt, wch. he has sold on the pretext that the lorch¹ was smuggling. The Waiwupu have verbally admitted that the Viceroy is wrong, but say they cannot give him instructions; those must come fr. the Grand Council. The Govr. of Macao has proposed reprisals, wch. wld. bring him into conflict with the I.M.C. or with the Chinese traders of Macao & Yanmati. I said the most effective form of reprisals wld. be to seize vessels belonging to the V-R. or to send a ship of war to Canton to tow the ship of war out. If he wld. send me copies of his correspondence with the W.W.P. & a memo. of what had passed verbally I would consult with Campbell as to the feasibility of saying anything to the W.W.P. that could be of assistance to him.

He then told me a long story about his dispute with Mumm in regard to the meeting at wch. the Chinese Police regulations affecting foreign soldiers had been discussed, so I told him that I agreed with Mumm's reply to him. Then he talked abt. a Note fr. the Chinese abt. the admission by ticket to the railway platform, and maintained that he had as good a right to be informed as anyone else. I said I believed that there was a note, wch. had been put in circulation, but whether the circular was addressed to him I did not know. He became very argumentative, so I told him he had better go to Mumm; it was not my affair. I very nearly invited him to go away, and not bother me any more. A very common, offensive creature.

16. [Dec.] see lower down.

18 “ Went to the W.W.P. & saw Nat'ung, Lienfang, Chu Paofay and Lei abt. that Shanghai row. Told him that a riot had broken out & landing parties had been sent for (Campbell had gone up in the forenoon & found Lei there to whom he gave the same information). On pressing him he showed me telegrams sent to the Taotai on the 11th and on the 16 after receipt of my note of the 14th both of wch. were quite the right thing, but they had recd. a teleg. on the 17 from the Taotai that the gentry were firm in demanding removal of the assessor and the police concerned in the affair of the 8. I observed that the Mixed Court incident had now fallen into the background, and that the riot must be firmly repressed before the trouble attained such dimensions as to become a deplorable disaster. I reminded him of 1900, when the want of firmness at the outset had led to terrible consequences. He said he wld. tomorrow memorialize and get a decree. His tone was as if he thought the

¹ lorch¹: a light vessel with a European-style hull and rigging like that of a Chinese junk.

1905

Taotai was not doing his duty.

Dubail came to tell me that in consequence of the disturbances at Shanghai he had telegd. to his Admiral to send a ship and instruct the commanding officer not to land men without previous consultation with himself. The French settlement, he said, was perfectly quiet.

Mumm came in the morning before I got Warren's teleg. abt. landing troops. He complained of Rosthorn still refusing to say clearly whether he will sign the compromise about the indemnity, his present pretext being that his 'bon particulier' has not yet been signed. I said I should teleg. for permission to act independently of Rosthorn. M. showed me a letter he was going to write agreeing with the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank about their taking over the private claims at 88%, wch. I entirely approved. He asked whether I had heard anything from Nanking about a proposal to forbid foreigners to buy land outside settlement limits. Told him not yet.

16 Dec. Went to Dubail. He has had a talk with his general abt. withdrawing troops, and finds him in favour of sending them away all at once. However he is willing to keep 2 companies (280 men) at Tientsin, but not more, as he wishes to give up the eastern arsenal and cannot hold it with reduced numbers; on the other hand the accommodation in the French settlement only suffices for two companies. I was talking abt. the hectoring way of Germany, and the prob. result that every one wld. combine against her, when Pokotilow was announced. He brought a teleg. fr. the Senior Consul to say that their jail & police stations were getting crowded, & what were they to do with the prisoners. I got this afterwards from Mumm, who had been to the Waiwupu to ask them to order the Taot'ai to re-open the Mixed Court. They now it appears only 'strongly recommend', on the ground that they cannot order him.

21 Dec. Dined with Komura. He says he has not got all he wished, but has secured the two main points, transfer of the railway & Liaotung Peninsula, & opening of 15-16 more places to trade, including Harbin. Ratifications to be exchanged at Peking in two months.

Told Dubail of my letter to Mumm abt. the desirability of instructing the consuls to cancel their resolution of July 26. He agrees that it ought to be done; has scolded his consul-general for taking part in it. Will back me up in refusing to remove Twyman, and told Lienfang that if the magistrate had refused to come to the French court, he wld. have had him simply notified of the date of its opening & if he did not turn up, go on without him. Told Rockhill also, who said it was quite right. Mumm had received it, and said he approved. But whether they really like it or not is another question, for their consuls after agreeing to the resolution did not act upon it. I sent Campbell to Na to say that I was going to make this proposal.

1905

“ 22 Shanghai paper contains a letter deploring my weakness in ordering release of the women. Teleg. fr. F.O. seems to indicate that they are imbibing notions about the affair from Bland's telegs. to the "Times". Have told them his statements must be accepted with caution, as they are those of a strong partisan. But it seems to me highly likely that he and Warren will gain the ear of the Powers that be, and that I shall get a scolding, if not something worse.

26 T'ang Shao-yi came with a message from Prince Ch'ing, to ask me not to remove Twyman, but to let him not sit for the present. I said H.M.G. wld. not consent to this. As I had explained in Notes to Prince Ch'ing (wch. he said he had read) it was by instructions of his superior officer given in acc. with a resolution of the consular body that he was acting, and he could not be blamed. He must therefore continue to sit, but had the Prince offered to supersede the magistrate and assistant magistrate, in return for that I might take into consideration the proposal abt. Twyman.

Lister Kaye's Anhui mining concession. He said there were no signs of his intending to work it. I replied that in May he had notified the registration of his company, wch. cost him £14,00. He had sent down a mining engineer in time. The Anhui authorities had taken advantage of certain informalities, and of the year having expired acc. to the Chinese calendar, wch. was not fair treatment. He said they had not prospected. I said that was done, & borings made before the concession was obtained, & it was on the information thus obtained that the limits of the concession were laid down. The mining engineer's plan was based on that. I thought they ought to give him an extension of time, in wch. to begin work. If they did that he would send out his mining engineer. I explained also the necessity of watching the money market in order to bring out a company.

C.E. & M. Co. [Chinese Engineering & Mining Company] He said Yüan Shih-kai had declared that he wld. not use force agst. them, but as Govr. genl. of Chihli he could refuse permission to open fresh shafts, so that in a year or a year and a half they would be at the end of their tether. The present situation was bad for both the co. and the mines. The rlwy. suffered from not being able to get the coal it required, but its revenue was large enough to enable it to work with Japanese coal, and Liu-ching would shortly be producing coal. He wld. like to come to some arrangement. He had said to [Major W.S.] Nathan that the London Board was no use, and they shld. administer the colliery in Tientsin. The memorandum ought to be carried out. I said that the only way I saw for it was to draw up statutes for a Chinese Co. and get an Imperial decree sanctioning them, on wch. the English Co. could transfer the property. And I said I wld. write him a private memo. in the next few days showing how I thought it could be done.

Dinner at Mumm's to hear Premyslaw, a young Polish violinist, Frau Fischer the wife of

1905

an archaeologist attached to his legation, Miss von Möerendorf play. She is an admirable pianist.

28 Dec. Mumm came with a circular abt. Watergate & the issue of free platform tickets. Rosthorn wants us to refuse the Chinese proposal altogether, & to insist that we have a right to go onto the platform thro' our gate without any restriction.

We talked abt. the Shanghai affair. Told him F.O. wld. rather that the rescission of their resolution to send women to the Municipal jail was not communicated to the council, lest public discussion shld. be provoked and Chinese get stiff in the neck. I gathered fr. the N.C.D.N. [North China Daily News] of 23 Dec. that this rescission had practically taken place. He said that was why he had wished to send a telegram, & my proposal to omit the sentence referred to wld. necessitate sending round the circular again, wch. wld. mean further delay. I saw no harm in that.

Then I told him of the instructions I had from F.O. abt. not re-embarking landing parties until I was satisfied that a settlement had been arrived at, and the S.N.O. proposal to do this on Jan. 1 if all was quiet. That I had telegd. to Warren accordingly, and the S.N.O. wld. of course communicate with his man. What did he think? M. was of opinion that by adhering to the course laid down by F.O. we might find ourselves obliged to stay on shore for a long time, and after all not obtain satisfaction (wch. I said included the principle of compensation being accepted by the V.R. Choufu and a certain amount of progress in identifying & arresting the instigators & leaders of the rest). I responded that if leaving the landing parties on shore did not suffice to put pressure on the Chinese, we might have to resort to some more efficacious measure, and the only one I could think of was the occupation of the Woosung forts; but to that I was very averse, and had not mentioned the idea before to a single soul. He answered that this idea had occurred to him also, but like myself he wished to avoid it. I begged him to keep the idea to himself. He replied that perh. the very menace might produce all the required effect, without our having to carry it out, but he wished not to resort to it.

Inquiry into conduct of police by Saumarez . Told him the Municipal Council had requested the judge to do it, & I thought the idea a capital one, as no equally impartial person could be found. He seemed to be divided betw. the view that the Consular body shld. conduct the inquiry, or that the request to the Judge shld. have come fr. them. His govt. was very sensitive on the subject of Shanghai and any attempt to act as if it were a British interest alone would excite them greatly. I said I wished always to treat Shanghai as an international matter. He referred to Knappe, & said it was to be regretted that when he first came there he had tried to force the election of a second German member, instead of going to work talking amicably to the members of the council. His attempt to do it forcibly

1905

was unsuccessful. I said his record in Samoa was such as to render him an unsuitable choice for Shanghai. Finally he said he would rather leave things in statu quo than try to introduce changes wch. wld. be a very difficult & troublesome affair, in wch. I agreed with him.

Withdrawal of troops. He asked whether I had any further instructions, having begun by saying the manner in wch. the communication had been made to the Chinese had of course rendered the others unwilling. I ansd. that also we had taken the gradual withdrawal literally, as the Emperor's teleg. to the King did not give the explanation that he M. had used the word gradual at the beginning, when it really meant gradual. I told him I had nothing further, except that we were authorized to bring 2 companies fr. Lutai to rejoin their regimental headquarters at Tientsin wch. wld. bring our garrison up to 1000. He harped a good deal upon the insufficiency of our troops here for defensive purposes, except against a mere mob, and I argued that at the present moment with rows going on at Shanghai withdrawal of troops wld. not be criticized in a friendly manner by the press at home. He said Dubail wanted to act as a sort of mediator betw. him & me, and talked of keeping 2 companies at Tientsin. Tokio was supposed, acc. to Komura, to desire to withdraw all troops, but instructions had not yet been recd. at the Japanese Legation. As soon as Uchida returned (he was expected tomorrow) he wld. see him. If we could not all agree to go in March, he supposed Germany wld. have to bite in the sour apple, and keep a couple of companies at Tientsin, but in proposing this to his govt. he wld. like to suggest a date for the completion of the withdrawal. I told him that on my telling Uchida that at present I did not wish to mention a date for that, as I wished not to bind the hands of my locum tenens, the idea had got into the Japanese mind that I meant they shld. stay for an indefinite period, & had to explain to F.O. who had heard this from Hayashi. I was still of that mind. I did not wish to mention a date, as it wld. be sure to get to the ears of the Chinese, but if I were going to stay over the summer, I wld. think Sept. a proper time. He replied that 31 July suited them better, because the men, who are volunteers, wld. have a better chance of finding employment before the winter. The end of it was that we settled nothing.

31 [Dec.] Norris dined with me tête-a-tête.

[End of 1905]

1906

January 1906

- 1 Jany. In the afternoon went round with Carnegie and called or left cards on all the ladies.
- 2 “ Visit from a host of Chinese officials, in two batches. They came an hour and a half before the time they had announced, for on going to the Belgian Legation they found no one there. Prince Ch'ing excused himself on the ground of illness, and his son & Prince Su who were also on the printed list staid away. It was explained that the 8th of the 12th moon was a high festival at Court, and so they were detained. But owing to the increased number of Legations the Chinese are beginning to feel that this function is a great nuisance to them. There has been made a suggestion that the Doyen should invite his colleagues to meet the Chinese visitors at his Legation, but Dubail and I, a least are strongly opposed to the idea. If the Chinese will not give themselves the trouble to call on us in our own Legations, they can stay away.
- 3 “ Major Blair R.E. the successor to Major Picton came to lunch. He says a Mrs. Kennard & Tom Jackson promised to write to me about him. Some lady did, but I know nothing of Mrs. K. [see July 8, 1900]
- To Uchida. The result of fights betw. certain legation guards on Jany. 1 is 12 Japanese, 7 Germans (one dangerously) 3 Dutch wounded & some scratched. This suggests that the men should be deprived of their sidearms. I was of opinion that the Ministers must take the matter up, unless the commandants arrange it.
- Then to Dubail, to whom I was saying the same, & he agreeing with me, when Mumm came in: he said it wld. have to be referred to Berlin, wch. I do not believe, for at one time his men did not carry them.
- We also altered the last sentence of the dft. letter to the senior consul abt. the 26 July resolution to send female Chinese prisoners to the Municipal Jail, in a way that ought to satisfy the F.O.
- Walked with the Rockhills & brought him back to tea.
- 4 “ Uchida came. He says that his commandant is willing to confine his men to barracks on alternate days with the Germans, & also to deprive them of their side arms.
- Evacuation. Has not recommended in so many words to his govt. to leave men at Tientsin, but has informed them that the French & Germs. will each leave two companies, & asked to be allowed to come to an agreement; wch. wld. involve Japan leaving a certain number of men. I told him that on my saying to F.O. that I did not wish now to fix final date of deoarture, they had concurred & wld. now advise Paris & Tokio in the same sense.
- Shanghai. His consul-general reports to Tokio & gets instructions direct. Urged on him

1906

the necessity of the Consul-genl. getting instructions fr. here.

- 4 “ [contd.] Rockhill is of opinion that the Municipal Council ought to admit a Chinese member. Rodgers in reporting says that American feeling is much irritable agst. the English over the recent affair, the latter are thought to have been working up to a row, with the object of converting Shanghai into another Hongkong.

- 5 [Jan.] Visit from 桂春 Kuei-chun, the Intendant of granaries. Talking of 1900, he said he accompanied the Empress-Dowager in her flight, leaving servants in the house. When he came back, he found it had been sacked, not by foreign soldiers, who took a curio or two & perhaps some furs, but by Chinese brigands to the number of 60, who carried off every thing portable & destroyed the rest; but the house was not damaged.

- 6 “ Dubail came to tell me under the seal of secrecy that his govt. authorizes his keeping two companies at Tientsin. He agrees with me that it wld. not be politic to tie our hands by fixing a date now for the final evacuation, as it wld. be impossible to keep the knowledge of it fr. the Chinese. He also wishes the Fr. willingness to withdraw to be kept quiet till he has obtained what he wants. Told him Mumm had said to me that he recognized that the step of communicating to the Chinese at the same time as to the other govts. had done harm, by exciting opposition, & that prob. Germany had gained nothing. He grinned & said he had taken good care to let the Chinese know this, by confl. talks to Lien-fang after luncheon. He could not understand what the sudden reversal of German policy was to accomplish. Three months ago Mumm was raging, and now he could not be too pacific. Such sudden breaks did not good in China. One must be continuous, firm & courteous.

I told him what I had heard fr. Canton abt. Kahn's interference with our Canton-Kowloon rlwy. by saying to the Viceroy that if he gave it to us, France wld. claim railway to the hinterland of Kwang chou wan & a line from Samshui to Wuchow. I pointed out that we had the concession since 1898, & it was only the final agreement that was required. He said they were not asking for a line to Wuchow, but only for a tram-line fr. Kwang chou wan to Mi-lue and then to Yü-lin (60 kilometres), & his means of getting it was to offer to China to admit a Custom house at Kwang chou. His idea was that the concession shld. be given to Chinese, on the condition of constructing it with French money. He wld. however write to Kahn & tell him what I had reported to me [sic. him?].

- 8 “ Wolfe of the Hgkg service, for the last 9 months engaged at Chefoo in connexion with coolie emigration came to lunch. He had asked for leave of absence to perfect himself in Northern Chinese, but was told he must do it in his leave. I advised him to do it all the same. He cld. not expect leave for the purpose of acquiring fitness for better employment. He said he wanted to go home & get called to the bar. In that case, I said, stick to the law and make your career in that.

1906

Mumm came. Says Rockhill is not much inclined to push any claim for indemnity; he is not certain what line his govt. wld. take, but he had Scholtz to examine claims & send them up here. He observed that he believed our people had gone further. I said yes, and that we shld. stick to our purpose. The invasion from Pootung [Shanghai], the claims of the Chinese to have put down the riot themselves were good grounds. In 1883 the invasion of Shameen ¹ was a similar case. On both occasions we had the right to police our settlements, but if we were to protect ourselves agst. riots, we must adopt measures wch. were not to our taste, such as controlling free speech at public meetings, wch. in this case, with one exception had been held in two settlements.

Re-embarkation of troops. Told him Warren had telegd. that "Andromeda" is returning to Hongkong, & the other men re-embarked, leaving only a marine guard at Consulate-general. That I had given my approval & informed F.O.

- 9 [Jan.] T'ang Shao-yi came. First he discussed the Lister Kaye concession, & offered to pay back the royalty. I declined this, & said the best thing wld. be to give them another 6 months from now. I got out the agreement, & showed that provided the English years were allowed Kaye had produced a detailed plan of ground required and asked for apptmt. of a deputy within the time. He seemed to be inclined to give him choice of recognizing that he had fulfilled his part of Art. 4 or in the alternative a six months' extension, but we did not conclude anything. I told him F.O. was pressing for an answer.

Peking Syndicate. I hed [sic. held?] that they have the 'sole right' in Pingting chou &c. He said he had asked Geo. Brown to come to Peking & discuss matters with him.

Suchow-Hangchow-Ningpo. Informed him of Shêng's letter to the B. & C. Corpn. announcing that their preliminary concession was cancelled. He said they need not bother abt. this as the matter is in the hands of the Govr. & Shêng has nothing to do with it.

Canton-Kowloon. Told him the Viceroy had informed [C.H.] Ross thro' his deputies that all they could expect was their out of pocket expenses, and that they must furnish the survey report. He said they had telegd. to the Viceroy to discuss & do the best for China. I told him what we wanted was a clear intimation that the V.R. must discuss the draft final agreement, & promised to send him copy of the dft. for Waiwupu [外務部, Chinese F.O.] to consider. He suggested an agreement on the lines of the N. Rlwys. loan of 1898.

Shanghai. Told him the Viceroy's plea of not being responsible because we have police wld. if held to [i.e. adhered to] force us to take measures wch. I deprecated for insuring the safety of the settlements, & begged him to tell his colleagues.

He produced a draft adhesion agreement for Tibet, wch. I promised to send to H.M.G.

¹ Shameen Island at Canton was about 84 acres, divided between the British (62 acres/25 hectares) and French Concessions (12 acres/5 hectares). The remains of the foreign settlement are still visible.

1906

reminding him that I had no power to discuss.

Rockhill in talking abt. the Shanghai affair says that Rodgers still maintains there was no agreement on 26 July & that the minutes do not represent what took place. Also that Mumm's man talks in the same sense. I argued that this cld. not be, as the minutes were signed by Knappe as Senior Consul.

12 [Jan.] de Marteau came to put before me a memo. of the manner in wch. the Chinese opposition to the Szechuen railway project could be overcome, wch. I said he [sic. I?] wld. look at. He told me there was a question of his or Walter Hillier's being apptd. agent; if both of them, then the best plan wld. be for him to go to Szechuen, and get round the local opposition, for it was ridiculous to suppose that such matters cld. be arranged by the Legations.

Mumm came. Evacuation. Has not yet anything definite from Berlin, but when he got the final reply, he thought we ought to have a meeting, for exchange of views, with all the colleagues concerned, including Baroli and Rosthorn. I said I saw no objection to that.

He read a teleg. fr. Scholtz saying that F. Anderson had published a letter in wch. he stated that I had instructed Saumarez to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the police, & suggested that this was ultra vires. I said A. was an Ass, and that no instructions had been given. S. had asked whether I saw any objection to his complying with the request of the Municipal Council to hold an inquiry for them & I replied there was none. M. observed he quite understood that the Council were entitled to inquire into the conduct of their subordinates in the manner they chose, & that was how he regarded it. I ended by saying that he might put his mind at rest, for the inquiry had fallen thro' in consequence of the magistrate & asst. magistrate returning to appear before Saumarez to give an acct. of what had happened in the Mixed Court.

Soldiers' arms. He had seen Dubail, who now went quite on the other tack about making them leave their side arms at home, fr. what he had said to us a few days ago. I showed him Genl. Lefevre's letter to Bower wch. he had not seen & told him my idea was to bring the matter up before the ministers, & ask them to represent it to their govts. as they were entitled to do, all the more because the commandants were unanimously of opinion that the carriage of arms shld. be given up. He laughed & said he wld. not like that, & I told him I knew it wld. put him in a hole.

Watergate & tickets for the platform. Said I proposed to tell Hu that he had better drop it, as there was not unanimity among the colls: M. replied that he had talked it over with Hu, who was quite willing to give free passes to the Legations and commandants of the guards, provided he was allowed to put a ticket-box where tickets wld. be sold to other people, & M. thought he wld. be able to submit another draft to the colleagues.

1906

Shanghai compensation. Told him that in my view the commission proposed by the Viceroy to inquire into damages suffered by Chinese as well as foreigners was impossible, & that it looked as if he wished to claim fr. the Municipal Council. That the Senior Consul could not sit on it without the unanimous consent of his colls: nor cld. he send a man, because H.M.G. postpones inquiry to the acceptance of the principle of payment by the Chinese Govt. & our idea was to follow the precedent of the Shameen riots in 1883. He agreed that the Senior Consul could not sit.

Hu Yü fên has been giving a series of theatrical entertainments to his friends by way of celebrating his 70th birthday, and this evening he invited the whole of the Diplomatic Body. It was terribly cold. The noise of cymbals and hurdy-gurdy was deafening, but the dresses of the actors were magnificent with embroideries and bright colours, and the antics they went thro' highly diverting. The use of a falsetto voice, the cries of the child-actors & the business generally reminded me of the old-fashioned Japanese acting, which was doubtless derived from China. Among the Japanese guests was a certain Major Hashiguchi, who in 1900 was the civil administrator of the Japanese quarter of Peking, a square faced, thick set, goggle-eyed determined looking person, son of one of the Hashiguchi killed at Fushimi in 1862 in the famous fight in the dark among Satsuma men & rōnins of the same clan, in which Saigo Shingo distinguished himself.¹

13 “ Dinner to Uchida and myself by Kuei-chun. Shih-hsü and a Major Liang, grandson of Ili-fu who negotiated at Canton many years ago were the only Chinese guests. This Chinese officer had been studying for several years at the military college in Tokio, and is highly thought of by Prince Ch'ing, Yüan Shih-kai and Tieh-liang; he belongs to the Imperial clan.

Uchida's observations abt. the new Cabinet under Marquis Saionji indicate that he sympathizes with the younger men of Japan, who are trying to set aside the elder statesmen and put themselves in their place, the E.S. [Elder Statesmen, *Genrō*] being regarded as not up-to-date or equipped with necessary knowledge, just as the men now called E.S. got rid of the daimiō & kuge thirty or more years ago & seized upon the governing power. I think the ambitions of Japan will rather grow than be restricted in the hands of the younger generation, and that these men will be very go-ahead.

15 “ Dubail came. Told him of Mumm's idea to have a meeting of ourselves about the evacuation of troops, & we agreed that it should be confined to the RR. [Representatives] of those PP. [Powers] who had recd. telegs. fr. the German Emperor, leaving out the Dutch, Belgians, Portuguese & Mexicans & Spaniards. Told him that I had sent to Mumm the corresp'ce of 1901 abt. the Water-gate for circulation, & had returned him the draft circular

¹ The Teradaya incident at Kyoto, May 21, 1862.

1906

containing his conversation with Hu Yü fên abt. the platform tickets, as I had not yet been able to see Hu myself. Dubail remarked that Mumm would outstay both of us, wch. I think is very probable.

- 17 “ Went to Rockhill & told him of the somewhat alarming teleg. fr. Canton of yesterday. He had heard nothing. Told him also of [British ambassador at Washington H.M.] Durand's teleg. giving the reason why two American regiments were being sent to Manila. Of this he had not heard, but it was necessary to increase the force there, wch. at present is no more than 14,000 or 15,000 men. Mixed Court rules amendments. We agreed that it might be well to ask Wu Ting fang to discuss them confidentially with us, before sending them to the Waiwupu again. Chefoo settlement. He said he too had been talking about it to Mumm. Uchida is afraid that if it is established, his people, who are now all over the town, wld. have to retire into the settlement; this difficulty I think can be got over.

Snow from about 5 o'clock. Theatricals, to which a number of people were invited.

- 21 “ Snow fell to a depth of about four inches.

- 22 “ Pokotiloff brought corresp'ce abt. registration of land at Newchwang betw. Major Yokura the Japse. Admin. & Consular body. I said nothing had yet reached me, but as soon as I heard from Fulford & had formed an opinion I would let him know.

Rockhill also. He has recd. a long report on the same subject. His instructions have been to tide over matters as far as possible, but he does not quite like what the Japse. are doing. They are unnecessarily giving cause for foreign dissatisfaction.

We discussed superficially the apptmts. made to a conservancy bureau by Chou-fu and the W.W.P. amendments to the Mixed Court amendment rules draft we sent in at the beginning of this year, & he agreed with my idea of discussing them with Mumm.

Kansu wool trade & the Govr's proposals to establish a guild. He intends to write independently, so I lent him our draft to read.

He has replied to F. Anderson that as the Dipl. Body are engaged in Mixed Court rules amendments, there is no reason for the Municipal Council to busy themselves abt. the question.

- 23 “ T'ang Shao-yi & Hu Yü fên about Lister Kaye's mining concession. C.W.C. [Campbell] & I thrashed out the whole question with them, T'ang greatly helping, and explaining my views to Hu. Finally they agreed to send for the Anhui governor's deputy, & try to persuade him that the agreement must be regarded as still alive, & to give an undertaking on their part not to put any difficulties in the way of working the mines.

Told T'ang I wanted him to send a teleg. to the Viceroy of Canton abt. Fung Wa-chen's coal wch. is mortgaged to the Bank of China, to take off the embargo.

- 26 “ A slight fall of snow all the morning till about three.

1906

27 “ Fulford arrived in time for dinner.

29 “ New Year's call on the Chinese officials at the Waiwupu. This time I did not make a speech, not having thought of it beforehand. Arranged with Wu Tingfang that he would meet Mumm, Rockhill and myself any afternoon to discuss the Waiwupu amendments to our amendments to the Mixed Court rules. Farewell dinner to van Citters who is going on leave.

30 “ Fulford left by the afternoon train. I have told him that I have asked for £100 to be added to the Newchwang salary, wch. when Mukden is made a Consulate-general will be transferred there, and Newchwang I shall propose a consulate under Mukden at £700. But I do not anticipate this arrangement being made speedily.

Menzies came to tell me about the assault on one of Yüan Shih-kai's bodyguard on the 27th, and the settle[men]t of the affair by the man's dismissal and handing over for punishment. But he is not to be decapitated or severely treated.

February 1906

1 “ A fall of snow during the night, about an inch.

Feb. 2 New Year's audience of Emperor & Empress at 10 o'clock. All there except Cárcer, who had excused himself on the ground of an intended visit to Shanghai. An innovation had been made at my suggestion by which each Minister was to present those of his Legation who had not before attended an audience. I had Hosie, Robertson & Garnett, Dubail Couget & Mumm five, including Dr. Fischer who by an elegant fiction is attached to his Legation in the quality of Govt. archaeologist. We three then & van Citters who wished to say goodbye before going on leave remained in the room while the others filed out, and then each Minister in turn mounted the dais and presented each gentleman in turn by name and office, they standing below. v. Citters audience was also a new thing.

Sungshou, former govr. of Honan and since then at Jehol came to pay a visit.

Feb. 3 Went to the Cottage with Hosie, walking from the end of the ice S.W. corner of the Tartar city. Fine day, no wind.

Feb. 4 We walked in the forenoon to the village of Ta hsing-ih 大井 and back about 6 miles, to see the statue of Kwanyin, date Wanli 35 (), and came into town by road after lunch, walking all the way except the bit on sledges from the S.W. corner to the Shunche mên. Brilliant day, no wind.

“ 5 Rockhill & I met Wu Ting-fang at Mumm's and spent three hours with him discussed Waiwupu amendments to our proposals in regard to the Mixed Court rules, on the whole satisfactory. I left with Mumm the draft note about the creation of a Huangpu Conservancy

1906

Bureau which he, Rockhill & I had agreed to, and he is to get the French legation to put it into French for circulation among the colleagues. Rockhill tells me that Yüan Shih-kai's people have insisted on Dr. Tennery's[?] resigning because he re-admitted some Chinese students to the college at Paotingfu. Yuan Yuen-tai called, to say that he was going to Mukden to work under Chao Erhsun. He speaks English quite nicely now. Wants to take Menzies with him. The Japanese make difficulty.

Japse. Govt. have again told the U.S. that they cannot allow any consuls at Mukden until the military occupation is at an end. Russian negotiations about Manchuria have begun betw. Pokotiloff, Chü Hung chi & T'ang Shaoyi, everything being kept quite secret.

7 “ Went to congratulate Mumm on his promotion to be Ambassador at Tokio. [See Satow's letter to Sir E. Grey, Feb. 8, 1906, PRO 30/33 14/16] He seems to think he ought to have been sent to Washington, and says that this determination to send him to Japan, about which he knows nothing is quite recent. He only knew of it on Jany. 20. His successor is to be Count Rex from Teheran, where he has been for eight years, a man of about 50. He will not leave here till about 10 March, as he is to go to Tokio to present his credentials and then take a long leave.

8 “ A little snow during the night.

10 “ Dubail came to tell me that he had put the draft note about Choufu's Hwangpu Conservancy Bureau into French, & heartily agreed with it. The expense of such an establishment was out of proportion, & eventually when it came before the consuls, the latter wld. object to it on that ground. As we were discussing things in general Mumm arrived, with the news that at last a teleg. had reached him authorizing him to state that Germany would leave some troops at Tientsin under the orders of the German legation guard commandant, and that he was ready to proceed to an agreement. He wanted an immediate meeting of us 3 & Uchida, this very afternoon, but I objected that I must have time to go thro' the file once more. So we agreed to ask Baroli and agreed to meet at 10.30 tomorrow. Dubail hurried away on the pretext of lunching out, & we went on to discuss (Rockhill, Pokotilow & Rosthorn were to be convoked for the afternoon, but I said I wld. not consent to the removal of Br. troops being discussed by the repres'ves of Powers like Spain, Holland & Belgium wch. had taken no part in the military operations of 1900) how the Chinese shld. be informed, & I drafted a form of joint note to Prince Ch'ing. He also left me with a despatch from Kleimenow abt. the rumoured proclamation of Choufu to prohibit sale of land to foreigners & in reply to an inquiry I told him the contents of my note to W.W.P. abt. Mixed Court fracas & the riots, claims for compensation &c. I added that many questions took a long time to settle, as e.g. those arising out of the Ningpo Joss House riot of 1874 in the Fr. settlement not having been paid till 1878, and those of

1906

Shameen in 1883 not till well on in 1884.

- 10 Feb. contd. Dubail came back later in the afternoon (I had got out to return calls on Kuei-ch'un & Prince Kung) to say that he had run away to gain time for reflexion, & had seen Pokotil. who wished to come. I said I had no objection, & in that case we had better have Rockhill & Rosthorn. He said Poko. had a post at Shan-hai-kwan, and I replied that it was a matter of interest that this post should go too if we withdrew from Shanhai kwan, as it was in fort No. 1, & he himself wld. remember what had happened early in 1904 when the Russians wanted to give it over to the French commandant on certain conditions, etc. He had made a translation of the draft which Mumm had carried off in the morning, and had added a little at the end. Also he was not for a joint note, but for individual ones. I agreed, and suggested that he shld. take notes, & work them up into a Protocol. Off he went then to see Mumm & arrange.

At dinner at de Prelles Dubail and Pokotilow also there. We discussed the question of the Russian fort at Shanhai kwan, and P. said he must consult Ogorodnikoff, who is at Tientsin. Personally he was willing, but the military authorities attached importance to their retention.

Talking with him separately abt. his excellent knowledge of Chinese, he said he scarcely ever used Kolesoff, & that he read the notes that came & went betw. him & the Waiwupu. He disliked very much having to do business with Chinese who spoke foreign languages, like T'ang Shaoyi, with whom it was impossible to get on. I suspect the negotiations in regard to Manchuria are making no progress, owing to the demands of both sides being incapable of being reconciled.

- 11 “ Meeting of the 8 RR. [Representatives] at Mumm's. Pokotilow & I agreed to communicate with each other regarding Shanhaikwan. I said that if he maintained his post of 9 men, we should keep officers' quarters and a barrack in Fort no. 1. They have a flag staff in Fort No. 1, but the men live partly in Fort No. 2 and elsewhere. I promised that if he would give up his post (wch. he says is quite useless and costs £60 to £70 a month) I would not retain anything. The result of the meeting was that we all said we must teleg. home for final instructions, except Rosthorn and Rockhill who are not concerned.
- 13 “ Opening of the Union Medical College & Lockhart Hospital. Natung, Rockhill, Sir Robt. Hart and I delivered speeches, and then went through the buildings.
- Saw T'ang Shaoyi there and told him that in a few days I should be ready to talk about the draft he gave me a month ago (Adhesion agreement to the Lhasa convention). I recd. instructions this morning. Dined at the Rosthorns.
- 15 “ Rojestvensky came to ask what it was that I really wanted at Shanhaikwan, for he could not decide without telegraphing home. I said I wished to withdraw completely from there,

1906

if they would do the same. If he would write me a note to say that he agreed, I would also telegraph. Meeting of Rockhill, Mumm & self here about Mixed Court Note.

16 “ Second dinner to Chinese notabilities. Prince P'u lun, Jung-ching, Chü Hung-chi, Chang Pohsi, Hu Yü-fên & Tang Shaoyi.

17 “ Meeting of the Chefoo [芝罘] committee consisting of Mumm, Dubail, Rockhill & myself at Mumm's. We decided to write a red note to the Waiwupu, putting the Chefoo proposals to them for acceptance.

To Prince Ch'ing, who looked worn and ill. Reminded him of my last conversation in September, when he had asked me to be patient about railway & mining concessions. Gave him a memo. abt. the Canton-Kowloon railway, and we discussed it at some length. I insisted that the draft based on the Shanghai-Nanking railway final agreement must be taken as the basis of discuss[ion] between the viceroy and the repres've of the B. & C. Corporation. He eventually undertook to telegraph to the viceroy, and to communicate it to me privately.

Soochow-Ningpo railway. He held out about this & talked so childishly that at last T'ang said he would have a talk afterwards with the Prince & let me know the result.

“Columbia” inland navigation certificate. Gave him a memo. He said instructions had been sent & that it wld. be granted.

Ch'angsha. He said the people there recognized that the treaty must be observed, but they had personal objections to Bennertz. It was agreed that my last note on this question should be answered.

Lister Kaye. This he said was a most difficult affair. The govr. of Anhui persisted in his view that the time had expired before Kaye did what was required by the agreement, and had refused to give even one month's extension. The only thing was to pay back the \$50,000 and consider the agreement at an end. I said this could not be accepted, and remarked that Kaye had spent a good deal more. On returning home drafted a teleg. to F.O. reporting this offer, of wch. I could not advise H.M.G. to sanction the acceptance, as it would have a bad effect on the railway & other mining concessions.

Mixed Court. The Prince said decidedly that they would not pay compensation. H.M.G. I replied wld. not agree to this. He had better think over the matter before replying.

Burmese frontier. We agreed that a day should be fixed for me to discuss this at the Wai wu pu with Natung and the others.

Nanning. Urged a reply to be given fixing the date for opening the port.

Canton Coal. The note wch. they had sent me proposing a joint investigation of the accounts I had not yet seen, but on the Prince and T'ang saying that they proposed it should be held at the Br[itish] Consulate-general I said I would agree. The note however

1906

when I came to see it, proved not to contain this detail.

Insulting language of a Censor, who had denounced the late Comprador of the HgKg & Shanghai Bank as a 'slave' of the foreigner. I said that notice ought to be taken of this, and the Prince promised to have something done.

18 Feb. "Joe" died at 4.30 this morning. Since the morning of the 14th he had been looking queer, partly paralyzed in the hind legs, and unable to have a motion. He refused food on the 14 & 15, but on the 16th began to eat again and seemed better. His bark on the 14th when anticipating a walk was hoarse. He constantly hung his head, having what we call a 'hang-dog' look. Last night he took some dinner, and then came round to put his head on my knees. I gave him a bit of toast, wch. he ate, then a second wch. he was apparently unable to get rid of. His conduct became odd, so I had him made to lie by the fire. He snapped his jaws together aimlessly. After dinner I became rather anxious, and sent over to Gray, and we went into the servants' hall, where we found him sitting by Mrs. Kassburg, who was patting his head. We had him tied up, and left him for the night in the servants' hall, with a coolie to watch him.

19 " Snowed all night and in the forenoon. In consequence of a note from Poko. saying that he was in favour of closing post & teleg. office at Shanhaikwan & withdrawing the guard, but Ogorodnikoff was not, on the ground that others wished to retain their posts there, I went to Dubail, who says he has none, Mumm who says theirs will go & to Uchida who promised to telegraph recommending the same step. This I wrote to Poko. & said that if we could get this matter arranged in accordance with our views it would be 'un bon augure', & I sent teleg. to F.O. repeating it to Tokio. Also sent a long teleg. to F.O. giving my reasons for not thinking their suggestion of a 'serious warning' to the Chinese govt. about opposition to foreign railway & mining enterprise in China was desirable to adopt.

22 " Went to see Rockhill about the U.S. Govt. apparent anxiety lest there should be a fresh anti-foreign outbreak in China. He has not had any inquiry from them, nor sent any report to that effect. He rather seems to think of Congress having done nothing in the last two months to remedy the grievances complained of by Chinese visitors to the U.S. The President is not sorry to see them frightened a bit, and the alarmist rumours spread by the Chinese guilds in San Francisco are intended for the same purpose. Sent a very conf[identia]l. teleg[ram]. to F.O. to this effect.

23 " At least an inch of snow again in the night. Went to tell Sir Robt. Hart about the proposals wch. H.M.G. intend to make with regard to restricting the import of opium, and said in the course of conversation that I shall not return here after my leave.

27 " To Dubail abt. Nanch'ang murders. He says Waiwupu admits that the magistrate tried to commit suicide, being a member of the same secret society as the culprit of 1904 whose

1906

punishment he (D.) was trying to obtain. Hence the riot in wch. the R.C. establishments were destroyed, six French missionaries, including the one whom the magistrate went to interview, and also the Kingham family. He proposes to demand the dismissal of the Govr. provincial judge and other responsible officials, who by their culpable negligence or ill-will allowed the riot to develop. They had plenty of notice. Three other Fr. missionaries and 5 sisters who live outside the city were not touched. All these arrived at Kiukiang yesterday. I said I wld. back him up in his demands.

28 [Feb.] Col. Aoki came. At his request gave him our intentions as regards retention of troops at Tientsin, Tongku, Chinwangtao, Peking & possibly Shanhaikwan after the partial evacuation, for his General Staff. He said the Chinese were going to send 2 divisions of their new troops to Kinchow, wch. he regarded as a 'menace'. (We were speaking in French). I laughed, and said they cld. do nothing agst. Japanese troops. That led to a discussion on the fighting value of the Chinese, and we agreed that it was very low. As he put it, a Chinaman will fight bravely in defence of his own interests, but not for a cause that does not concern him, e.g. his country or Emperor.

Dubail came. He had been again to the W.W.P. Wishes to get the Govt. to send down a metropolitan official to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the Govr. and other mandarins. The Provincial judge has been apptd. to do this, & he does not think anything will come of that. He wants me to join him in demanding this, with the object of later on asking for the dismissal of Hu Ting-kau. The W.W.P. ? Paris asked him to send Ratard, but he intends to delegate Halgouet, who speaks Chinese and is a straightforward person.

Campbell to whom I spoke of this is against making common cause with Dubail.

I telegd. to the Admiral asking him to send a cruiser to Kiukiang, as a pendant to the "Descartes", and repeated it to F.O.

Dined at the Pokotilow's. He says he was only 39 when apptd. minister. Sat betw. her & Professor Fischer.

March 1906

1 Mar. Rockhill brought a long teleg. fr. his govt. containing instructions to use very strong language to the W.W.P. about anti-foreign agitations in China, wch. he thinks impolitic. What the Powers should do is to strengthen the Central govt. not scold it and so weaken its prestige in the eyes of the provincials. I agreed with him, and read to him rough draft of a teleg. to the F.O. in which I suggested quiet & unostentatious concentration of ships on the Yangtze, to frighten the provincial agitators, and I sketched out an addition hinting that the action of the U.S. govt. would be prejudicial. He was very grateful for this.

1906

Chu Paofay brought a teleg. from the Govr. of Kiangsi, representing that the people of Nan'chang were taking to flight, and deprecating Werner's going there in a gunboat. I explained that it was a small vessel, not alarming in appearance, and suggested that the gov'r. shld. put out a tranquillizing proclamation, wch. wld. relieve the people of their fears. I told him W. had left at 3 p.m. and declined to let him go up to Nanch'ang in a Chinese launch.

Sent W. instructions as to the points to wch. his investigations shld. be more particularly directed.

Mar. 2 Mumm came, & talked a good deal abt. the Nanch'ang affair. He was twice at the W.W.P. on Saturday (24/2), when Nat'ung did not seem to know much, and again two or three days later. He has got hold of the story that on the 24th the Chinese Auth: asked Père Lacruche to send over the Chinese writer of the mission to be examined, and that he refused, wch. the Chinese here think looks 'fishy'. I told him what I had telegd. to F.O. on the 22nd abt. the effects of an indiscretion on the part of a missionary, merchant or official, and certainly the practice of allowing missionaries to discuss cases with the Chinese officials is unwise. I have ever since I came here not ceased to impress on our missionaries that they must not interview or correspond with Chinese officials on matters affecting converts, but must refer everything wch. seems like a violation of the toleration clause [of the Treaty of Tientsin] to a consul or the legation.

In reply to a question abt. the Fr. protectorate & the issue of passports, he told me of a case in wch. Dubail had asked for passports for some German missionaries, for whom M. had also applied. They are members of a Fr. mission. On looking at the Chinese translation wch. accompanied the Fr. application signed by Dubail it was found that these missionaries were described by a term almost equivalent to "Ressortissants français" [French nationals], and he spoke to D. abt. it, who defended himself by saying that the Fr. version, wch. he signed, contained no such statement. The W.W.P. however refused the Fr. application & gave the passports to Mumm. They were for some German missionaries in a Fr. établisht. in Shantung.

We talked abt. the situation, & he deplored the alarming telegs. fr. America. Anyhow he said, the fact that a German transport is coming to take away troops is a public proof that these apprehensions are not shared in Germany.

3 " Rockhill called to tell me the result of his interview with Prince Ch'ing. The latter did not appear at all surprised at the tenor of his communication, and it almost seemed as if he must have known its contents beforehand. Perh. the Department of State had communicated to Liang Chên-tung. Anyhow he admitted that ever since R's arrival here the relations of the two countries had not been well, and that an effort must be made to

1906

improve them. He hoped the boycott would not revive. What the Govt. did fear was a combination betw. the revolutionists existing always in China and the returned students. If another sort of outbreak occurred like that of 1900 there would be an end of the dynasty. (It seems scarcely likely that the Prince can have said this so openly, at least Campbell doubts it). Pr. asked to have a copy of the communication wch. I infer was made in the form of a note verbale, & said he would answer it. Altogether he came away very satisfied with his interview.

5 “ Called on Lady Hart.

To Dubail. He is quite satisfied with Liang Taotai being sent to Nanch'ang; he has replied that he is sending Halgouet in a day or two. Told him what I had written to W.W.P. abt. the odious insinuation that Lacruche had cut the magistrate's throat; he had a passage of arms about it with Nat'ung. I took occasion to tell him that our own missionaries were not allowed to interfere on behalf of their converts, and to hint that it was unwise to let the Fr. do so. He said the trouble came from the native catechists, and that lately he had called Mgr. Ferrant to order for sending one of his Chinese to see an official in a green chair!

6 “ 恩壽 Enshou, the new govr. of Shansi, a middle-aged, lively and plausible person called. He professed an earnest desire to get on well with the Peking Syndicate people, and asked me to give them letters to him. They should come direct to him to discuss their affairs, and not listen to any other persons. I mentioned Geo. Brown and Alick Shaw to him as the men with whom he wld. have to deal & said I wld. communicate with them at once. He is to leave on the 10th inst. for his post. I warned him against students, & recommended Moir Duncan to his good offices.

Dined at Sir R. Harts. He and his wife have not met for 24 years, and he has not seen his dau. since she was a baby. Talked with [Sir Robert] Bredon abt. the Mixed Court affair. Goodnow, who however is a great liar, assured him that on the 17th the heads of the Guilds informed the Taotai that there would be a riot and that if he interfered it would be the worse for him. Told Bredon that Bland's teleg. to the Times of 23 Jany. was a complete misrepresentation of the facts. B. says Lo is Drummond's man and not to be trusted.

8 Mar. Liang Tun-yen, the Tientsin Customs Taotai who is ordered to Nanch'ang came to call. I told him very plainly my opinion that the Govr. Hu Ting-kan had not done his duty, and that the soldiers who were placed to guard the missions ought to be shot for allowing them to be attacked instead of defending them at the risk of their own lives. He argued that Père Lacruche was to blame for having driven the magistrate into such a fit of desperation that he cut his own throat; at first he even tried to insinuate that it had been done by members of the Fr. mission, but I retorted on him the written document left by him, and the result of the post-mortem. Dubail came in while we were talking and we conversed in his presence

1906

in a tone that left him no doubt that we were in agreement about the culpability of the governor. Liang is to start on the 10th with du Halgouet, and he intends to spend a day at Wuchang with Chang Chih-tung.

- 9 Mar. Geo. Brown came up. He says that he is not ready to talk business with En-chou, because he wld. prefer to settle with the Waiwupu the meaning of sole right, and with the Syndicate what they wld. be contented with in Ping-chou and the other districts mentioned in the agreement. Further, when he goes to Taiyuenfu he wld. like to be assured that he will not be mobbed. He had proposed to let Saffery up to Pingtingchou to let [Alick] Shaw come away for a month, but Saffery feels himself hardly safe. I said I wld. not press him, but I had thought it right to let him know what En-chou had said.

To the Waiwupu with Carnegie and Campbell. Present Nāt'ung, Chū Hung-chi and T'ang Shao-yi. Complained that the Viceroy of Canton had done nothing on the W.W.P. teleg. of a fortnight ago, & asked them to send him another teleg. Su-hang-yung. On this T'ang said the Govt. could not refuse to let the provincials build a line if they wished it & cld. get the money, but on the other hand the right of the B. & C. Corporation was recognized! We then had a wrangle about Lister-Kaye, and I ended up by asking that a written reply should be given to my note of Oct. 24, & I wld. send it home with my comments, hinting very strongly that I shld. say to H.M.G. that the Chinese Govt. admitted its impotence. We then proceeded to discuss the reports of Litton & Taotai Shih on the frontier N. of Manung Pum [Manung in Nepal?], and gave them a draft article, adding that the Indian govt. was ready to deal liberally with the fuyi [?] of Teng kang. Left it with them for consideration.

- 10 Mar. Teleg. fr. F.O. about Tibet adhesion agreement, & Campbell wrote to T'ang to tell him I am ready to discuss any day that suits him.

- 11 “ Dined at Mumm's, a dinner to the Harts. I took in Mme. Uchida. U. told me afterwards that he had as yet no definite instructions about the withdrawal of troops, but his Govt. wish to keep some men at Shanhai'kwan, as it has now become important to them (? because of the Chinese talk of sending two divisions to Kuichow). I advised him to say nothing abt. it to anyone, as the Russians had not yet given way abt. Sh.k, and if the place is to be held, it is better that the burden shld. rest on them. First Steamer arrived at Tientsin.

- 12 “ Dubail came to thank me for sending him extract fr. Werner's teleg. report of results of his inquiry. He told me what his terms wld. be in regard to pecuniary compensation, wch. however wld. come last, & the first thing was to determine the responsibility of the provincial officials. At his request I said I wld. teleg. to Werner to communicate to du Halgouet the results of his inquiry. I told him I had of course omitted fr. the extract what W.

1906

had heard adverse to the Fr. missionaries, on wch. he told me the story of a Fr. missionary in S.W. Yünnan who had arrested a Chinese, whom he suspected to be a lama, and caused him to be put to death by native Christians. He has had a warrant issued for the arrest of the missionary, who will be brought down to Mêngtze for the preliminary examination, & then be tried by the Saigon criminal court. He expressed no doubt as to the reality of the crime.

- 13 “ Luncheon at Prince Ch'ings. Fine warm day. The ice all gone from the lakes outside the Hon mên. Dubail says he has recd. a teleg. authorizing him to agree in principle to the withdrawal of troops, but not to put anything in writing, and to confer with me. I said in reply that my instructions were still the same, & that I had not heard what the Russians were going to do abt. Shanhai'kwan.

We conversed abt. the recent scare caused by the Japse. & American communications to the Chinese govt. & I told him I had said to H.M.G. that the position was difficult not anxious. China had been affected by the success of Japan, the students sent abroad in numbers were bringing in new ideas, and the press had greatly developed. He takes the same views. I added it was necessary for every body, officials, missionaries & merchants to conduct themselves with prudence and self restraint.

Couget is transferred to Japan. He supposes Bapst will arrive by the end of April. It seems that both he & Goltz have been expressing their annoyance at their chiefs staying on. Mumm told me last night at Pulun's that his successor Rex has started from Teheran. All the Chinese now have it that I am going for good. No teleg. yet from F.O. in reply to mine (privately) of 4 March in wch. I said I wished to leave on 15-20 April, that only my health made me willing to retire this year, and suggested to them a choice of successors.

- 14 “ Leaf buds of Viburnum fragrans showing pale green tips $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch, and the bunches of flower buds beginning to be distinct. The purple lilac buds more swollen than the white, markedly so, and those of Forsythia very prominent along the slender shoots. Gardener beginning to water the trees. 2 Holly hocks showing leaves.

T'ang in the afternoon. Gave him draft convention, Note and preamble, with such explanations as seemed necessary. He made no strong opposition to any of our amendments, and took them to show to Prince Ch'ing. I mentioned the Su-hang-yung and showed him my Note of today. He admitted that the decree ordering Shêng & the Govr. to cancel the preliminary agreement must be got rid of some how, by a contrary decree or otherwise. Talking of this proposed native railway, and the question of the local people being able to find the money, I suggested that the subscription lists for bonds should be simultaneously issued in London and China. That seemed to please him. The undertaking that Chinese should be allowed to hold shares in the Tsingtau-Chinan rlwy. he said was a

1906

farce, and when Yüan and he were in Shantung they had prevented any being taken, but when Chenfu went there he took 100,000 taels out of the provincial treasury and subscribed it. Talking of the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy., he said that the B. & C. Corporation purposely made the railway costly, in order that the construction acct. might be large, including in it therefore expenditure wch. wld. otherwise have come under the head of maintenance, and this wld. enable them to get a larger share for the profit certificates. I said I must think this point over, but apparently it was advantageous to build railways cheap at first and gradually improve the roadbed afterwards out of revenue.

Hanning. I said it was unnecessary to lay out a settlement for the exclusive use of foreigners, we only wanted a Custom house to be opened. He instanced Changsha as showing the necessity of providing a place for foreigners; for he said that in Shanghai for instance, there was no redress if some one built an upper story to overlook his neighbour or put up a 4 storied building wch. shut out the sun from the neighbour. Incidentally he let out that he had a hand in drawing up the Chinanfu settlement regulations.

Mining regulations. Two huge vols. have been handed over to him, but he has not been able to read them thro'. Out of 144 articles he has read about 1/6. They contain a great deal that is absurd & simply obstructive, and it was ridiculous to put such a matter in the hands of a man like Chang Chih-tung, who had no practical knowledge.

- 15 “ Some of the willows show signs of leaf buds swelling. Uchida came to say that Japan intends to keep small detachments at Shanhaikwan, Chinwangtao and Tongku, independently of the decision the Russians may take as to the first of these. The number to be left at Tientsin he does not know. He told Mumm last night.

[Swiss merchant] E. de Bavier of Shanghai came to ask for an introduction to T'ang Shao-yi, in order to make an offer of money to buy back their railways, the only conditions being a mortgage of the lines and management by a foreign staff apptd. on the lines of the Imperial Customs. In ans. to the question who he had behind him, he said the Barings, J.P. Morgan and French capitalists. Told him Morgan's name stank here on account of the Canton-Hankow line redemption, and that as the Peking-Hankow (wch. is the line he is first thinking of) is already partly French it wld. be absurd to buy out one set of Frenchmen by the aid of another. Thereupon he said the money could be got in England and America alone, without Morgan: the Rothschilds also would be in it; and there would be more money afterwards for other railways. So I wrote to T'ang who made an apptmt. for him.

- 16 “ Mumm came to say he was rather disturbed at the frequent statements in the native papers that Père Lacruche had tried to murder the magistrate Chiang as they might produce a general feeling of hostility towards others, including German missionaries, & he thought the Chinese govt. ought to deny their truth. I told him all I knew of the facts wch. entirely

1906

exonerated Père Lacruche. He seems disposed to meddle & make mischief, for the German missionaries are few, only in Shantung and Pakhoi, so there is no real cause for this simulated anxiety on his part.

I talked to him abt. the way in wch. both the Municipal Council & the Consular Body at Shanghai had exceeded their powers with regard to the Alhambra case, & asked whether in July last he had recd. fr. Knappe any information as to what the Consuls were doing in regard to the Mixed Court. He said "No".

Rockhill came. He is much perturbed abt. instructions he had recd. fr. Washington to ask that the Viceroy of Canton shld. be punished, for the Lienchou missionary massacre & other things, wch. he thinks will do harm, unless his govt. are prepared to follow up the demand by enforcing it. I said that in his place I wld. strongly put before my govt. the necessity of making up their minds to a demonstration in force before putting forward such a demand. In regard to Nanch'ang I was waiting for Werner's written report, and wld. then after consulting Dubail recommend to H.M.G. the demands to be made.

He talked as if troubles were imminent, but agreed with me that tho' the situation was difficult it was not dangerous.

The new rule that the Mixed Court magistrate is not to impose sentences of more than 60 days imprisonment he says must have been known to Wu [Ting-fang] when we discussed the amendments to the rules with him, and yet he said nothing about it. Wu is a 'pig'. I agreed. His secy. is making some notes on the contents of the Hsingpu memorial in the Chunghua Pao, so I said I shld. send on Mumm's circ. containing the teleg. of protest from the consular body and our translation of the memorial, so that he might add Williams' observations.

17 " Dined at the Rockhills to meet a young Mr. & Mrs. Harriman, American pluto-crats, who are travelling round the world at a great pace, and seem to have automobilism on the brain.

Rockhill saw Nat'ung this afternoon & talked to him for an hour and a half about the dissatisfaction of the American govt. with the Viceroy of Canton, but did not deliver any demand for Ts'ên's 'punishment'. He said the recent decree was nothing but words, words, and urged that the Govt. shld. take action. Na treated it all in rather an airy fashion, but promised to repeat all that had been said to Prince Ch'ing.

18 " With Campbell and Hosie by 7 o'clock train to the Cottage. After breakfast Hosie and I walked over to Ta-tsing-ih village for him to photograph the image of Kwanyiu Pusa. Brilliant forenoon, but wind from the S. got up about ½ past 12, raising clouds of dust, and we returned by the 3 o'clock train.

[Margin: 24 Mar. Lunch at Na's given by Syu Chie nai, Changpo hsi & Jung-ching to Mumm,

1906

Uchida, Dubail & myself. Dub. excused himself.]

Mar. 22 Heavy snow during the night, quite unexpected, changing to fine snow abt. nine o'clock.

Went to Uchida & told him of Cambon's statement to Sir E. Grey on Feb. 22 that Japan was agst. withdrawing troops because of the disturbed condition of things in China, and asked if it was so. He said he cld. not understand how Cambon came to make such a statement, wch. was quite unfounded. He had not yet heard how many would be left at Tientsin, but he supposed abt. 500, wch. is the present force. Prob. they would all be changed, as they had served in China throughout the war. I told him I had no fresh instructions, & that I was waiting for Russia to speak.

Snow all day. The Empress-Dowager sent to put off the Ladies' audience, as it would be so disagreeable for them to have to walk thro' the snow and slush.

“ 23 It has turned quite cold again, tho' thawing. Dined with the Uchidas, and took him in. Talking with Laribe the Fr. commandant, I told him we were waiting for the Russians to declare themselves about Shanhaikwan. He says the Italians keep an officer & a certain number of men at that place during the summer, and that he does not know anything about the departure of the French troops, but that 600 will remain at Tientsin.

“ 24 E. Sabbione came to show me the teleg. apptg. him to be Lister Kaye's agent. He has been talking to his friends among the Chinese, who say it will be difficult to get the Anhui gov[ernor] who is afraid of the gentry, to let Kaye go on; but evidently the only hope is to induce the local people to give way, and he is trying to find a Chinese to undertake to go down to the province for this purpose; hitherto he has been unsuccessful, as no one likes to undertake the job. I explained to him how the question stands, and the action taken by the Legation from time to time.

To Rockhill, to try and move him to follow the example of Mumm & myself in writing to the W.W.P. abt. the improper proceeding of limiting the powers of the Mixed Court magistrate while they were negotiating with us on that very subject. I hope he will do it, but he is rather an uncertain prop.

The elmtrees are in full bloom, that is the stamens in bunches that form the flowers are quite developed.

26 Mar. A huge luncheon given at the Wagons-Lits to the whole Diplomatic body by Hsü Shih-chang the minister of Police and his colls: T'ang says he is coming to see me on the 30th in the morning. Talking to Couget I said to him that I thought it very undesirable to let missionaries arrange with the officials questions concerning the missions & he entirely agreed with me, said it was quite Dubail's view (D. was not there); but perh. he understood it of Nan'chang alone. I said that as soon as I had Werner's report I would consult with

1906

Dubail as to the measures that we shld. take with regard to the responsible officials; he replied that it was very desirable that we should ask the same thing in concert.

29 [March] Mumm and Rockhill came to discuss draft of a joint Note protesting against the limitation of the powers of the Mixed Court magistrate wch. I had sent to M., and we added a short sentence at the end asking for a speedy answer.

Luncheon at Nat'ung's given by the Waiwupu to the Diplomatic Body. Mumm, Dubail and Cárcer were absent. Mgr. Jarlin says that the falsehoods in regard to the Nanch'ang affair wch. the Chinese press is busily disseminating have not yet produced any evil effect on the minds of the people, but eventually they will filter downwards and he is rather concerned about the future.

Bad dust storm got up about halfpast twelve. Coming back we met a florist carrying a white cherry tree in full bloom, and I hear one was seen in that state four days ago in the city w. of the Chien mên.

30 Long discussion with T'ang over the text of the Tibetan adhesion agreement, and we finally came to an understanding subject to approval by the respective govts. I also mentioned the "Columbia", Suchow-Hangchow-Ningpo railway and one or two other subjects (B. & N.[?] & S'hai Mixed Court). He said he wld. tell Prince Ch'ing of my suggestion that subscription lists shld. be opened in China as well as in London for loans required for the construction of B. & C. Corpn. railways.

Walked to the Shenchí men [gate], half a dozen pink and white peaches in bloom.

April 1906

1 April. Some Forsythia in blossom yesterday, and the purple lilacs coming on fast, their branches of buds being fully disclosed. The apricots are pinkish, and some willows in well-protected places quite green. Holly hocks fast appearing above ground. Gardener beginning to uncover the vines and to spread them out on their trellises again.

3 April Forsythias and apricots in full bloom.

4 " Dubail came with a teleg. fr. Halgouet giving his ideas of what ought to be demanded in the case of the provincial authorities at Nanch'ang, deprivation of rank and removal for the Governor, dismissal from the public service of the Judge, and exile of 4 notables. I promised to let him know my ideas later on.

T'ang Shao-yi & Lienfang called at the request of Prince Ch'ing to say that he hoped the Nanch'ang affair would be disposed of before my departure. I told them I had not yet fully considered Werner's report, and must lay my conclusions before H.M.G. In two or three days I thought I should be able to tell the Prince what I thought necessary. Lectured them

1906

about the infamous prints in the Nanfangpao, Chunghuepao and Peiching Jih-pao, and the necessity of keeping these newspapers in order. T'ang began to say that foreign newspapers wrote a great deal that was objectionable also, but I reminded him that the foreign press never was followed by public meetings at wch. inflammatory speeches were made & riots got up in which Chinese houses were destroyed & Chinese women & children murdered, so that the same necessity for restraint did not exist, which closed his mouth.

In the afternoon saw Dubail, and proposed to him to demand the dismissal in perpetuity of the Govr. Hu Tingkan, loss of rank and transfer elsewhere of the Judge and Treasurer, in accordance with the decree of 1901. He agreed to this. Will go to the W.W.P. on the 8th and I on the 9th to put these forward. Telegraphed to the F.O. accordingly.

Dubail was at Tientsin the other day and saw Yuan Shih-kai, who spoke about the Nanch'ang affair to him, and it is possible that the visit of Lien-fang and T'ang was the consequence of that conversation. They went afterwards to Dubail, who acc. to his account spoke to them strongly about the responsibility of the high provincial officials, & said he wld. not present his demands until he had agreed with me, wch. was I think scarcely fair of him, as he will be able to tell them that I am his Jorkins ¹, who will not give way.

6 “ Went to Dubail and told him that F.O. approves of the proposals regarding Kiangsi Govr., Treasurer & Judge wch. I had telegraphed to them, & that they have informed the Fr. Ambassador. He undertook to go to W.W.P. on 8th and tell them, I to do it on the 9th. On my asking him if he thought we shld. get it, he said that we could ultimately drop the ‘in perpetuity’ part of the Governor’s dismissal.

7 “ Several of the double *Prunus triloba* in the back garden have two or three fully developed flowers. The herbaceous peonies are coming up, pink shoots just appearing. *Ailantus* leaf buds beginning to swell. Duststorm in the afternoon. To the Cottage with Carnegie.

9 “ Returned from the Cottage. 1 pear tree fully out, some white plum blossoms, a good deal of *Prunus triloba* out, and a few blossoms of white double peach. Purple lilacs will be out in a day or two.

Dubail came to tell me of his conversation with the Waiwupu yesterday about Nanch'ang. He saw only Nat'ung & Chü Hung-chi, to whom he presented the list of people who should be dealt with as agreed upon between us. He had added to the list three minor officials and five gentry. He merely stated what he desired, and left them to consider the matter. As to money payt. Halgouet asked 200,000 taels for “moral reparation”, which he thinks excessive, 250,000 for buildings, 50,000 for the five Marist brothers, a monument

¹ Mr. Jorkins, a character in *David Copperfield* by Charles Dickens.

1906

to P. Lacruche. I made some remarks on the large sums, and the Wealth of the R.C. missions, comparing his figures with our moderate claim of £4,700. He explained that his principle was always to ask for a hospital or a school, as he could not get money on acct. of murder of a missionary, who was not a 'soutien de famille' [breadwinner]. But 200,000 taels was more than necessary. I asked him about the statement telegraphed by Werner about a demand for a piece of land outside Nanch'ang on the bank of the river, and he said it was untrue.

He has recd. a teleg. asking him what arrangements are to be made after the partial withdrawal. The Germs. he learns from Tientsin will have a major at Peking and one at Tientsin. The Fr. idea is to have a chef de bataillon at the latter. I told him that we shld. keep 1000 men at Tientsin and after the departure of Genl. Ventris a full Colonel. What the Japanese mean to do I could not say.

Mr. Meech, Dr. H.H. Lowry and Gilbert the manager of the [Peking] Y.M.C.A. came to ask whether the building for the latter, including a hall wch. on Sundays would be used as a Union Church might not be placed on the N. glacis near the stone bridge. I said that if they would write me a letter stating exactly what they want, I wld. examine into the possibility of allowing this to be done, but I rather thought it wld. be precluded by our undertakings with the Chinese.

To Waiwupu at 4 with Carnegie & Campbell. Present Nat'ung, Chü Hung-chi and Lien-fang. Asked about reported disturbances in S. Honan. They say it is quite quiet again.

Then discussed Burmese Frontier North, Lister Kaye, the Su-hang-Ning railway, Shanghai riots and Nanch'ang. In regard to the last I counselled them spontaneously to proceed agst. the high officials, instead of waiting for our demands. But they replied that they were waiting for the full report wch. Liang Taotai would bring with him, and that would arrive in three days. So I let them understand that the Govr. ought to be dismissed from the public service altogether, and a lesser penalty to be inflicted on the Treasurer and Judge. Na-t'ung has charge of this affair, as Chü has of the Burma frontier.

Dined at the Wagon-lits with Lü Chuan-lin and K'uei-chun the former viceroy of Szechuen. Bredon, Hillier, Campbell and Mayers, four of the Japanese legation, Nat'ung, Pulun, Na's younger brother & Wu Ting fang.

a Mr. Kenyon Vaughan Morgan, young gentleman travelling for the Morgan Crucible Co. presented a letter of introduction from the F.O. Said I would give him letters to all the Consuls at ports he wished to visit, as they would know best to whom to introduce him; with wch. he was quite satisfied.

10 April Purple lilacs just opening a bud here & there. Elms forming their seed vessels.

A couple named Bidder, he formerly of Valparaiso, dined. He had a letter of

1906

introduction from Bishop Stirling. Solid man say about 48 & his wife, stoutish, tip-tilled [i.e. snub] nose, has travelled a great deal, and was formerly married to an Italian.

- 12 [April] Purple lilac almost fully out, but of white not a single bud. *Viburnum fragrans* in flower. Pears in full bloom, no apple blossom as yet, but a single bud of *Pyrus floribunda* open. Leaf buds of *Kabrentium*[?] and *Catalpa bungeana*¹ beginning to unfold. *Ailantus* swelling fast, but not yet open. Yesterday the leaves of young *Sophora* and of lower branches of old individuals beginning to show. The Cycads, pomegranates, oleanders and other hot house plants put out in the open.

Mumm came yesterday to say that he is off on the 21 or 23 to Japan. Sorry to go, as there is so much more to do here. Seems to be doubtful whether Bülow will be able to carry on, in wch. case younger Hohenloh is almost certain successor. What with the work of the Imperial Chancery, and having to satisfy in turn the Emperor and the Reichstag, no man can stand it long. It was much easier with the old Emperor William, who hardly ever interfered in business. In Richthofen and Bülow Mumm says he loses his two best friends.

He asked if Lo[Lü?] Chung-yao had been to see me. I said yes, and gave him an account of my conversation about the Shanghai riots indemnity; and expressed the opinion that the Shanghai people who had clamoured for a Mixed Court Magistrate of higher rank wld. find when they had got him that he was not under their thumb, wch. is what they want.

- 13 “ Good Friday. Frank James of Yokohama turned up, having come from Hankow overland by rail, very uncomfortable & dirty. Halgouet and Liang returned by the same train. He dined with me, and showed some capital photographs of gilt bonze images looted in 1900 from Wan-shou-shan, apparently by the Italians, and sold thro' a German in Tientsin to a Japanese named Yamamoto, who has them shown in the Kiōto museum: some are Buddhist, five are of Sages: average about six feet, without their pedestals.

- 14 “ A few blossoms of white lilac out. The double pink plums are going off. No signs of blossom on *Pyrus japonica* this year, same is the case with some apple-trees. *Pyrus floribunda* deep red buds beginning to open into pink.

- 15 “ Easter Sunday. Bishop Corfe, Eastes & Coates to lunch. I notice today one *pyrus japonica* with a few blossoms. The vines are sprouting. Hai-t'ang half in full bloom. Young *ailantus* and *catalpa bungeana* leaf buds opening out.

Talked after church to Rockhill about the dilatoriness of the Chinese with regard to the powers of the Mixed Court magistrate, & said that if the matter were not speedily arranged I should go to Prince Ch'ing and tell him I intended to ask H.M.G. for powers to ignore the magistrate, let the Assessor decide cases by himself, and land troops to occupy Shanghai.

¹ Probably a variant of *Catalpa Bungei* (Beijing or Manchurian *catalpa*).

1906

- 16 “ Went to Dubail and found he was satisfied with the decree dismissing the govr. of Kiangsi and censuring the treasurer & judge of the province which came out last night. Du Halgouet says the officials wld. not show him the commandant of the Ch'ang-pui-chun, whom he consequently suspects of being a Japanese, as is also the editor of the Nanch'ang local newspaper. Dubail also desires to insist on the head of the students and four nobles who issued the express, and he agrees with me that the Chinese govt. must instruct the provincial and all other authorities to prohibit public meetings wch. have for their avowed object the discussion of international affairs.

Heavy shower of rain, with thunder & lightning about noon.

Morrison came back last night, looks very fit.

Mumm came. Intends to go on the 23rd by train to Hankow & then down river. Is going to send me the archives of the decanat on the 18th.

- 17 “ One result of yesterday's rain is that the Albizzia leaf buds are issuing from what have looked like dead branches. The elms are full of green seed vessels and leaves partly developed. Xanthemums in full bloom. ¹

Morrison came to lunch. He saw Lord Lansdowne early in October, who told him I was going to leave Peking and said they would have difficulty in filling my place. I confess my impression from the receipt of [Eric] Barrington's teleg. of 19 Aug. was that they did not want me to remain, but would soften the execution by giving me another year, and his letter of Oct. did not remove this impression, for why should he have enlarged as he did on the value of the 5 years rule if it was not intended to apply to me.

Dined at Pokotiloff's. Dubail says the Provincial judge of Kiangsi & Chang Chih-tung demand that the inquiry should be re-opened. He sent Halgouet & Morisse to the Waiwupu to say this was a preposterous proposal, wch. could only be met by insisting on the judge being immediately dealt with by way of exclusion from office for life. They haggled for two hours and a half and eventually came down to 8 years, but Dubail will accept 5 years if he cannot get more. There will be much difficulty about the notables, as no evidence producible in a court of law was obtainable against them, and all Halgouet had got was from servants who had overheard them conferring about the issue of the express calling a public meeting.

- 18 吳重喜 Wu Chung-hsi the new acting govr. of Kiangsi came to call, a very lively old fellow, who said he was 70, but did not look it.

Lien-fang and T'ang Shao-yi came later on to discuss the sentences to be pronounced on the Govr. & Provincial judge. After much talk I got them to accept the idea that the

¹ This sentence has been crossed out and “A mistake for a tall lilac seen fr. a distance” written above it.)

1906

Waiwupu shld. write & inform us that the Govr. would not be given another post, & that the Judge being reduced to the rank of Prefect would not get employment for 3 or 4 years. Also told T'ang that I was authorised to sign the adhesion agreement as modified at our last conversation, & promised at his request that I wld. give him something in writing abt. our agreeing verbally that they might employ foreigners in Tibet for 12 mos. after signature of the adhesion agreement. He has now to get his full powers, and then the copies will have to be written out, & thinks we can sign in 10 days.

- 19 “ Dub. came to say that Lien-fang and T'ang had been with him this morning. I told him the result of my conversation of yesterday, & he replied that he had said almost the same thing. They were now going to Prince Ch'ing.

In the afternoon he came again & said he had been to the Waiwupu, where he had been told that the Empress-Dowager had been very angry at the conduct of the Prov. Judge & had ordered that to the sentence proposed by the Board of Civil Office shld. be added words prohibiting his future employment & these four characters had been added by the Emperor. D. is jubilant & rejoiced at the excellent result of the co-operation wch. had benefitted us both, & recalled the old days of 1860 when England & France pulled together in China. Then he praised himself for always being straightforward & courteous in his relations with the Chinese, wch. they greatly appreciated. I agreed that it was the proper thing to do, & added that I was not proficient in table-thumping.¹

- 20 “ Thos. Fraser, with a letter of introduction fr. F.O. & also fr. Tommy Whitehead, of the Chartered Bank, wanted to know what the situation really was in China. Told him my opinion, just as I have to F.O. Major Blair C.R.E. Tientsin abt. necessity of rebuilding hospital &c. in the guard's quarters. Promised to give such support as the General & he desire.

- 21 “ Down to Tientsin with Carnegie & Campbell, to say goodbye to Yüan Shih-kai, who entertained us, the consulate staff, Genl. Ventris & his staff to lunch. No business talk whatever. Wu Ch'ung-hsi there also. To Peking again afterwards.

Xanthemums beginning to bloom.

- 22 April Duststorm. Bishop Corfe, Hosie & Eastes to lunch. Dined with Kuei-chun at the Wagons-lits. He had asked Mumm & 3 of his legation, but M. declined as he was engaged to the Rockhills. Campbell & I were punctual, and we waited & waited for Goltz, Krebs & Hauer, who it was finally discovered had intended to decline as well as Mumm, but had not done so. However, they did not come and we sat down after waiting half an hour. The other guests were Chang Têyi, returned recently from London, Sun Pao-chi who has come

¹ See the use of this phrase in 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.

1906

back from Paris, a tall, good-looking man, who travelled in B[ucuttès?] while at his post, Hu yü-fên a Fr. interpreter of the Waiwupu.

- 23 “ Teshima and Kamei both came to pump me abt. the Tibetan negotiations. I replied that they must not put too much faith in what Chinese newspapers stated. To the latter I hinted that if the Russians did not clear out of N. Manchuria, the Japse. wld. remain in the S. wch. he seemed to think quite natural. On my saying that the Chinese spoke strongly against Japan and said the Russians were preferable, he smiled and replied nigeta Sakana itsudemo ōki [the fish that got away is always large].

Read the greater part of Vol. 1 of Genl. Mercer's Journal of the Waterloo Campaign, an exceedingly interesting book, his description of the part his battery took in the battle is most lifelike.

Mumm went off by the night train to Hankow on his way to Japan. A great crowd to see him off, some also for Lady & Miss Hart, who however did not go. Very picturesque scene, the platform lit up by electric lamps, guard of honour, music, crackers.

- 24 “ Morrison came to ask abt. the Mixed Court magistrates' powers of imprisonment having been restored, so I told him the whole story, also abt. the revision of the Mixed Court rules, going back to 1902! He asked abt. Tibet, having heard that the adhesion agreement was to be signed on the 27th, wch. he thought Uchida must have learnt from T'ang. He wanted to know the contents, but I put him off, merely saying that it was satisfactory, tho' not going so far as men like Younghusband wld. have desired. He also was interested abt. the alleged diplomatic success of the Germans regarding 'evacuation', so I read to him extracts from my journals of 23 & 24 Oct. He now quite sees that at the time it was suggested in his conversation with Lord Lansdowne it was not appropriate to the existing circs. He also talked about my successor, and believes Ld. Lansdowne had suggested [John Newell] Jordan, for when he saw Sir E. Grey & John Morley together at the India Office, the latter said quite naturally that he understood Jordan was to be the man of compliments to myself no stint. I said that I thought there was another consideration not to be left out of sight. What was the good of having Secretaries of Legation, like [Reginald] Tower & [Walter] Townley, who worked hard & took their share of the minister's labour, if they were to be passed over. As to Tower he replied there wld. be an outcry, for he had by no means given satisfaction in Siam, but Townley would be welcomed by every one. However he was wanted at Washington. Durand felt himself a failure, & had offered to go, but the government loyally stuck by him. Roosevelt had let it be known that the relations betw. the Embassy and the Dept. of State were not of that cordial & confidential character that was fitting. So Raikes & Dering who were impossible had been got rid of, & Townley sent there to put things straight. Doubtful whether he cld. be spared at present,

1906

but later, if he cared to have Peking after Jordan it wld. be at his disposal. M. understood that the S'hai branch of the China Association were recommending the men recently spoken of by the N.C.D.N. [North China Daily News]. It was a mistake to put forward Warren, who wld. never do. I rejoined that E.H. Fraser was hardly of sufficient standing. It must not be forgotten that the minister had to rule the China Consular Service, and that Jordan is junior to both [Pelham] Warren & [R.W.] Mansfield. To this he said that both of them had declared their willingness to serve under Jordan. The chances of the latter, I concluded, are very good.

25 [April] T'ang [Shao-yi] writes that he will be prepared to sign at 3 pm on the 27th. So I sent off another teleg. to F.O. to hurry their reply about the place and limit of time for exchange of ratifications. It seems Wang Tahsieh telegs. that yesterday it was given out in London that signature wld. take place on the 27th. It seems as if the F.O. could not keep a secret for 5 minutes; & yet they have not yet told me to sign! But [unfinished sentence]

26 “ Teleg. fr. F.O. approving signature & proposal to leave on 3 May.

Lunch at Prince Ch'ing's to myself, Uchida & Dubail. Arranged for farewell audience on the 3rd and to leave on the 4th. D. & I have agreed as to the govr. of Nanch'ang to accept the removal of the Govr. fr. office, but difficulties are still made about the letter of excuse from the notables. Chü Hung-chi said they were willing that I shld. receive such a letter thro' them, but cld. not procure it for D. I replied that I could not accept it in that case.

Called on the Rockhills, to tell them I am going.

27 “ Dubail came to say goodbye. He is off on the 2nd May. Has reduced his indemnity for Nanchang to 300,000 taels. Wld. like to get the letter from the notables. He congratulated me on the termination of Tibet negotiations. I said we had removed all ground for anyone to object to our agree[men]t with Lhasa.

To Waiwupu and signed the Convention providing for the adhesion of China to the Lhasa Convention with T'ang. He had with him two young Cantonese belonging to the railway who had accompanied him to Calcutta: Carnegie, Campbell, Mayers & Eastes with me. The binding together of four sets of copies, the signatures and the sealing took nearly two hours, much longer than any one would have expected. Afterwards we made little speeches to each other, & T'ang said that the set- [settlement?] was perfectly satisfactory to the Emperor. Not a little curious part of the business is that T'ang & I have agreed to pretty nearly the same thing as what he refused to sign with Fraser at Calcutta. Dined at the Cárcers, a farewell dinner to Dubail; all the Fr. Legation, the Russian & Belgian pairs.

28 Left cards on the American & Dutch legations. Dined with the Greys.

29 Left cards on the Barolis, de Almeidas & Cárcers. The yellow briar is now in

1906

bloom. In sheltered places the irises have shot up their blue buds.

30 With Carnegie to say goodbye to [Austrian envoy Eugen Ritter von] Kuczinski. He talked abt. the Shanghai riots & claim for compensation, and it was not difficult to see he had been coached by Mumm or some one else who has been intriguing agst. us. I professed to admire his mastery of the arguments put forward on the other side, & gave him my view of the evidence agst. the Taotai. Finally he said he would write to his consul-general for information, in order to enable him to decide whether to press the Austrian claims (for \$800 or so) on the Chinese. Prob. the idea of Mumm is that I shall fail in obtaining compensation & that his people can sue the Municipal Council, wch. wld. put the whole position of the latter in question. He is quite capable of trickery of this kind. The Germans must be furious with us just now for having completely defeated their attempts to detach us from France at Algeciras.

Left cards on [Mexican envoy Ignacio] Altamira & [Pablo Herrera de] Huerta.

Prince Ch'ing came to pay a farewell call. He did not say a word on any official matter.

Then left cards at the Russian Legation. Saw only Pokotiloff. In discoursing abt. my departure, I told him that the Luhan [railway] charged £157.10 for a locomotive to take the private car on & catch up the 7 o'clock train, to wch. in a blundering manner he said "You should have got T'ang to put it in your convention abt. Tibet" ! I took no notice of this, and said not a word to him on the subject. Later on I took an opportunity of making a few remarks abt. the nonsense printed by the Chinese papers and my astonishment that anyone could believe it; wch. was meant for him.

Poko. told Morrison, I learn from the latter, that Benckendorff has been informed by Sir E. Grey that the statement in the "Times" abt. the contents of the convention was incorrect. I have no doubt this statement will turn out to be the teleg. sent to Shanghai fr. here on 23rd, wch. is the most utter rubbish.

Coming back I met Baroli and brought him in here. His object was to ask me for lunch, wch. I accepted for Wednesday. Tibet being mentioned he told me the story about Gallina's supposed intermeddling in 1904, and I repeated to him what Prince Ch'ing & Vitale had said to me at the time.

Dined with Tsai Chên, Carnegie & Campbell. He had T'ang, Lienfang, Ku Chaoshin and one or two more. They said they were coming out with draft press law & the Waiwupu wld. ask the Foreign Ministers to prohibit the publication of newspapers in Chinese in the foreign settlements. I counselled him against this, wch. wld. look like an attack on the liberty of the settlements. Their best plan was to enact the law, and then ask us to prohibit our countrymen from publishing papers in Chinese. If they had done that while I was here, I wld. have advised H.M.G. to approve of it, even if other powers did not agree.

1906

May 1906

May 1. [J.O.P.] Bland and Collinson came about the balance of the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. loan. I told him he had better see T'ang, and that the latter wld. prob. wish to get more than 90 for the bonds. The Canton-Kowloon Rlwy. is of less interest to the Corporation, but the Su-hang-ning is, and it is on that account that the line as far as Soochow is made a double one. Carnegie was with me. I advised Bland to settle matters as far as possible without official intervention.

Left cards at the Fr. & Germ. Legations. Met Dubail in the street, who said they had nearly got to an agreement with the Chinese abt. Nanch'ang except a few details abt. punishment of minor persons. I replied that I had told the Chinese I shld. be contented with any arrangement that satisfied him.

Uchida came to say goodbye. He laughingly anticipated a good deal of trouble with the General Staff, if he goes to the Gaimushō, about Manchuria.

With Mrs. Carnegie calling on Mme. Uchida, Mme. Abé, Mme. Brisard[Brisaud?], Mme. Morisse, Mme. Saussine, Mme. Piry, Mrs. Porter and left cards on the other men and [Sir Robert] Bredon.

Dined with Hu Yü-fên, Carnegie, Campbell, Mayers, Garnett & Hosie. Li Hung-chang's grandson, Wu Ting-fang, little Tsêng and Hillier, also the compradore of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, and a man belonging to the railway.

May 2 To see Dubail off by the 7 o'clock train. A considerable number of persons to see him off, nearly all the colleagues, Père Cappy, Mgr. Jarlin, Carnegie, Campbell and Garnett. I have given my pot plants to the Legation ladies. The cottage sold to Morrison with all its contents for the price I fixed \$4000. It cost me more than 4700 taels, but I have had a great deal of pleasure out of it, since it was built in 1902.

Told Sir Robt. Hart that Chang Tê-yi had not been to call on me, wch. I thought wrong. He was of the same opinion.

Sent photographs to Lun Peitze & Hu Yü-fên. Called on Wu Ting-fang to say goodbye but he was out.

Went on to Sir Robt. and after mentioning the question of rice re-export fr. WHW. and the extension of the harbour limits at Newchwang, I said they wld. prob. ask me at home what his plans were, & tho' I did not wish to put indiscreet questions, I shld. be glad of any information he cld. give me.

He said his wife & dau. in consequence of the earthquake at Frisco had abandoned their intention of going home at once, and they wanted him to take them home in Oct. or

1906

April next. He fears the English winter, so prob. wld. not go before the spring, and then only on leave, as that wld. facilitate his handing over to some one else. Had H.M.G. modified their views as to Bredon. I said that communications I had recd. fr. Lord Lansdowne not long before he left office were in the same sense as before, & that I had heard nothing fr. Sir E. Grey. He rejoined that Bredon having been induced to leave his retirement by H.M.G. and come out here, he felt bound to recommend him in his own place, but whether the Chinese govt. & the powers wld. approve of him was another question.

I said the F.O. had made this pie, and increased the confusion by not following my advice.

He added that each time he expresses his desire to go the Empress-Dowager presses him to stay. I said naturally she did not wish him to depart before she did. Dined with the Campbells, Morrison, Bower and Rockhill.

May 3 Audience to say goodbye, going on leave. Carnegie & Campbell with me. The Emperor as usual spoke not a word. E-D in very good humour, and said she was giving me a water coloured drawing by herself. She did the same by Dubail, I afterwards learnt. After I had got back to the Legation came some fine tea in silver canisters, and some evil smelling sweetmeats. T'ang Shao-yi sent me a Kanghsi bottle of 'clearness of the sky after rain' as a parting present. Natung his photograph also Pulun. Called on Prince Ch'ing and exchanged compliments.

Then to W.W.P. to say goodbye there, Chü, Na, Lienfang & T'ang. Showed the latter a paraphrase abt. the Russians giving the Dalai Lama an escort of 40 armed Buriats.¹ T. says I may tell H.M.G. that the D-L will not be allowed to go back at present, as they don't want trouble in Tibet. They have sent a Duke and another member of the Imperial Clan to the D-L about a fortnight ago to tell him he must not intrigue with the Russians.

Chü [Hung-chi] came to return my call, and asked what I was going to do. I said 'plant cabbages'. It seems that in Chinese there is a similar phrase to express retirement into private life 閉門種菜.

Prince Ch'ing said he had heard from Wang Tahsieh that Jordan is to succeed me. Tower's apptmt. to Mexico is in the "Times" of the 26th or 24th March, so he at least is out of the running. Chang Tê-yi also called, wch. he ought to have done long ago.

Dined with the Carnegies, Goltz, Couget, Campbell, Morrison, Garnett, Eastes, Bower, Coolidge.

[Satow leaves Peking for the last time.]

¹ Men from the Buriat region of Mongolia.

1906

- 4 “ Started from Peking by 7 o'clock train. On the platform Rockhill & his dau., Rojestvenskys, Couget, Baroli, Oudendijk, Sir Robt. Hart, the London Mission and Hongkong Bank people, Goltz, a guard, Nat'ung, Lienfang, Wu Ting fang, Tang Shao-yi, Tsêng, Hu Yü fên and all our legation, Mrs. Mayers and Mrs. Grey. Very hot day. Stopped the night at Chang-tê Fu. A good deal of sandy country, with poor crops when not irrigated, wheat in ear.
- 5 “ Between Chang-tê fu and the river villages with massive towers, wch. are pawn shop stores. The jujube more frequent. Poppies near the river & beyond it. Fine loess country, very good wheat crops. Crossed the Yellow river at noon, into a loess hill, by a tunnel. Here people live in caves artificial. Pawlownia in flower. More poppies. Plenty of jujube. The poppies white, pink, red, plum colour, sometimes all colours mixed, but more often in separate patches; getting more frequent the further S. we went. Hsü-chou is a fine walled city of irregular contour, surrounded by a broad moat filled with water. The night at Chu-ma-tien a miserable hole of a place.
- 6 “ Though it had clouded over completely yesterday afternoon, the morning was fine, white clouds floating about. We now entered on undulating country, where wheat is grown in fields that later will be converted into rice swamps. First bamboos seen shortly after 8 o'clock, not of large growth. There are Pawlownias plenty and also Catalpa. The only new tree looks like an evergreen oak. The country is well wooded. Sin-yang is an important station, destined to be a junction. Here I found the ubiquitous shepherd's purse. Yesterday N. of the river a fine major celandine, wch. again was abundant at the S. end of the tunnel after the Bridge. The railway rises through a range of mountains which it takes some time to traverse, then issues into a broad valley where the hill tops are crowned with chai or stone built refuges in time of trouble. Gradually it widens out and spreads afar, then we are in the Yangtze basin, a region of cornfields wch. are already being reaped & converted into rice-fields. Then smoke appears on the horizon & an expanse of flood, wch. we skirt to its left and run into the Gare fluviale, where we stop till it is time to run onto the Hankow ville terminus at the back of the French concession. [E.H.] Fraser & Flaherty to meet us. Reith of the Bank, Reynell of Jardines. At dinner the Greaves' of Butterfields. Whistler & his wife of Evans Pugh & Co. Sugdens (she is a sister of the Bushes of Newchwang[]), and the 3 men who met us at the station, [C.W.] Campbell & Flaherty. Pleasantly cool & fresh.
- 7 May Started in the “Cadmus” Comr. Luard at ½ past nine to pay a visit to Chang Chih-tung, who sent carriages to meet the party consisting of Fraser, Campbell, Lt. Strong & myself. We got there at eleven. The only business topic he mentioned was that of newspapers in Chinese. He wants the Powers to prohibit their publication in the settlements, and he would control those published outside. I said that I agreed with him in thinking that the

1906

press needed control, for it was a common thing to publish articles wch. tended to injure friendly relations, and that there shld. be co-operation. But I thought the best way to proceed was for China to enact a press law applicable to her own subjects, and to ask the Powers to prohibit the publication of newspapers in Chinese by their people. I was quite willing to suggest this to H.M.G. if the Chinese Govt. wld. do their part. He seemed quite contented with my promise to put the matter before the govt. on my return home. I told him I was going for a long holiday, and that I should not return to China, but we pretended to promise each other another meeting 20 years hence. We got back at noon, and he came on board to return my call. So we were able to lunch afterwards quietly with Lt. Strong and get away in the early afternoon.

Mizuno the Japanese consul came to call. He talks excellent English. Says Uchida is thought to be a very capable asst. min. for F.A. and if either Saionji retains that portfolio ¹ or Hayashi takes it, he will accept the post of Gaimudaijin. [Minister for Foreign Affairs]

At dinner Geddes, his wife & sister, a Mr. & Mrs. Theodor interested in tea, Finlay in a Russian tea-hong, Alston of the Chartered Bank, young Fletcher, Lt. Strong. Geddes says the trees on the English bund are mostly a kind of ash, of wch. we saw a good many in S. Honan. Went on board the river steamer Tuck-wo of Jardine's & started abt. 11.30.

8 May Fine morning. At 7 passing between hills. Bright red soil, much greenery, truly a magnificent stream. Just passed Wusueh. At 10 o'clock at Kinkiang. Werner came on board, and we landed with him to visit the china shops and silver smiths. Not any china worth looking at, the silver work inferior. Started again at 12.45. Hilly scenery all the rest of the day.

9 May Sundius came on board during the night. We reached Nanking about 10.30, and with Captain Vaughan-Lee of the "Astraea" ² drove to the Viceroy's yamên in about 3/4 of an hour, in a carriage sent by Chou-fu. The latter, now an old man of 70, is still tall and upright. He tried hard to get me to stop & lunch, but I resisted, having sent word by Dr. Lambert that I wld. lunch with Mrs. [Lucy] Ker. The subject of discussion was the mission of Duke Tsai & others to Europe & America in search of a constitution. Chou-fu asked my advice. I said that in my opinion it was no use merely adapting a foreign set of institutions; that China shld. be remodelled on Chinese lines. My suggestion was that once a year the Viceroys & Governors shld. be summoned to Peking to deliberate on matters of common interest to the Empire, and amongst those wch. required to be dealt with at once were currency and judicial procedure. He said he wld. like to have my opinion in writing, wch. I said I wld. try to give him. He also complained that the orders of the Govt. recd. fr. Peking

¹ Saionji Kinmochi was prime minister from January 7, 1906 to July 14, 1908.

² HMS Astraea, built at Devonport dockyard, laid down August 1890, completed November 1895.

1906

were often difficult to carry out because the notables had not been consulted beforehand. It was an idea of his that they shld. be convoked at Peking to give advice.

This seems to me rather an unwise suggestion; if carried out the notables wld. become the real rulers of the country. They wld. prob. desire to enact all kinds of anti-treaty laws, and wld. have to be dismissed just as happened in Japan when the first council was called I 1870.

We drove back to the Consulate. Ker was ill in bed, but I went up & had a few minutes talk with him. Carl the Comr. of Customs & his wife were also there. We had not quite finished when Choufu arrd. to pay his return visit. We talked about the prevailing idea that there was an anti-foreign spirit abroad. He assured me there was nothing of the kind, beyond the foolish talk of some return students. This led to a conversation abt. newspapers & public meetings. As to the latter he had been in communication with Yüan, & they were of opinion that something resembling the Japanese law shld. be enacted, giving the Auth. power to send a police officer to every meeting of over 15 persons, who shld. disperse it if seditious talk was indulged in. As to newspapers I said the govt. were drafting a law. Then he observed that those two laws must be made applicable in the foreign settlements, for if they were only applied outside, seditious people wld. flock into them to enjoy perfect liberty. The newspapers published under the protection of foreign names did much harm, and among them the Japse. were the worst. I told him that I had discussed the subject with the W.W.P. & Chang, & told them if they wld. enact a press law, restricting the publication of newspapers in the Chinese language to Chinese subjects, I wld. recommend H.M.G. to prohibit Br. S.s.; & then they cld. call on the Japse. Govt. to do the same, quoting to them the instance of J.R. Black's newspaper in 187 ? [1876-7] ¹ We got on to the subject of the Shanghai riots. Chan said that tho' our claim was small, if the Taotai were made to pay it, the Chinese who had suffered by the riot much more wld. claim compensation. The expresses calling on the people to close their doors were the work chiefly of two men, who he named, public lecturers. Still he thought the Taotai was to blame. In this matter he was holding aloof. The relations betw. the Taotai & Warren had not been good, & he had scolded the former about a number of small affairs that he had neglected to settle. He hoped I wld. talk to the municipal council and induce them to cooperate in a friendly manner for the peace of Shanghai.

¹ See J.E. Hoare, 'The 'Bankoku Shimbun' affair: foreigners, the Japanese press and extraterritoriality in early Meiji Japan', *Modern Asian Studies*, ix: 3 (1975), pp. 289-302. John Reddie Black (1827-80) attempted to publish a newspaper in Japanese in the Tsukiji foreign settlement in 1876. The Japanese government tried to suppress the paper. Eventually the "Bankoku Shimbun" became the subject of diplomatic negotiations between the Foreign Ministry and the British minister, Sir Harry Parkes. Sir Harry, desiring not to upset British-Japanese relations, decreed that Britons could not publish Japanese-language newspapers.

1906

It seems to me evident that something must be done to enable control to be exercised over the half-million Chinese who live in the foreign settlement, and to enforce press law & public meeting regulations. The former wld. be easy, but the question who should be allowed to close public meeting[s] in the foreign settlement is more complicated. Could a Chinese official be trusted, and wld. a municipal policeman be fit to wield such authority. Again, what guarantee shld. we have that the law was applied outside in regard to press attacks on foreigners, or public meetings called to discuss international matters & excite to hatred agst. foreigners.

Returned on board the [second class cruiser] "Astraea" and started at 5 p.m.

- 10 May We anchored last night abt. 1.30 a.m. & started again at 6. Owing to the necessity of waiting for the tide to turn we did not tie up to the buoy at Shanghai till after five. The new Admiral Sir Arthur Moore came on board to call, then Warren and de Saumarez, the latter of whom took me off to his house very hospitably. Dined at Warrens and sat betw. his eldest dau. & Mrs. Ayscough. Teleg. in the evening papers that [J.N.] Jordan is to succeed me, wch. is an indication of rather indecent haste on the part of the F.O., also one fr. Peking announcing the apptmt. of Tieh-liang and T'ang Shao-yi to administer the Customs, with supreme authority over the Chinese & foreign personnel. This causes great excitement, as it is interpreted to mean the supersession of Sir Robt. Hart.

- 11 May Spent the morning running abt. from one str. [steamer] office to another. Hunter of the Bank showed me a teleg. he was sending to London suggesting that strong representations shld. be made to the F.O. agst. the change in the administration of the Customs. I suggested a modification, taking the view that the change is aimed rather at the manipulation of the customs revenues by the Customs taotais, rather than at the one-man rule of the I.G. In the afternoon drove with the Judge to the Jenner Hoggs to see his garden. The tree wch. Geddes says is an ash he declares to be *Pterocarya* [Chinese wingnut], and he is no doubt right. There is a shrub with woody stems bearing large heads of blossom like a hydrangea, wch. he says is one in fact. I thought it was a quelder-rose, *Viburnum*. He has an enormous camphor tree that he planted 35 years ago.

Dinner at the Judges. I sat next to Mrs. McNeill. The Dudgeons, Lady Bredon & her dau., H.P. Wilkinson, the Warrens, Mrs. Ayscough, Hunter and his sister, Bourne, Douglas the registrar.

Mrs. Bob Little came to see me in the morning. Her husband on his death bed had talked continuously of going to Peking to see me, and of letters that had passed between us. They had in fact intended to start just when he fell ill. She made a bundle of my letters, intending to give them to me, but burnt them last night.

Pittosporum sinense is the name of the evergreen shrub with white sweet smelling

1906

flowers that I thought was a Daphne. Here it grows to a great size, under shade. In Peking it is too delicate to remain out of doors in the winter.

Met Archie Little at the Courthouse, and gave him some good advice abt. managing his concession.

Called on the Baynes and spent an hour with them talking of old friends.

- 12 [May] At the Bank to meet some members of the Committee of the China Assn. Dudgeon, Hunter, Landale, & Clayton. They presented a complimentary address, and I explained to them as far as I was able the position in Manchuria and the present state of the Trademarks question.

Lunch on board the "Alacrity" with Sir Arthur Moore. She is commanded by Leatham, a cousin of Mrs. Carnegie. Little dinner here, Baynes, Bartons & W.P.M. Russell.

- 13 " With a larger party including Admiral Moore, the Judge, Warren & Sir Ch. Dudgeon along the railway to a point 17 m. fr. Suchow near Quin-san where we got into houseboats and were towed 3 miles further to the bridge over the Grand Canal. After lunch, went to the bridge & each took a hand in driving a rivet. Back by 5.30. Drummond called & bored me by a long story abt. advice given by him to the Japanese abt. reformation of their judicial system and granting charters to foreign financial companies, also Dr. Rutherford Harris' endeavours to make arrangements for investing Engl. capital in Japanese industrial enterprises, to the extent of £40,000,000 if possible.

Dined at Hipposleys. Miss Rockhill, Mrs. H's sister Miss Howard, Carls, Baynes, Judge & self. Miss H. sang "Che farò" at my request.

- 14 " Sent a teleg. to Sundius to recall the 'independent' missionary Miss Voek to Anching from Chien-tê, if he thought it advisable, after consultation with the Admiral. Embarked at two in the lander, and left at four in the "Coptic". Miss Rockhill and Mrs. Haskins on board. A certain Mr. Barker, a R.C. [Roman Catholic] in the employ of the Silvertown Co. Cable Co. much interested in the missionary question in China. I gave him at his request my view of the situation.

[At this point Satow leaves China for the journey home via Japan.]

- 16 [May] After a smooth passage arrived at Nagasaki at 5.30 and went ashore after breakfast to Parlett, who is acting consul, with whom & his wife I lunched; also Capt. Jones, R.M.L.I. the naval intelligence officer, going to Yokohama on sick leave. Rainy day. Started again 4 p.m. & about 10 at night anchored, the bell being sounded every few minutes to give warning to passing vessels, the night being so foggy that it was dangerous to proceed.

- 17 " Passed Shimonoseki after breakfast, rain still continuing. Rain and cloud all day. We

1906

passed the southern channel, and about 7 o'clock anchored among the Takayama islands.

18 Arrd. Kōbe and anchored off the quarantine station about 10. Bonar and Phipps, the acting assistant, fetched me off in a launch, and took me to his house. At lunch Bishop Foss, Gordon-Smith, Rent-Phipps [Rentiers?]. Went for a walk with Gordon-Smith, who showed me his latest diaries, with drawings of fish caught by him wch. are new. He is less enthusiastic about Japan than he was, and generally rather a "frondeur" [critic of the powers-that-be]. At dinner Dr. Thornicraft and a young Frenchman named Robt. Louveur[?], engaged in business. We played bridge, & I won ¥23.50. Gave Bishop Foss a cheque for ¥120 for Mrs. Noguchi's pension up to Aug. 1908.

19 " By afternoon train with the Bonars & Rentiers to Kiōto. Henry Marsham met me at the station, to wch. also came T. Blow with a gray beard almost unrecognizable. I put up with Marsham at the Miyako hotel, a new place, overlooking the Yoshida & Kurodani low hill, with Nanzenji on the right just visible among the trees, Hiyeizan in the background, a very agreeable prospect of well wooded hillsides, of varied tints of green from sombre cryptomeria up to the pale gold of evergreen oak.

20 " The Bonars & Rentiers went off to Ishiyama dera with an Austrian Baroness, while Marsham & I went pottering about. First to the house of an old worker in metals named Shō-ami, 75 years of age, courtly old gentleman, who gave us excellent tea and showed some of his work, with which I was not greatly taken; after that we went thro' the rooms of a great curio dealer, who has a magnificent house opposite the Awata Goshō [Shōrenin 青蓮院], w. of Chi-on-in. In the afternoon first to Hayashi, another dealer who looks after Marsham's pots, where we saw kakemono & gold lacquer, and walked thro' the rooms. Then out into the country N. of Yoshida to a nunnery of the Zen, the Keikanji Monzeki, whose lady abbess Rokujō Tokuzen is of high family and possesses some good pieces of lacquer presented by Tokugawas & mikados. She was not at home, but we were recd. by the lady manageresses, who showed us the treasures, and were very polite. They had the manner of French sisters of mercy. From there we walked over the hillside among the trees to Nanzenji & so back to the Hotel. Found here Mrs. Montague Dean, a sister of Willie & Tom Carpenter who used to go to Newcombe's day school, but, I fancy, after my time.

21 " To Tokio with Mrs. Bonar by the 9.45 express, arriving at 9.45 p.m. and put up at the Embassy where we were hospitably recd. by the MacDonalds. The house seems much improved. They have still the old servants, O Fuku, Kokubu & Miyadzu. Slept in the room wch. used to be my library.

In the train was Visct. Inaba, one of the Cambridge set, who speaks English quite well, brother of the Matsura of Hirado. Also a professor Ume, international law man, and three Chinese, one wearing beard whiskers & moustache, and another who spoke Japanese &

1906

English remarkably well. I had been asking Inaba about them and suggesting to him that the bearded man was a revolutionary leader! & that too in the hearing of the gentleman who proved, later, to be so well endowed with languages! He proved to be the Official Censor of Chinese Students at Tokio (or in Japan) and the other an interpreter of the Chinese legation. Into the train at Nagoya got Suyenobu [~~Suyematsu~~ crossed out], but I missed him during the latter part of the journey.

22 “ Drove to see [Baron Albert] d'Anethan, left a card on Mumm, and then walked over to Cholmondeley's, agst. whom I defended the propriety of the choice of the Garter Mission. Mrs. Hugh Fraser [Mary Crawford] and a young man named Robinson, a nephew of Lady Fremantle, at lunch. In the afternoon to call on Ōkuma, who has built himself a house in European style in place of the one that was burnt. He is 68 and rather bald and gray. Talked about old days, & he showed me the syllabus of translation of a book to contain chapters by all sorts of people showing the changes in Japan during the last 50 years, he being editor-in-chief. Then we discussed China, & he told me he had spoken pretty plainly to Tsai-tsê when he was here about the folly of beginning at the wrong end and merely trying to make an army wch. in fact they have no need of as long as the Anglo-Japanese alliance exists. Such a force as Yüan Shih-kai has raised would be easily dispersed by a Japanese division. If they want to imitate the example of Japan let them begin in the same way. At the outset the Japse. too tried to get rid of the foreigner by force. They recognized their error frankly, when this effort failed; and set about making a new govt. on the best principles; and the people then seeing that taxation was for the public benefit and not to supply the vicious pleasures of the ruler, cheerfully paid increased taxes. He said this & a good deal more to Tsai-tse, who asked him to put it down in writing, and left two men behind to help in the preparation of a memo. of advice, wch. extends to 50 or 60 sheets.

Then he talked abt. Mongolia and Kashgar & Ili, & the efforts of the Russians to capture the affections of the Lamas, in Tibet, Urga and Peking. We, that is the Anglo-Japanese Alliance ought to keep an eye on the doings of the Russians. In Japan there are several who can speak Mongol, & some Mongol princes are studying here, particularly Turbat. These people still remember the glories of Genjis Khan. (I suspect the Japanese are trying to revive a military feeling among the Mongols wch. has long seemed extinct.) He has got the Mongol narrative of the exploits of Genjis, wch. is being translated into Japse. for him in the Waseda Coll: He says it goes much more easily into Japanese than into Chinese, on acct. of similarity of construction. Then he told me with pride that of 3 Japanese 'spies' taken and put to death by the Russians, one was fr. Waseda. The number of students he put at 7000, and among them a large number of Chinese, I think 600. Hatoyama is the principal. Next year is the 25th from the foundation. He means to add science & medicine

1906

to the faculties & is building a hospital, so that it will become a real university. Funds are quite sufficient; besides fees 200,000 yen, he has obtained help from capitalists, many of the teachers are former students, the cost is less than in the govt. university, the results are better, for his men turn out into every walk of life, while the others chiefly seek govt. employ.

Went to see O.K. [O-Kane] and Hisayoshi [Takeda, Satow's second son]. The idea of the latter is to go as an assistant to Sapporo Agricultural College, where he cld. always get back in vacations and at any time in three days, if he was wanted [by his mother].

Dined at Matsugatas. Besides the MacDonalds and Mrs. Bonar, there were the Brinkleys and [H.W.] Denison, Nagasaki, two young Matsugatas & their wives, the Chindas. Matsugata told me of a letter recently found written by Saigo Kichinosuke [Saigo Takamori] to Ōkubo Ichizō [Ōkubo Toshimichi] after a conversation on politics wch. he had with me at Ōzaka in 1867, in wch. mention was made of [Léon] Roche's offer to help the Tokugawas with Fr. troops to put down Chōshū & of advice I gave to crush the other daimiōs & restore the Mikado; a long letter, full of detail, wch. he had shown lately to the Emperor, in order to give him an idea of the state of things at that period and the difficulties wch. the restoration party had to contend with. Komura [Jutarō] & his dau. were also there. It is pretty well decided that he goes to London as Ambassador, but his name has not yet been submitted to the Emperor.

23 May Called on Barrera, & Loudon, who has recently arrived here married, having been at London & Paris since he left Peking early in 1903. Also left a card on Harmand. A certain Lady Alexander, who knows the Cargill family & talks of going to stay with the Rockhills in the autumn, Mrs. Awdry & [English-born] Baroness Sannomiya came to lunch. Afterwards left cards [on] Itō, the Chinese Minister and Saionji. Tsudzuki Keiroku came abt. a lunch or dinner that Inouye [Kaoru] is going to give us, and incidentally told me of a historical sketch by I. of the period between his return with Itō from England and the attempt to assassinate him made six months later, wch. he promised to send me to look at. Also Watanabe Shujirō, who brought reprint of my translation of the Kinsé Shiriaku. Went again to Fujimi chō after tea. O.K. brought out a treasure of gold coins, eighty seven yen of the old gold currency, wch. she divided between the two boys, and gave me half to carry to Eitarō. I dined alone, the MacDonalds & Mrs. Bonar having gone to Yokohama to a theatrical performance, and afterwards had a long talk with [J.H.] Gubbins. He says that there is no doubt that the Germans suggested the alliance betw. England & Japan, first to Japan & then to us. What a Machiavellian policy! Engineer hoist with his own petard. Major John C. Somerville 5 Fusiliers, a language man, came to tea, pleasant, fresh-looking young man.

1906

24 [May] Went to Yokohama and took passages in the "Siberia". Transacted business with Caesar Hawkins of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank. At lunch Colonel Hume the Military Attaché. Spent an hour with d'Anethan, who was lying on his sofa, looking quite the old gentleman, left a card on Visct. Hayashi and then to tea with Mrs. Gubbins: there came the Calthrops a language soldier man his mother & sister and the Lindleys (2nd Secy.). Big dinner in the evening, Mumm, Huntingdon-Wilsons, Eckert, Loughlin of the American legation, the Todas, Nagasakis & Chindas. Mrs. Hume & her sister Miss Marshall, Nadelmaker[?] the Wagon lits man & his pretty wife, Loudon and his wife, Bouteneff & Kozakof of the Russian Legation. I sat betw. Mrs. Hume & Mrs. Lindley. After dinner a gramophone!

25 " Went to the Mitsubishi Goshi-Kwaisha Bank and paid in ¥1000. Interviewed M. Kushida, the manager, a young man who speaks English quite perfectly. Lunched with Tanaka, the minister of the household, at the Shiba Rikiu. The MacDonalds & Mrs. Bonar, Todas, Nagasaki, Saito Momotarō, a new man named Watanabe, fat-faced & bearded, old Kagawa & his daughter, whom I took in, Visct. Inaba & others of the Kunaishō [Imperial Household Ministry], a pleasant party. Hanabusa is now Vice minister. Ōkuma caught me just as I returned from the Bank, with his secretary Ōishi. He came to say he must go to Ōsaka tomorrow, and proposed a meeting somewhere for half an hour with men of the 60ties, and a few journalists, as Tokutomi. I agreed.

After lunch wrote my name at the Arisugawas and at the Palace. Sir C. told Tanaka that I ought to be recd. by the Emperor, and that an audience had not been asked for as it was thought that they wld. intimate the Emperor's desire to see one who had been so closely connected with Japan for many years. They said they had been waiting for us to speak, but after some little demur they told him that if an application were made in the usual manner, they would arrange it. So he wrote in a note to the Gaimushō & in the evening was told that it was settled for me to go to the Palace at 11 tomorrow.

Inouye [Kaoru] came. Showed him the records we have of his return with Itō to Chōshiū in 1864 on board the "Barrosa", and promised a copy of my report. But in [F.O.] Adams' history of Japan I found it all printed, so in returning the M.S. to Tsudzuki wrote to him that he wld. find it there. The narrative is very interesting.

Rev. A. Lloyd came to talk about the reprinting of my ancient translation of the first 3 or 4 bks. of the Nihon Gwaishi, wch. he says requires a prefatory note or introduction & revision. I told him I was not able to do this myself & we agreed that the Asiatic Society shld. engage whomever they liked, prob. a professor of the university to do this. He told me also that the Hongwanji are said to possess a M.S. Chinese translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, copied out by the hand of Shinran Shōnin, wch. he hopes to get hold of thro' the Historical Bureau. Mrs. Lloyd was waiting outside, and they both

1906

inquired after Eitarō and Hisayoshi [their former pupils] very kindly.

Went for a walk with Mrs. Bonar by way of the new broad road at the bottom of the Embassy Hill to Akasaka Gate, outside past the Crown Prince's palace, and back by the Yotsuya Gate past the German church.

Good story of the foreign lady who has learnt only two Japanese phrases 'arigatō' [thanks] & 'ikura des' ka' [How much is it?]. In a train a Japanese gentleman having resigned his seat to her, she desiring to thank him, used the latter phrase to his great surprise. Mumm had his ambassadorial reception this evening, to wch. of course I did not go.

26 “ Audience of the Emperor & Empress at eleven. I wore levee dress & orders. The Emperor asked after my health, how long I had been at Peking, and sent messages to the King [Edward VII] and Prince Arthur of Connaught. The Empress put the same questions.

To [O-Kane at] Fujimi chō to give some cheques up to Sept. of next year.

With Mrs. Bonar to the Museum at Uyeno to visit the loan exhibition of articles connected with early intercourse with foreign countries; of these I had seen before those wch. were in the possession of the Mito Tokugawa; there were others belonging to Date of Sendai, Maeda and various private persons. Very interesting folding screens representing the arrival of Portuguese ships, men in trunk hose & priests in black robes. A very polite young English-speaking Japanese showed us round.

Mrs. Geo. Barclay, a very pretty woman, & her daughter of 13 came to tea.

Big dinner of old friends Japanese & English & American. Yamagata, Saionji, Hayashi, Komura, Matsugata, Kodama, Inagaki [Manjirō], Tsudzuki Keiroku, Stone, Denison, D.W. Stevens, Cholmondeley, Capt. Jackson R.N., Col. Ch. Hume, Lindley the 2nd Secy, Col. Murray R.A. who is studying Japanese military education. Matsugata & Yamagata discussed the events wch. preceded 1868. The former was in the batteries at the bombardment of Kagoshima & also with Shimadzu Samuro [Saburo/Hisamitsu] when [C.L.] Richardson was murdered at Namamugi: the latter was wounded in three places at Shimonoseki when the marines & bluejackets landed.

I found Saionji rather doubtful as to the Russian evacuation of Manchuria. We talked abt. China. I told him Yüan Shih-kai was the only strong man, Chang Chih-tung old and incapable of effort, Chou-fu anxious only to avoid responsibility.

Cholmondeley suggested that if I ever wanted a trustee in his place for whatever cause, Webb wld. be a good man.

27 “ Sunday. Went to St. Andrews. Cholmondeley preached. After the service Gemmill took me to see the wooden cathedral church behind. It cost only 3000 yen, and seats far more than double St. Andrews.

Lunched with d'Anethan, a large party to speed on their way Mumm, the Huntingdon

1906

Wilsons and two Austrian ladies. Made the acquaintance of Bakhmetief & his wife. The latter stout and plain.

To a dinner at Inouye's given in my honour. Besides the host there were Itō, Katsura, Hayashi the late Ambassador in London, Katō, Enomoto, Saitō the Minr. of Marine, Komura, Ōtori Keisuke, Shibusawa [Eiichi], Takahashi Korekiyo, Tsudzuki Keiroku, Hayashi Gonsuke, Denison, Stevens, Brinkley. [Margin: Also Inouye's Secy. Ariga Nagabumi]. It was the anniversary of the Battle of the Japan Sea, so I jumped up and proposed the health of Togo [Heihachirō] who had gained the greatest naval victory since the Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis.¹

28 “ Went early & said goodbye at Fujimi-chō. OK says she has given up the idea of adopting a little girl; and will think of getting H.Y. married, as soon as he is able to earn a livelihood.

To an excellent lunch at the official residence given by Visct. Hayashi, Min. for F.A. with MacD. who told me as we went that the “Siberia” is prob. to be put in quarantine for ten days, on acct. of a case of plague on board. This damages all my plans, but it cannot be helped, so I think of paying a visit to Chiuzenji. I sat betw. Visct. Tanaka Min. of the Imperial Household and Baron Komura. Terauchi & Saitō, the Ministers of War & Navy were there, also Conder, Brinkley, D.W. Stevens & Denison. Hayashi told me afterwards that Itō & Inouye propose to ask the Emperor to confer the “rising sun” on me. I replied that I much appreciated this, but prob. could not accept. He said he wld. tell Count Mutsu to ask leave for me to accept. Komura's name has been submitted to the King for Ambassador in London, but they have not yet recd. the reply. K. will go home by Suez in July. Col. Shiba was there too, who is going as Military attaché to London. MacD. coming back fr. this lunch, to whom I told what I had heard abt. the decoration, said he had suggested it last night to Hayashi, who at once took up the idea. I am rather sorry, as people will be sure to suspect that the suggestion came from me. However, it is quite proper that they shld. do it.

Itō, it seems, remained behind last night at Inouye's and gave them a talking to about foreign affairs, & impressed on all present that they shld. be careful not to alienate the goodwill of England & America, wch. Japan happily possesses, by small red tape & pettifogging annoyances in commercial matters in Corea & Manchuria.

At 3.30 to a reception at the Nippon Club given by Minoura, Yokoi (son of Yokoi Heishirō) and others in my honour. Itō, Komura, Hanabusa, Mochidzuki, Kuridzuka the former judge, Watanabe Shinjirō, Old Tsuda Sen, Hirata Tōsuke, Soyeda Jiūichirō and a

¹ Satow does not mention the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805, even though Admiral Togo was often called the Japanese Nelson, or the Nelson of the East.

1906

host of others, Asakawa the author of a book on the events that led up to the Russo-Japanese war, Motoda Hajime, Sassa Tomofusa, Baron Ishiguro, a number of newspaper men, Shimada Saburo, Henry Satoh the Reuter's agent, Sir Claude, Gubbins & Lindley. First of all Minoura made a speech, then I replied saying that while we had been able to communicate to the Japanese the fruits of material civilization, from them we had learnt the true force of the doctrine of filial piety and loyalty, wch. were the most striking elements of Japanese social life. Then I went back to the political condition of Japan before the restoration of 1868, wch. many of those present were too young to have had personal knowledge of, and lauded those who had gone thro' hardships & even laid down their lives, like Yokoi Heishirō, for the sake of the principle of unity, ending by pointing to Itō as one of the heroes of the restoration. Then Itō spoke, & reinforced what I had said abt. loyalty & filial piety being the basis of Japanese society, wch. even a foreigner had been able to recognize, so manifest they were as a social force, & concluded by drinking my health & giving three "Banzai's". To wch. I replied "in a few graceful words" to quote Brinkley's article in tomorrow's paper.

Dined with the Lindleys. Col. & Mrs. Murray, he is here studying the Japanese army, Austrian Secy. & his wife, Mrs. Hugh Fraser, Loughlin of the U.S. Legation and two young Riflemen Coke & Stephenson who are staying with them.

It is fixed that the "Siberia" is detained in quarantine for ten days, & her departure is put off till further notice.

29th

Shuji Isawa a member of the House of Peers came to talk abt. his plans with regard to improving the system of writing Japanese. Apparently he is in favour of substituting the Roman alphabet for the kana & retaining Chinese characters, some 6000 of wch. wld. be sufficient for all purposes.

Shibusawa Eiichi also called. He said money was plentiful & the rate of interest reasonably low.

Nakayama Kuanrokurō from Yamagata to say that I must read the books he has sent me with discrimination. That our relations with Satsuma & Chōshiu had been of the best since we had come to blows, and that the Br. Govt. might reasonably feel that their policy in regard to Japan had been a complete success.

Took Mrs. Lindley to the Museum & showed her the Christian relics. Among the MSS. I detected an almanac giving the names of the saints for each day, and a short summary of doctrine.

To Marchioness Oyama's garden party, where I was received by her and the old Marshal with great cordiality, and met various People, Lera the Mexican Minister & Pereira the Brazilian, who has just been appointed to Bolivia as En. Ex. & c.

1906

Ariga Nagabumi from Count Inouye to ask when I was leaving Tokio. Told him of my obliged change of plans, and that I was going to Nikkō on the 31st. He said in that case he wld. be able to collect the photos. of all those who were present on the 27th at dinner.

30 “ Left cards on the Humes and on Lera the Mexican Minister.

Dined with the Cambridge Club ¹, Sir C. [MacDonald], Gubbins, Lindley and Clive. I sat on the left of Marquis Kuroda opp. was Baron Kikuchi [Dairoku], Visct. Hayashi [Tadasu], on my left Hamao [Arata] the President of the [Imperial] University, near the end of the table Prof. Takakusu [Junjirō] Max Müller's pupil in Sanscrit and Baron Mōri [Gorō]. Healths were proposed in English. Hayashi in replying to the toast of himself mentioned that in 1862 he being a boy of 13 lived opposite to Willis & myself, and remembered my exercising on the parallel bars, a thing I had almost forgotten. We came away at ten. I had much talk with Takakusu afterwards & Hamao, who says the Historical bureau is making collections of documents. Baron Mōri told me that a history of Chōshiu from Perry's arrival in 1854 was being compiled and he would like to send me a copy.

31 “ With H.Y. [Hisayoshi] to Nikkō by the 10.30, getting there at 3.30. Old Arai came by train to Imaishi to meet me. We went off at once to the Alpine garden recently begun at Hotoke-Iwa on the edge of the Inari kawa. Saw Menziesia in flower, a large heath like blossom with pale red cup. The excellent P. Peacock died suddenly today.

June 1906

1 June To Chiuzenji, starting on foot at 8.30 and walked by the upper road to Umagaeshi and the 2 waterfall tea-house by 10.15. Here rested half an hour, looking at the beautifully varied tints of green in the forest thro' wch. the road upwards rides. Plenty of Rhododendron pentaphyllum (shiro-yashio), but no Albrechti (pink yashio); other rhododendron dilatatum plentiful. Lakeside Hotel at 11.35, having done little of the short cuts, for wch. I am not in condition, but felt very fit notwithstanding the unusual exertion. After lunch rowed the Siren, my old boat, over to Tozawa, where the garden is greatly improved. Plenty of Rh. pentaphyllum in flower, looking like fair sized trees. Then to the house where the Churchills were in later times, and to Cheetham's house which was built in 1900. Walked back. Two or three new houses between Uta no hama and the Hotel. After tea along the road N. of the lake, past the landslip that happened 4 years ago, and past all the houses except that of Pourtalès. I think the landslip cannot have had more than a slight local effect in sending water over Kegon no taki, and that it was the continuous rain

¹ For the connection between Cambridge University and Japan see *Japanese Students at Cambridge University in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912* by Noboru Koyama, Lulu Press Inc. 2004.

1906

preceding it that flooded the lower valley and destroyed Dai nichī dō and the red bridge. The gulley cut in the side of Nantai is by no means as wide as I had been led to expect, and it extends not more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the way up, as far as one can judge from below.

C. Thorne of Tientsin, acting Secy. of the Heiho conservancy, introduced himself to me. Is a friend of Eastes, Hewlett & little Porter.

- 2 June Wrote to F.A. Campbell and Sam [Satow] telling them of delay. In a boat down the lake sailing most of the way to Shōbu no hama, and then walked, partly by the bank of the Riudzu stream & then across the moor to the path, getting to Yumoto at 11.15, where we put up at Nanma's [南間] hotel, a new place since my time. Very few flowers, an Enki aulturo[?], & malis acetorella[?] in the Yumoto wood. Asunaro or Thujopsis dolabata in tree form springing up from the trailing plant. Abies tsuga thrusting out horizontal branches to the water resembles slightly the cedar of Lebanon. The larch in leaf but oaks only just bursting their leafbuds; a few cherry trees in bloom, poor flowers. In the afternoon I walked halfway ? along the mountain path to the goldmines, or at least to what seemed to be the highest point, in half an hour. Found a specimen of Trillium Tschonoskii [shirobana enreisō] in blossom.

Jones R.M. the naval intelligence officer of the China squadron turned up at dinner. He is here for his health, and spends his time mostly fishing.

Walked a little way towards the Konsei toge [mountain pass] with H.Y. and then to the head of Yunotaki & back. He went on to the top, and found Vaccinium Yatabei [himeusunoki 姫白の木] and Helionopsis in flower also a tiny white anemone. Left at 1.30 and walked to the Shōbu no hama tea house in abt. 1 hr. 25 min., very slowly. Rested there half an hour for the baggage to come up, and then to the hotel by 4.25. Finished E. Fitzmaurice's life of Lord Granville, who died in 1891. The only time I had an opportunity of speaking to him was in 1884, when I went to thank him for my appoint[men]t to Bangkok. When I came home in 1887 he was out of office.

- 4 June In the forenoon walked to the new waterfall called Shirakumo, down a path that I came across several years ago, wch. the people then said had been a shortcut to Misawa, but it then was broken away one or two turns below the edge of the cliff. The path winds steeply down to where water gushes out in plenty from below the lava bed, and forms a cascade large enough to work electric light for the Lakeside Hotel. From this it works round to a point close in front of Kagon no taki, which was quite dry since the winter.

Had some talk with an old Natal Stockfarmer named Trotter, who is travelling with his wife. Has been 55 years in the colony. Indignant with the late interference of the Govt. in regard to execution of the courtmartialled natives, and hopes the 2000 Imperial troops asked for will not be wanted.

1906

Rained off and on. Started a little after halfpast one down the zigzags to Umagaeshi in 1 hr. 18 min. Rested 20 minutes and taking the lower road was opp[osite] the Nikkō Hotel by 4.27. Into the town to the booksellers. The crowd of visitors who were here for the great annual festival having departed, I got a charming room with a square verandah in front. Felt rather done up after all the walking of the past four days.

5 “ Fine morning. By 11.10 train to Tokio, arriving there at 4.10. Dined with the Lindleys, Gubbins, Hon. Coke & Stephenson of the 60th.

6 “ Went to the Bureau for compilation of Historical materials at the invitation of Dr. Hamao, & was shown various things by Professors Murakami and Mikami, especially copies of documents in European archives relating to the two early Embassies to Europe; also early documents containing signatures of women (8th century), the mark (they could not write) being a perpendicular line, with a horizontal line at top & bottom and two others betw[een] marked the length of her right forefinger (yubi-nori). Also a charter of Goshirakawa no In to Kōyasan, bearing the impression of his right hand in vermillion at beginning and end & on joins of the paper, whence the word te-gata (shape of hand) for a bond of any kind; autographs of Yoritomo & Yoshitsune and the earliest known M.S. of the Kojiki. Then thro' the library. Some 20 or 30 volumes of 'materials' have been printed. Afterwards introduced to various professors, and a simple lunch. I sat betw. Kikuchi [Dairoku] and Hozumi [Nobushige], Dr. Hamao opposite. Tsuboi Masagoro the antiquarian. Dr. Miura of the pathological Institute, K. Oume [Ume Kenjirō] Professor of law, Dr. Yamada Samurō ditto, Haga Ya-ichi, Dr. B. Koto, Professor of Geology, Fujii the head of the Botanical Gardens, Terry the American Profr. of Law, Florentz and Eck the prof. of Fr. literature, and many others were there. No speeches happily.

Came back to meet Mrs. Dickson, Sir H. Parkes 3rd dau. who is going home on the 8th by C.P.R. and then left cards on Soyeda Jiūichirō, Baroness Sannomiya and the Awdrys.

7 “ To Yokohama by the express train, and found myself side by side with Takahashi Korekiyo. He was a boy of 12 when Hayashi Tadasu was 15, and lived close by Willis & myself in 1864. Opposite was a man named Nagai, who also proved to be an old acquaintance. Showed Litchfield receipt of poor old Peacock for ¥300, to which he had added that the pension to Okada was to be paid “so long as he or I live”, which looks as if he had had premonitions. He would have been 66 if he had lived a few days longer. Called on Payne to thank him for offer of launch to go on board the “Siberia”. Incidentally he referred to the alarm expressed by foreign residents before 1899 with regard to the new Treaties coming into force, that the police would invade their houses at every moment & pry into their affairs. Nothing of the kind had happened. This was an agreeable admission, for Woolley at least of the P. & O. had been loud in their vociferations, and

1906

were very dissatisfied with me for not encouraging this view. Met F.S. James in Litchfield's room, & thought him looking very ill. On returning to Tokio called at the Mitsu Bishi Gōshi Kwaisha & arranged with M. Kushida the manager for the future payment of the pension to Okada Tōkichi (my ancient teacher Takaoka Kaname). Afternoon called on Mr. Luke Wright the U.S. Ambassador, and had a chat with him about Manila, the events of 1900 and the history of the sixties in Japan. Found that he agreed that it was the taking of the Taku forts that led to the general onslaught on foreigners & Ad. Kempf was of the same opinion. Then to d'Anethan, who is not pleased with Mumm and his trying 'to come it over' the simple envoys.

An old Satsuma man formerly Kuroda Kayemon, now Viscount Kiyotsura Kuroda and his son, a Frenchified professor at the Fine Arts school, came to renew an acquaintance between us in 1867 about the time of our visit to Ōsaka before the downfall of the Shōgunate. They were very curious to know how it was that England came to take the Mikado's side. I gave them a sketch of the history, beginning with Sir R. Alcock's view that the treaties might be ratified by the Mikado, Rudolph Lindau's "open letter" of 1862, Winchester, Sir H. Parkes, my retranslation of the treaties, Roches' desire to land French troops to assist in the subjugation of Chōshū &c. The old gentleman gave me some vols. of his own poems & an anthology compiled by him.

Dined at the Arisugawas, MacDonalds, Lindleys, Itō, Hayashis, Suyematsu's, Kaneko and the household. Both the Prince & Princess talked about the visit to London last year, the kindness of the King & Queen, the comfort of York House, and she in particular abt. Pr. Arthur of Connaught with whom they had struck up a friendship in Berlin.

Hayashi urged that I shld. write the history of the revolution in Japan, going back as far as [Arai Hakuseki, 新井白石, 1657-1725] the author of the Seiyō Kibun [西洋紀聞], and recommended a compilation called 嘉永明治年間録 [Kaei Meiji Nenkanroku]. I confess I do not feel very much inclined to take up the subject, but we shall see. Suyematsu [Kenchō] also spoke in the same sense.

Over our cigars MacD. told me he thought the F.O. had treated me badly, and I recounted the history of exchange of letters & telegrams betw. myself, [Eric] Barrington, Lord Lansdowne and Sir E. Grey. When he went home in 1901 he found the China Association furious with me & the F.O. infected. They thought of turning me out & asked him if he would consent to go back to Peking. Freddy Villiers however stood up for me, & said he hoped MacD. wld. do the same for he thought I was very badly treated. There was no doubt that Lord L. wanted to get us both out, & replace the 'outsiders' by members of the diplomatic service pure & simple. I said that Bertie had made a dead set at me, because I was recommended by Sanderson. With Lord L. my relations had been excellent, but when

1906

Barrington telegd. 'at least another year' I took them at their word and said that for reasons of health I did not wish to come back to Peking. Then they re-apptd. me for one year. Had they simply said 'your appointment is renewed for 5 yrs.' I would at least have staid till the age of 65. When Sir E. Grey telegd. to ask what my own wishes were, I held to what I had said abt. my health. Had he asked me to stay I would have agreed, but wld. not myself ask. It seems that Ch. Hardinge & the King had quite as much to do with his [MacDonald's] being made permanent ambassador instead of 'provisional' as the Japse. though he knows that Itō telegd. very strongly. Two years ago the F.O. wanted him to accept New South Wales, but he declined.

- 8 “ Said goodbye to O.K. and H.Y. again, and left a card on Cholmondeley. In the afternoon with the Lindleys to the Botanical Gardens, where Prof. Fujii and one of his assistants showed us round. The latter confirms the derivation of the beautiful iris for wch. Japan is celebrated fr. a species, not the true Ayame, wch. is found on Senjō ga hara. The Assistant gave me photographs of hachiku, madake & mōsō [types of bamboo] in flower taken within the last few years. Hachiku has flowered in most parts of the country and many have died, madake less in quantity, mōsō least. Frequently the rhizome died as well as the stem.

In the evening a lecture by Mrs. [Hugh] Fraser on her brother's ¹ life and work in Rome, interspersed with music by two Miss Bullaghs violin & piano, quite good, a song by T. Thomas' eldest daughter and one by Major Somerville who has a beautiful bass voice well-trained, winding up with Braga's Serenade, the voice by a Mrs. Grinnell.

- 9 Departure from Tokio. MacDonald, Inouye, Matsugata, Nagasaki, Denison, Mochizuki, Komura, represves of Hayashi, Oyama, Uchida, and several others to say goodbye. To young Matsugata I said that I was much flattered by proposal to give me the Rising Sun, that I must await permission from the King & meanwhile begged him to convey my thanks to the proper quarter. Bishop Awdry came down in the train to talk about Chinese missions. I told him my views and the steps I had taken. Huntingdon Wilsons who are also going by the Siberia were in the train. Lunched with the Hobart-Hampdens, James Walters, F.S. James, Gubbins came on board: says my talks with him have made him resolve to retire next year, or the year after. I suggested the possibility of an independent post somewhere (I had Valparaiso in my mind), because his idea of employment at the F.O. seemed impracticable.

¹ Mrs. Mary Fraser (nee Crawford), was the sister of novelist Francis Marion Crawford (1854-1909), born in Rome and resident in Sorrento from 1884. They were children of the American sculptor Thomas Crawford. Mary's husband Hugh served as British Minister in Rome, 1882-85, and later as Minister in Japan, 1889-94. (On Hugh Fraser see H. Cortazzi, Ch. 6, *British Envoys in Japan, 1859-1972*)

1906

“Siberia” Capt. Zeeder, sailed at 3.20. The Bidders, who brought to Peking a letter of introduction from Bishop Stirling, were on board.

Epilogue (selected diary entries only)

Satow sailed first to Honolulu, arriving on June 18, 1906 where he spent a day with the British consul Raymond de Burgh Money Layard, formerly of the Japan consular service, and his family. On June 24 he reached San Francisco where he saw the destruction wrought by the fire after the earthquake. On June 27 he arrived in Denver and met his eldest son Eitarō. He left on June 30. On July 4 he embarked on the “Baltic”, a White Star line ship at New York, reaching Liverpool on July 12 at 7.30 am.

July 12 [contd.] ...A good run to [London] town, where [my younger brother] Sam [Satow] met me, & we drove to rooms at 93 Jermyn Street. After changing went to F.O. & saw F.A. Campbell, from whom I learnt that my retirement is considered definitive, and that they quite intended me to leave Peking after a year's extension of my original apptmt. Talked to him of my idea that dips. shld. be encouraged to write demi-official letters. Told him my theory as to the intention of China in issuing the decree about the Customs on 9 May. Mrs. Carnegie says a Chinese admitted that they only waited for my departure. Also saw [W. E.] Davidson, who proposed I should go to the Riffel alp with him next month, but I said I couldn't, as I must settle down. I told him & Campbell that I had not at all desired the Tokio Embassy, and to the latter that I did not desire leave to accept the Japanese decoration wch. MacD. writes he suggested shld. be given to me. Also saw [Walter] Langley. I am to see Sir E. Grey next week for a private talk & then a conference with [John N.] Jordan, who is going out to take charge. Also I am to see Mr. J. Morley about the opium question. Dined at the Travellers [club for diplomats] & met no one I knew.

19 July ...Dined tête-à-tête [privately, one to one] with Sir Ed. Grey. Told him I had been looking for a house to settle in at Sidmouth and my plans, to wch. he made no remark beyond asking what sort of house I was in search of, whence I conclude that he has no idea of offering me another post. He is disposed to compromise with the Chinese govt. abt. the various railway & mining concessions, and to sacrifice Lister-Kaye in return for the Chinese carrying out the Hongkong-Canton and Su Hang-ning preliminary agreements. I explained that in a court of law Lister-Kaye wld. lose his case; that Prince Ch'ing had not admitted that Kaye's concession was still valid, but merely that to confiscate what he had paid would be hard measure. I also spoke about the Shanghai municipality & the necessity

1906

of warning the council that if they did not conform themselves to the recommendations of the Minister at Peking conveyed thro' the consul-general, the only alternative would be to place them under the control of the consular body, wch. wld. involve the loss of the present British predominance in the council. Also the necessity of giving greater control to the consul-general over the members of his staff, and also that an amendment shld. be made to the municipal regulations at Canton, Hankow, Tientsin & other places giving the consular officer a power of veto to be exercised under instructions fr. the Minister & the right of calling for papers. As to the suggestion to compromise the concessions, I pointed out that yielding something in Anhui would not induce the Viceroy of Canton to give way & vice-versâ, as their interests are separate. I also urged that the time had come to publish my circular of 1903 abt. missionaries not interfering in the temporal affairs of their converts & the desirability of getting France to take the same line. On this he told me he had already spoken to [French ambassador Paul] Cambon, but owing to the quarrel with the Pope the Fr. Govt. were in a difficult position. On a suggestion that something might be said to Mr. Roosevelt abt. the Chinese exclusion laws, he said that there was again a difficulty, as the President is at loggerheads with the Senate. I also suggested the use of square paper for demi-official letters to occupy an intermediate place between official despp. on foolscap and private letters on note paper. Generally speaking he said he was inclined to give instructions to Jordan that China had taken a new departure & that for the policy of the big stick we shld. adopt a more conciliatory attitude, meeting the Chinese halfway, as long as they showed a disposition to do the same & not take advantage of our willingness to make concessions. I contrasted the treatment we had meted out to Japan & China during the last 30 years, and the relatively satisfactory state of our relations with the former. I could not say that the Chinese liked us better than they did others; America had always treated China well, but that did not prevent the boycott, to wch. he retorted that the U.S. had been harsh to Chinese in the States. In regard to the future of the Far East, I thought that Japan was preparing for another contest with Russia, if she did not evacuate N. Manchuria. Either Japan in her turn would keep the South, or there would be war. In a few years the ranks of the army wld. be filled up & as regarded finance I had heard no complaints of the burden on the people, while financiers took a hopeful view of the situation. As to Weihaiwei wch. he says the War Office & Admiralty wish to give up, but we are retaining in deference to Japanese wishes I observed that it cost us very little, and that I felt persuaded that provided we put no pressure on China to let the Tientsin-Yangtze railway be constructed, the Kiaochou-Chinan railway wld. be of little value & within the next ten years be sold to China. Even if after that Germany kept Kiaochou it wld. solely be as a trophy, like the Spanish presidios on the coast of Morocco. I mentioned my apprehensions of political

1906

trouble in China if Choufu's idea of an assembly of notables were carried out. Such an assembly wld. inevitably grasp the power & bring abt. a revolution, & then there would be chaos as well as in Russia, affecting half the human race. He told me that things are really very bad in Russia, but he did not believe the statement of the Rossiya that Germany & Austria will march troops into Russia to put down the agrarian troubles. As to the Chinese Customs he thought all we had to go on was the stipulation in certain loan contracts that no change should be made pending the redemption of those loans, & he thought we cld. not make much of the undertaking that the I-G. shld. always be an Englishman, as that appeared to be good as agst. other foreign nations, but not as agst. the Chinese, who might very naturally desire to have a Chinese I-G [Inspector-General]. Tang had particularly complained that Sir Robt. apptd. no Chinese to superior posts. I said that if there were sufficient men of the character & calibre of T'ang, a Chinese I.G. wld. not be any disadvantage to us, & it was natural that the Chinese Govt. who had themselves created the I.M.C. [Imperial Maritime Customs] shld. now desire to resume complete control.

Afterwards at my request he took me down to the House...

20 “ Sir John Jordan came, by apptmt. & I told him all abt. my talk of last night, and my own views in regard to China, with wch. he seemed to agree...

25 July. Audience of the King, to wch. I was introduced by Lord Ed. Pelham Clinton, whom I reminded that several years ago at Windsor he lent me a pair of knee breeches, Saburō having forgotten to put them in my portmanteau.

The King kept me for about twenty minutes, talking about Japan, the Garter mission, and gardens, such as Batsford, La Mortola & Miss Alice Rothschild's at Grasse ¹. I told him that Okuma had said that if Russia did not evacuate N. Manchuria, Japan wld. ask for an explanation. He also spoke of the troubles in Russia, and comparing those with the [French] revolution of 1789 I hazarded the opinion that the Russian Emperor's ministers were better prepared than those of Louis XVI to put down rebellion.

He spoke of my not returning to China, but that at present there was no post which could be given me. My services must not be lost. I replied that I had no desire to retire if I could be of use, and he said I must consider myself en disponibilité ². He asked about MacDonald, whether he was still as thin as he was. I said he was fairly well, except sometimes a little stomach trouble. If I might say so, I thought he was the right man in the right place. The Japanese liked his straightforward manners, and a soldier was well-suited

¹ See Satow's diary for March 1, 1903 above.

² on the reserve list.

1906

to be Ambassador of a country where the military element was so powerful. He then talked of the staff, Geo. Barclay, who I said was an excellent worker, Franc. Lindley & his wife. Then I praised Carnegie & the King remembered that he had a pretty wife. He asked abt. [John N.] Jordan, who I said had a good knowledge of Chinese affairs, having been long at Peking before he went to Seoul. He asked me abt. China, & I was proceeding to say something about her waking up, when he interrupted me by saying that he had read my private letters. Then he mentioned Sir Edward Grey as an excellent Foreign Minister, in wch. I concurred, adding Lord Lansdowne's name. So he asked me whether I had seen him, to wch. I said No, as I thought he was out of town. No, said H.M. he was here last night & spoke in the debate on the Army in the H[ouse] of Lords, wch. shows that he is well-informed, for that part of the debate was not reported in the "Times" of this morning. On my going away he said that my services wld. receive recognition. Later in the day, while [W.H.] Bliss was with me, came an official notice from the Clerk of the Council & a private letter also (Almeric Fitzroy) that I am to be sworn of the Privy Council on the 28th wch. was what H.M. meant.

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Index of Personal Names

Notes

- 1) This index is for both volumes of this book, indicated by I and II as appropriate.
- 2) Satow was not always consistent in his spelling of names: e.g. 'Mochidzuki' and 'Mochizuki' both appear for the same person. But this may chiefly be explained with reference to point 4 below.
- 3) Sometimes Satow recorded Chinese characters, including those for the names of certain persons, and I have also included these.
- 4) Some of Satow's romanisations of Chinese names may be considered peculiar or unusual, but it should be remembered that the Wade-Giles romanisations did not reach settled form until the Chinese-English dictionary published by Herbert Giles in 1912. Similar issues exist with the romanisation of Japanese and Russian names.
- 5) One ship name (Askold) and one law case (Supao) are included. These do not strictly belong in an index of personal names, but having inserted the information it was felt better to leave it in the hope that it may prove useful to some readers.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Abbott I: 326 | A-Kó-tan I: 175 |
| Abé, Mme. II: 287 | Akiyama (Japanese Member of Parliament)
II: 221 |
| Abercorn, Duke of I: 334, 337, 339 | Albemarle, Lady I: 334, 340 |
| Adams, Francis O. I: 337 II: history of
Japan 297 | Alcock, Sir Rutherford II: 304 |
| Adams, Gould I: 93 | Alexander, Col. I: 48, 49, 127 |
| Addis, Charles Stewart (1861-1945) (later Sir,
of the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank)
I: 156, possible financial adviser to
Chinese Government 346 | Alexandra, Queen I: 311 II: 304 |
| Adler I: 28, 29 | Alexéieff/Alexeieff, Admiral E.I. (Viceroy of
the Far East) I: 57, 124, 176, 177,
190, 371, gold-mining concession
382, 384, going back to Petersburg
391, 400, Hu sees 406
II: recommended 7, 13, 15, 17, 19,
demotion 47, 63, Espiègle 76 |
| Adrian, Father I: 319 | Alford, Edward Fleet I: 133 II: death of
185, sent copy of Canton-Kowloon
railway concession to MacDonald
217 |
| Agassiz I: 289 | Alger (architect) I: building Peking
University 305 |
| Aglen, Francis Arthur (later Sir, of the Imperial
Maritime Customs, succeeded Hart as
Inspector-General in 1911) I: 28,
391 II: 142 | |
| Ahrens, H. I: 13 | |
| Akers-Douglas, Aretas I: 10, 12, 336 | |
| Ahlefeld, Rear-Admiral I: 238 | |

- Albemarle, Dowager Countess of I: 312, 346
 Alexander, Lady II: 296
 Allason, Col. (Richard Bannatine-Allason attached to Japanese army in 1905?) II: 226
 Allen (Municipal Council, Nanking) I: 161
 Allen, Basil I: 340, 345
 Allen, Charles H. I: 5
 Allen, Clement I: 337
 Allen, Edgar Pierce (U.S. lawyer) I: Edgar Price Allen 113, 115, 179, Edgar Pierce Allen 227, Pierce, railway land arbitration 257, railway street at Tientsin 260, 268, 270 II: 185
 Allen, Eva I: 313
 Allen, E.S. I: 336
 Allen, Henry T. (Brigadier-General) II: 10, 15
 Allen, Herbert II: 252
 Allen, Lawrie I: 125
 Almeida – see de Almeida
 Alston of Chartered Bank at Hankow II: 290
 Altamira, Ignacio (Mexican envoy, 1905-06) II: 286
 Alton the Secy. I: 107, 108, 333
 Alverston, Lord I: 334
 Amban (not a name but the title of the Chinese Resident in Lhasa) – see also Yütai II: 82n, should mediate between Dalai Lama and Younghusband 87, 88, 103, 105, 108, 116, 208
 Ameglio, Colonel II: 160, 177, 247
 Amherst, Lord & Lady I: 312
 Amhold I: 22
 Amoretti, Professor I: Italian lessons from 316
 Ampthill, Lord I: 10
 Andersen/Anderson (Danish) I: 255
 Anderson (interpreter) I: 175
 Anderson, F. (China Association, Shanghai) I: 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 303, Manchurian mining concessions 305, 358, talks about railway concession 359 II: 143, first-rate chairman of Municipal Council 225, published a letter 262, 264
 Anderson, John I: 356
 Anderson, Prof. William E. (1842-1900) I: 6, 10, 13, 15
 Angier, A.G. (London & China Express) I: 315, 346
 Anson, Sir Wm. (Warden of All Souls, Oxford) I: 342
 Aoki Nobuzumi, Colonel (Japanese military attaché at Peking) I: 101 II: 32, dined 42, 87, prisoners at Mukden 174, 175, 176, 181, 221, discussed troops 270
 Aoki Shūzō, Viscount I: 38 II: 31
 Arai, owner of Arai's Hotel II: 301
 Arai Hakuseki II: 304
 Arbuthnot I: 307, 351
 Archer, William John (Bangkok) I: 342
 Archibald, John (London Mission) I: 161
 Arco-Valley, Emmerich Graf von (German minister in Tokyo, 1900-06; 1852-1909) I: Note verbale to Komura 280
 Ardagh, Sir John I: 7, 8, 10, 12, 18, 20, 344
 Ariga Nagabumi II: Inouye's secretary 299, sent by Inouye 301

- Arisugawa, Prince II: left card at palace 297, dined at 304
- Arisugawa, Princess II: 304
- Arlabosse, Col. I: 185, 270
- Armstrong, Comr. I: 24
- Arnold, B. I: 7
- Arthur of Connaught, Prince II: 304
- Asaina Kansui II: death of 215n
- Asakawa Kan'ichi II: author of a book on the events leading to the Russo-Japanese war 300
- Askold (Russian warship) II: 91, 92, repairs to 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, men to remain on board 105, 147, 148, 182, 183
- Astley, Sir John I: 320
- Aston, William George (consular official in Japan) I: 5, 7, 332
- Aston, Mrs. I: 16, 17
- Atabage Azam, The I: 384, 385n, 386
- Aubrey, Mr. I: Nanpiao coal 383 II: report condemned 147
- Auty – see d'Auty
- Awdry, Bishop William II: 303, Chinese missions 305
- Awdry, Mrs. II: 296, 303
- Ayres I: Montevideo 335
- Ayscough I: 29, 305
- Ayscough, Mrs. II: 292
- Azevedo Castello Branco, José (Portuguese minister) I: 186, 189, 191, 201, 203, 210, d'Acevedo 213, 221, 228, 234, 242, 249, 256, advised by Hart 261, tariff 265, 266, 272, negotiations 273, result of negotiations 276, 277, 279, 281, jubilant 283, treaty 307
- II: 24, 29, 31, credentials 32, came 39, 40, 45, off to Shanghai 47, telegram from 75, came back 86, 104, troubles with treaty 130, Acevedo 134, Macao-Canton railway 138
- Backhouse, Edmund Trelawney (1873-1944) I: private secretary 312, newswriter 327, to be sent to Urga 331, 338, 376n, employed by Chang Pohsi 380 II: returned from England 164, met on wall 174, 177
- Bacon, Judge I: 327
- Bagnold, Levy I: 337
- Bagshawe, Capt. I: 391, 396, 403 II: 51
- Bagshawe, Mrs. I: 403 II: 6, 51
- Baillie, Miss I: 12
- Bainbridge, William I: 229
- Baird, Lt. Comr. I: 125, 149, 158
- Baker, E.N. (Secy. to Finance Dept.) I: 351
- Baker, Sir S. I: 126
- Baker, W.R. I: 1
- Baker-Carr I: 349
- Bakhmetief II: met for first time 298
- Balfour, Lord II: cable 76
- Balfour, Arthur James I: 7, 8, 18, 205, 356n II: 246
- Balfour, Miss I: 338
- Bannerman, Capt. I: 350
- Bansai II: 32
- Bapst II: 274
- Barclay (T.R. Wynne's secretary) I: 404
- Barclay, George H. (Secretary of British legation, Tokyo 1902-06) I: very nice fellow 360 II: an excellent worker 308

- Barclay, Mrs. Geo. II: pretty woman 298
- Baring, Nina I: 10
- Barker, General I: 333
- Barker, Mr. II: a Roman Catholic interested in the missionary question 293
- Barker, T. (Liverpool Chamber of Commerce) I: a terrible bore 383
- Barlow, Peter I: 2
- Barnabé, Père I: 136
- Barnes, Sir Hugh S. (Lt. Govr., Burma) I: 350, 352, 353, received at Rangoon by 354, 355
- Barnes, Capt. I: 150
- Barnes, Thurlow Weed I: 363 II: 17
- Baroli, Carlo (Italian minister at Peking) II: succeeds Gallina 78n, Satow meets 144, 152-3, annoyed 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, came 169, 170, declines invitation to Cottage on health grounds 184, 185, dined with 194, dined with 206, 211, 220, much upset 236, 242, dined at 247, 262, 266, left card on 285, Satow met 286, 288
- Barr I: photographer 189, 278
- Barrera II: called on 296
- Barrington, Eric (private secretary to Lord Salisbury 1895-1900, and then Lord Lansdowne 1900-05; assistant undersecretary for foreign affairs 1906) I: 2, 3, 8, 9, 15, 21, and wife 327, 328, 345
II: letter from 212, telegram 282, exchange of telegrams 304
- Barrington, Lady I: 328
- Barrow, Genl. Sir Edmund I: 349, 351
- Barrow, Capt. G. de S. I: 78, 116, Major 349
- Barrow, Genl. Sir George I: 35n, 38, 42, 44, 50, 51, 61, 68, 78, 79, 94, 95, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 108, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 127, 163, railway agreement with Schwarzhoff 240
- Barry, young I: 202
- Barry, A.J. II: 158-9
- Barry, Capt. I: 307
- Barry, Sir John Wolfe II: 17
- Barton, S. (Sir) I: 274 II: 293
- Bash, Albert W. (American representing Chinese Investment and Construction Co.) II: 5, suggestion from Kinder 6, honest 7, 17, 51, came at my request 54, 56, depressed about prospects 66, 114
- Basse from Paotingfu (Danish) I: 255
- Bateman, Sir A. I: 9, 133
- Batsuieff II: 178
- Bauer I: 121
- Bauld, R. (agent of Vickers Maxim Co.) II: 58-59, 90-91
- Bavier I: 358
- Bax-Ironside, Henry George Outram (Sir) I: 2, 3
- Bayne, Mrs. I: 156
- Bayne, C.S. (Chief Secretary) I: 355
- Bayne, H.S.W. (Shanghai) I: 24, 29, 30, 303, dinner at 305, 358, 359
II: 225, 293
- Bayle, Vice-Admiral I: 401
- Bayly, Capt. Lewis I: 21, 151
- Beau, Paul (French minister) I: 109, 110, 112, 113, 116, 117, 120, 122, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 136, 140, 143, 144, 145, 166, 168, 174, 178, 179,

- 180, 185, 198, 208, 217, 219, 222, 226, 228, 235, 236, 237, 244, tried to chaff Satow 247, suspected 250, partial moratorium 251, 253, farewell dinner 254, 256, 257, 258, Lessar furious with 261, got to Paris 267, 284
 II: suggestion to Almeida 133, 134, 186, directeur politique 229
- Beauchamp II: 126, 200
- Beauchamp, Montagu I: 27, 297
- Beauchamp, Sir Reginald I: 297
- Beaumont, Miss I: 337
- Beaumont, Private II: 73
- Beck, Ernest (wine merchant) I: 15, 338
- Beck, Jas. M. (of the Eastern Extension co.) I: 155, 173, 175, 176, 207, 278
- Beck, Theodore I: 212
- Beckett, Ernest I: 163, 323
- Bective, Lady I: 336
- Beddoes, Major II: 50
- Bedford, Duke of I: 349
- Beech, Harlan P. (Yale Mission) II: 74
- Bell, Miss I: 11
- Bell, Jas. R. I: 163, 173, 202, 225
- Bell, Charles Frederick Moberley (manager of *The Times*) I: 314 II: 18
- Bell, Mrs. Moberley I: 344
- Bellingham, Mrs. II: 139
- Beman I: 338
- Bemer (Manager, Great Northern Telegraph Line) I: 155 II: 228
- Bence-Jones I: 9
- Benckendorf, Count Alexander (Russian ambassador in London) I: 334 II: complaint to Lansdowne 163, 286
- Bendemann I: 151
- Bennertz II: 146, E.S. Little's support of 249, objections to 268
- Bennett, E.F. Consul (Chiukiang) I: unwholesome countenance 157, 161
- Bennett, Lucy I: 330
- Bentinck, Comr. II: 117
- Beresford, Lady Chas. I: 3, 7
- Beresford-Hope I: 14
- Bergne, Henry G. I: 13, 335, wished Satow were sent to Washington 337
- Berkeley, Miss I: 340
- Berkeley, Sir H. I: 358
- Berkeley, Sister Xavier I: 340, many years in China 342
- Bernacchi I: 286
- Berrington, T.R. II: 172, 173, 180, 184, Burma-China telegraph convention 191
- Bertie, Col. I: 34
- Bertie, Sir Francis Leveson I: 2, 9, 17, 18, 21, 71, 123, 125, 201, gives telegram to Hayashi 286, promise to Bredon 306, 312, a loss to the F.O. 314, 323, left card on 325
 II: attacked Satow 304
- Bett, Dr. I: 28
- Bevis I: 154, brought a copy of English fractional Bond 304 II: 79, 144
- Bewicke I: 67
- Beynon, Dick I: 3
- Bezobrazoff, A.M. (Russian entrepreneur) I: 401 II: 2, influence on Czar 3
- Bickersteth, Edward (1850-1897) (late Bishop of Japan) I: 355
- Bidder, Mr. & Mrs. II: 280, 305

- Bidwell, Miss I: 312
- Bigg, Lt. I: 157
- Bigham, Justice I: 330
- Bilbrough, Ch. I: 323, 325, dined with 334
- Bingel I: 14
- Bingley, Capt. I: 55, Major 350
- Binyon, Laurence (1869-1943) (British Museum historian) I: 337
- Bird, Isabella – see Mrs. Bishop
- Birks, Hon. A.R. I: 355
- Bishop, Mrs. (Isabella Bird) I: Christian converts 13, talked about Morocco 331, tea with 336
- Bismarck, Countess Herbert I: 7
- Black, John Reddie II: Bankoku Shinbun case 291n
- Blair, Major (Royal Engineers, successor to Major Picton) II: came to lunch 259, C.R.E. Tientsin 283
- Blake, young I: 143
- Blake, Sir Henry I: 151, 290, 307 II: 6
- Bland, John Ottway Percy (Shanghai correspondent of *The Times*) I: 156, 219, telegraphed Russo-Chinese bank agreement 292, Supao case (first mention of) 358, telegram 365 II: 86, telegrams to *Times* 256, misrepresentation of facts 272, 287
- Blandford I: 13
- Blandford, Lady I: 328
- Bliss, William Henry (1835-1909) I: 322, 323, 324, 325n, 326 II: 309
- Blow I: amateur in all but first-rate 22
- Blow, T. II: almost unrecognizable 294
- Bobroff I: 364
- Bode II: 33
- Bohlen – see von Bohlen
- Boisragon, Capt. A.M. (Shanghai Municipal Police) I: 359
- Boleslawski II: 177
- Bolton, Miss I: 339
- Bolton, Rev. W. (London Missionary Society) II: 68
- Bonar, Henry A.C. (British consular official in Japan service) I: 1, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, lunch with 342, 345, anti-Japanese 360 II: 293, to Kyoto with 294
- Bonar, Mrs. H.A.C. II to Kyoto with 294, 296, 297, to Museum at Ueno 298
- Bonham, Sir G. I: 20, 153
- Bonnin, French traveller I: 169
- Bonser, Sir J.W. I: 313, 337, 345
- Boothby I: 209
- Bosanquet, Admiral I: 308, 333
- Bourdillon I: 353
- Bourgignon, Miss (matron, Victoria Hospital, Tientsin) II: 138
- Bourne, F.S.A. (Sir) Chief Justice I: 24, 28, arrived from Tientsin 288, 304, 327, H.S. Wilkinson against 342, dined with 358 II: 292
- Bourne, Mrs. I: 30
- Bouteneff II: 297
- Bower, Col. of Tientsin Provisional Govt. I: 94, 114, 128, 141, 142, 143, 165, 174, 175, 188, 206, 224, 297, 361, inspection 378, dined at 387, 390, 391, 403 II: 18, 25, 31, 50, 62, 79, 87, 173, 175, 176, 186, 190, 204, back from Chinese army manoeuvres 234,

- taking command 235, 241, 262, dined with 288
- Bower, Mrs. I: 397, 403
- Bowra, Cecil Arthur Verner (1869-1947) of the Imperial Maritime Customs (father of the notable Oxford academic Cecil Maurice Bowra) I: 274
- Bowring, Col./Brig. Genl. I: 100, 102, 103, 110
- Boyce, Bobby I: 337
- Boyce, R.H. (Office of Works) I: 6, 8, 10, 313
- Boyce Kup, J. (of Tientsin) I: connected with Jardine's 97, 361 II: 9, telegram 37, 41, 44, 64, 67, railway 70, 72, 74, 139, 146, commission on railway indemnity 158, 167, 181, 185, 199, 203, amendments to final contract for Tientsin-Chinkiang railway 212, 215, delivers letter from Jardine's 228, 241
- Boyle, Lady Florence II: 224, 225
- Brady, Herbert Francis I: 259
- Brady, Mrs. I: 259
- Braithwaite, Basil I: 343
- Brandreth, Mrs. I: 125
- Brasier, Miss I: 34
- Brazier, James Russell II: a canny Scot, like Jamieson 135
- Bredon, Sir Robert (Hart's deputy at Customs and brother-in-law) I: 19, 24-26, 154, 155, 156, appointed to assist Shêng 212, telegram from Hart 266, 280, 303, intrigues to oust 306, pamphlet about Hwangpu conservancy 307, choice of as Hart's successor 371, grievance 384, 397 II: 107, 118, recommended by Hart 141, 142, 143, 151, 168, 194, 211, levying tonnage dues 213, report from 239, 241, Mixed Court 272, 280, 287, 288
- Bredon, Lady II: 292
- Brenan (of British & Chinese Corporation) I: 28, 88, 181, 212, 216, 261, railway indemnity 263, 304, 358, 361 II: 5, 12
- Brenan, B. I: 9, 12, 17, 19, 26, 27
- Brenner, Mrs. I: 27
- Brewster, Capt. (U.S. legation guard) I: 168, 174, 391 II: 63, 198, 204, 207, farewell dinner to 218, 221
- Brewster, Mrs. II: 176
- Brice II: 17
- Brice, Lt.-Col. C.D. II: 106
- Bridge, Admiral Sir Cyprian I: 122, 123, 195, 236, meets Satow at Tientsin 258, 259, at Hong Kong 306, to say goodbye 307, telegram to 357, 360n, 372
- Bridge, Mr. I: 96
- Bridges, Miss I: 77
- Brinkley, Francis (Frank), Capt. II: 31, 51, 296, 299, article in tomorrow's paper 300
- Brisard/Brisaud, Mme. II: 287
- Broadwood, Miss I: 325, 326
- Brock of the "Alacrity" I: 361
- Brodesser, Mr. II: 124
- Brodrick, Mrs. Lawrence I: 8
- Brodrick, Hon. St. John I: 2, 6, 8, 12, 23
- Bronson, Miss I: 323
- Bronson-Howard, Geo. II: 39

- Brown, Geo. (Director of China Association's School of Chinese) I: 345
- Brown, Geo. (ex-consul) II: 223, Peking Syndicate 261, 272, 273
- Brown, John MacLeavy (late of Korean Customs) II: dined with Satow alone 252
- Brown, Rev. II: 36, sermon 37, 227
- Browne, Col. R.E. I: 357
- Browne, Col. A.G.R. (military attaché) I: 12, 72, 104, 111, 115, returned 137, 141, 142, 190, 191, 199, 206, 334, 335
- Browne, Major Clement Alfred Rigby, Royal Engineers (military director of railways) I: 118, 119, 127, 129, promoted to Lt. Col. 133, 142, 143, 145, interfering 165, 170, 173, 174, 225, 226, 229, 236, railway indemnity 246, 255, Chinese bluff to get rid of 258, 259, siding negotiation with Italians 265, 276, 286, 395
- Browning, Capt. Dr. I: 125, 188, 203 II: 60
- Browning, Lt. C.H. (R.F.A.) II: 8
- Bruce, Sir F. I: 371
- Bruce, Admiral Sir James A.T. I: 8, 31, 37, 151, 153, 154, 330
- Bruce, Lady I: 108, 109, 151, 330
- Bruce, M. I: 313
- Brunner, Capt. I: 140
- Brunton, Sir Lauder I: 320
- Bryan, William Jennings II: 246
- Buch I: 310
- Buchanan, George I: 343
- Buchheister, J.J. I: 226
- Buchheister, Oscar (German merchant, Tientsin) II: agent for Armstrongs 123-4
- Buck, Mrs. I: 21
- Bullagh, Misses II: 305
- Bullard, W. I: 55, 73, 109, 125, 155, confirming agreements 305 II: 172, 176, 178, 180
- Buller, Admiral Sir Alex I: 13, lunch at Plympton 333, bamboo book 334, 340, 345
- Bullock, Professor T.L. I: 15
- Bülow, Count von I: 58, 76, 185, 197, 328 II: 281
- Burke, Capt. of the "Orlando" I: 27, 28, 30, 119, 120, 299
- Burkill, young I: 358
- Burleigh, Bennett II: 145
- Burman I: 355
- Burn, Mr. I: 259, 352
- Burton, J.F. (lawyer) I: 13, 20, 21, dined with 343, 346, codicil 347
- Bush, Henry of Newchwang I: 153 II: stupid 167, 289
- Busk, Sir Edward I: 337
- Butler – see O'Brien Butler
- Butler, Countess I: 305
- Butler, Lady I: 333
- Butler, Miss I: 343
- Butlin, H.T. I: 327, operation on Satow's fingers 329, recommends massage 334, 340
- Buxton, Barclay I: 27
- Buxton, Sidney I: 317
- Cadell, W.H. (of the Borneo Co.) I: 356
- Caesar-Hawkins, V.H. I: 386
- Callaghan I: 31

- Calthrop, Everard Ferguson II: a language man 297
- Cambon, Paul (French ambassador to Britain, 1898-1920) I: 229, sees Lansdowne 260, 364 II: Entente Cordiale 52n, 89, 192, 233, statement to Sir E. Grey 277, Grey had already spoken to about missionaries 307
- Cameron, Sir Ewen I: 67, 205, railway agreement 335, 340 II: retirement of 185
- Campbell I: 156 II: 54
- Campbell, Charles William (1861-1927, language officer, British legation staff, joined China consular service in 1884) I: 31, 34, 48, 53, 59, 66, Hillier would not work with 88, 112, 114, 115, 116, 119, 122, 125, 127, 134, 135, 138, 146, 168, 172, 175, 183, 188, 189, Chinese secretaryship 191, 193, 196n, 199, 206, 220, Hu comes to see 238, 239, 241, dined with Hu 245, 255, 269, 278, 312, dined 313, 329, 340, 342, 345, sees off Satow 347, 390
II: 21, 39, arrived as Acting Chinese Secretary 194, 207, disapproves of Satow's making an enemy of Shêng 210, 214, 215, went to Wai wu pu 218, 222, 228, 233, 243, told me note had come 254, 255, 264, 270, 272, 273, 276, 280, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289
- Campbell, Mrs. C.W. II: 194, cotillion (dance) 237
- Campbell, Duncan C.M.G. I: Hart's representative 335, 336
- Campbell, Francis Alexander (Senior Clerk, F.O., 1896-1902; Assistant Under Secretary from 1902) I: 2, 6, 15, 18, conversation with Cardinal Gotti 327, 330, said goodbye to 345
II: 83, letter from 158, 178, private letter from F.A.C. 233, 235, letter to about Newchwang customs revenue 241, wrote to him telling him of delay 302, my retirement is considered definitive 306
- Campbell, J. Duncan I: 329, 345
- Campbell, Mrs. Patrick I: 3
- Campbell, Mrs. (née Pickwood) I: 156
- Camporeale I: called on 323, 325
- Camporeale, Princess I: 325
- Capel, Mrs. 329
- Capi I: 93
- Capper, J.B. I: 11
- Capper, Mrs. I: 347
- Capy, Father/Père I: 370 II: 287
- Cárcer y Salamanca, Don Manuel de (Spanish minister at Peking, 1902-08) I: 174, 224, 254, tormented Lady Susan Townley 364 II: 40, 48, 131, 174, 232, 245, 265, absent 278, dined at 285
- Cárcer, Mme. de I: 364 II: 1, 207
- Carew, Lady I: 347
- Cargill family II: 296
- Cargill, W. I: 343
- Carl II: 293
- Carl, Miss (artist) I: 396 II: Empress-Dowager's portrait 53
- Carles, W.R. I: 36, 57

- Carlill I: 23
- Carlowitz & Co. I: mining concession 395
II: trade marks 111, 115, 124, 202
- Carlowitz, Herr von II: 173
- Carnegie, Sir Launcelot Douglas II: 62, 63, 66, 69, 80, 103, to Cottage with 113, presented to Emperor 117, 118, 128, 134, 151, 175, 198, 207, 211, 220, to Japan for a trip 228, 241, returned from Japan 247, 259, 273, 279, 280, to Tientsin with 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, praised by Satow to King 309
- Carnegie, Mrs. II: 62, 145, 173, 175, 207, 227, 228, 247, 287, 288, 293, 306, pretty 308
- Carnegie, Mariota II: twelfth birthday of 145, 173, 175
- Carnegy I: 327
- Carpenter, Tom II: 294
- Carpenter, Willie II: 294
- Carr I: 332
- Carruthers, Flag-Lieut. I: 249
- Carter I: 259
- Cartier – see de Cartier
- Cartwright, Sir W. Chauncey (Chief Clerk of Financial Dept., Foreign Office, 1900-13) I: 6, 9, memo about First Assistants 313, 327, 345
- Cartwright, old Mr. I: 322, returned call 323, 326
- Casenave, Maurice (French representative) I: 137, 168, 186, 208, 213, 214, 217, 259, draft note on T.P.G. 261, Ningpho road affair 264, 267, 268, mission property at Tientsin 271, not answered yet about Ningpo 275, draft of Note to Prince Ch'ing 280, 283, no reply to Note 284, 287, 289, rumour of British naval demonstration 291, complained about Kinder 292, dinner at 296, 305, 366, 372
II: at Ichang 102, 107, 113, inspecting consulates 126
- Casenave, Mme. I: 137, 278
- Cassel, Sir Ernest (financier) I: 328, 351
- Cassels, Bishop I: 24, 27, 83
- Cassini I: convention 273 II: 17
- Castello Branco – see Azevedo
- Caster, Miss I: 325
- Cavour, Count Camillio Bensi di I: 323
- Cawl-Worsley, Lt. I: 333
- Chaffee, Major-Genl. Adna R. I: 35, 66n, 69, 104
- Chalmers, A.M. I: 23
- Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (brother of Basil Hall Chamberlain) I: 337
- Chamberlain, Joseph I: 7, 177, 309, campaign against 328, against Russia 340
- Chamier, Frederic A. I: 382, not English 384
- Champaign I: 354
- Chand, Manick I: 349
- Chang Chih-tung, 張之洞 (Yangtze Viceroy) I: 25, 29, 54, 56, 70, 80, 95, 98, 100, 116, 123, 132, 137, 157, short slender man with a long white beard 160, 162, 165, 168, 178, 187, 219, 247, telegram from 254, commercial negotiations at Shanghai 266, 282, 283, 290, message 291, letter to German consul-general 292, 293, 295, Satow to visit on way home 296, Satow visits 299, payment of

- indemnity in gold 300, photograph with Satow 301, Hwangpu conservancy 302, 304, 305, Satow's talk with 307, 341, Uchida's good opinion of 362, on Manchuria 363, returned my call 365, Supao case 365, 367, 375, 380, 381, Manchurian question 382, sent Liang 386, 387, 395, 403n
- II: money lent to 5, 11, 12, sent Liang to Conger 15, 51, 81, missionary murder 87, vanity increased as he got older 136, mining rules referred to 147, loan 158, 159, 178, dilatory 184, 197, old trickster 199, 212, 219, 223, loan contract 226, bought back Hankow-Canton railway 230, loan negotiations 233, 273, no practical knowledge of mines 275, 282, Satow visits 289, old and incapable of effort 298
- Chang Ming/Ch'ang-ming I: 60, 61, 70
- Chang Pihoi II: 203
- Chang Pohsi (Chancellor, Peking Imperial University) I: 87, 175, 212, 225, 268, building 305, 330, professor search 365, employs E. T. Backhouse instead of a professor from England 380
- II: request for British mediation 13, 14, 15, 16, 117, 158, 189, 268, 276
- Ch'ang Si-zhan I: 63
- Chang Tê-yi I: 147, 148, 154, appointed minister to England 168, 169, 170, 174, 175, 183, 185, diatribe about 194, 195, 211, 239, special ambassadors not asked to Coronation 266, 274, called on 330, letter of introduction to 336, dined with 340, 342, sees off Satow 347, 365, troops in Thibet 385, 388
- II: instructions to sign bonds 77, successor 218, 219, returned recently from London 283, not called on Satow 287, called belatedly 288
- Chang Yen mao I: 120, 181, 281-2 II: 139
- Chang-yi 張翼 I: 62, 91, 119, 170, 243, 244, Kalgan railway 283, 335, petition 365, 375, 398, degraded 399, 401, 405, 407
- II: 22, attack on 26, 36, in fresh difficulties 50, 62, 84, 120, 137, 138, former director of Chinese Engineering & Mining Co. 147, 178, Detring deceived 182, 216
- Chang-yin huan, Sir I: 119, 149, 288n, 345, 374 II: 113, 166, lament 228
- Chang[?]-Yüen II: 187
- Chang Yinglin I: 175
- Chao Er hsun 趙爾巽 (Acting President, Board of Revenue) II: Jenks pleased with 99, 130, 131, 138, 139, called by appointment 140, 146, 147, 151-2, 155, draft 156, 158, 161, 168, 169, 181, 185, 189, school founded by 214, 266
- Chao Shu-ch'iao (Ironhat faction) I: 87, 89, 90, 233
- Chapin (U.S. missionary) II: 107
- Chapin, Mrs. I: 313
- Charles, Prince of Denmark I: 312
- Charlton, Commander of "Orlando" I: 122

- Charrington I: 31
- Chase, Dr. F.H. (Vice-Chancellor, Cambridge University) I: 343
- Chatard I: 309
- Chater, Sir Paul (capitalist) I: 358
- Chazalon (Frenchman) II: 83
- Cheesman I: 55
- Cheetham, Milne (Sir) I: 23, 312 II: 301
- Chên, Prince (eldest son of Prince Ch'ing) I: 186, 191, returned call of 379
- Chen Oitong II: 54
- Chên-pi I: 377, 379, 386
- Ch'êng Chang I: 175
- Chêng Fu-ch'ing II: 25
- Ch'êng-hsün I: hot-headed 234
- Cheng-tung I: 389
- Chen Rützü I: 386
- Chentung – see Liang-chêng, Sir Chentung
- Cheshire I: 76 II: U.S. Consul-general at Mukden 22, 23
- Chiang Kuei-ti, General I: 131, 175, 242, 268, a dull old fellow 364 II: 1, troops in Peking 37, 50, 83, 109, apologizes 113, 158, 175
- Chiang-yi I: 174
- Chi-hsin I: 90, 91
- Chi-ku II: 176
- Child I: 206
- Chinda II: 296, 297
- Ch'ing, Prince 慶親王 (Chinese plenipotentiary, head of Tsungli Yamên and Wai Wu Pu) I: 31, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 54, 56, 57, 58, 65, 66, 67, 70, 75, 77, 81, 83, 89, 91, 96, 97, 98, 104, 106, 108, 112, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 140, 146, 147, 148, 149, 152, 157, 160, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224-5, 227, 229, 230, 238, Satow makes a row with 239, 240, 242, 243, refuses Belgians 244, approved exchange of notes 245, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 253, mistake 255, identic note to 257, 258, 259, apology 263, private archives 266, coronation day 268, decree abolishing likin 271, 274, anxious that Satow should hand over first 275, Casenave's note to 280, 282, 284, letter 285, teasing about lie 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, remarks sent to F.O. 291, to say goodbye 296, returned Satow's call 297, 300, 301, no secret agreement 362, sent Lienfang to Lessar 364, Supao case 367, 368n, short red note to 370, 371, 379, 385, 396, 397, 399, sent Lienfang to Lessar 400, 402, 406
- II: 1, Chinese neutrality 8, 9, 17, Satow went to 19, 23, 24, 25, New Year audience 32, weak 34, lumbago 38, 40, 41, 42, railways 45, Sir J. Lister Kaye 48, 49, Amoy 51, 53, 54, tooth ache 61, neutrality 63, unwilling to annoy Russia 72, gunboats on Poyang Lake 78-9, 80, railway agreements 86, Satow goes to 87, complaint to Uchida 88, 90, 91,

- lied 95, 102, 108, protest to 112, 115,
 117, 118, 120, 121, Trademarks 125,
 Tibet & Peking Syndicate 130,
 audience for Empress-Dowager's
 birthday 134, never understood any
 question without coaching 137, 141,
 Conger's draft note to 142, 144, New
 Year call (1905) 148, 151, 157,
 reception at Wai wu pu 158,
 instructions to Lhasa 165, 166, 168,
 169, 176, dislikes Pavlov 183, 189,
 193, 196, 203, essay subject 204, 205,
 206, Tibet 208, 209, opening of
 Nanning 213, 214, new Hwangpu
 conservancy arrangement signed with
 224, bomb outrage 225, 226, 227,
 China ruled by two men 230, mission
 to Calcutta 243, 246, 250, too weak
 252, 253, message from 256, excused
 himself on grounds of illness 259,
 263, 266, looked worn and ill 268,
 Rockhill's interview with 271,
 luncheon 274, 276, 278, 281, 283,
 285, pays farewell call on Satow 286,
 tells Satow Jordan is to succeed him
 288, not admitted Kaye's concession
 valid 306
- Ch'ing-fêng I: 175
 Ch'ing-fu I: 175
 Ch'ing-hsin I: 175
 Ching-kang II: 104
 Ch'ing-Ku'an I: 392 II: 1, 41
 Ching-mai – see Li Ching-mai
 Chirol, Ignatius Valentine, foreign editor of the
 London *Times* I: 9, 10, 95, 96, 97,
 98, 102, leaves Peking 104, 326,
 lunch with 328, 330, lunch with 334,
 336, 340, met 342
 II: 18, 229
 Cholmondeley, Lionel Berners, Rev. I: 11,
 15 II: 222n, to Cottage with 223,
 left 224, in Tokyo 295, preached 298,
 left card on 305
 Chou Fu/Chou-fu/Choufu I: 104, 111, 122,
 209, 254
 II: 44, 108, 143, 155, 198, 206, 224,
 accused of being pro-German 226,
 257, 264, 266, old man 290, 291,
 anxious only to avoid responsibility
 298, idea of assembly of notables 307
 Chou Tungshang (Director, National Bank of
 China) II: 6
 Christie (Russian consul, Newchwang) I: 177
 Christie, Dr. II: 227
 Chu, taotai I: 305
 Chuan (interpreter) I: 369
 Chuang, Prince (antiforeign, Ironhat) I: 70, 72,
 84
 Chü-chou I: 70
 Ch'ü Hung-chi (Grand Council member
 appointed to Foreign Board, Wai Wu
 Pu) I: 182, 186, 201, 214, 241, 243,
 244, 247, bullying 260, had a hand in
 drafting 264, notes exchanged 266,
 268, 269, 270, attacks on 284, Hunan
 365, 367, 371, 399
 II: New Year 1, 44, 60, 61, 116, 117,
 133, fiasco 137, wriggled like an eel
 140, 146, New Year call (1905) 148,
 156, 184, 190, 203, 206, 229, Wu
 very sorry for 230, friendly discourse
 with 231-2, 250, 266, dinner 268, 273,

- 279, 280, 285, plant cabbages 288
- Ch'un, Prince (father of Emperor Kuang Hsu)
I: 119, 120, 121, 123, 134, 135, 154,
170, 183, 268, message from King
270, 271
- Ch'ung-hsien I: 175
- Ch'ung-li I: 175, 200
- Chung Mun-yiw 鍾文耀 II: 253
- Chu Paofay II: 175, 180, 184, 193, to visit
England 218, with Natung 249, 251,
Shanghai row 254, 270
- Church, Professor I: 340
- Churchill, old I: 327
- Churchill, Lt.-Col. Arthur G. I: 8, 23, just
back from Japan 337, 338, rubbed
Japanese up wrong way 360 II: 301
- Churchill, Chas. I: 7, 11, 331
- Churchill, Mrs. Ch. I: 6, 334, 337
- Churchill, Lady Randolph I: 13
- Clairoux II: a big financier in Paris 231
- Clarendon, Lord I: 343
- Clark, J.W. (Registrar, Cambridge University)
I: 343, 344
- Clark, W. I: 153
- Clarke I: 24
- Clarke, Mr. I: 116
- Clarke, Miss I: 309
- Clarke, Sir Andrew I: 309
- Clarke, Sir George Sydenham II: 8
- Clarke, Walrond I: 9
- Clarke-Jervoise, H. I: 322, 333
- Clarke-Jervoise, Miss I: 333
- Clarke-Thornhill I: 335
- Clayton II: 293
- Clennell, W.J. (acting consul, Kuling) I: 159,
191, 192
- Climpson I: finger massage 334, 343
- Clinton, Lord Ed. Pelham II: 308
- Clive II: 301
- Clive of India I: 353
- Coates II: 281
- Cochran II: 222
- Cochran, Burke (U.S. senator) II: 229
- Cochrane, Dr. I: 194. II: medical school
80, hospital 121, 134
- Cockburn, Francis Claud (1904-81, editor of
The Week newsletter in the 1930s)
II: birth of 53, christening of 62
- Cockburn, Henry (Chinese secretary, British
legation) I: 34, 40, 47, 88, 138, 154,
191, 235, 239, 247, 271, 283, 290,
296, difficult to get on with 314,
allowance 334, unlikely to leave
Peking 340, 365, 369, 379, 386, 395,
396, 403
II: saw Wu Ting-fang 22, 25, 31, 42,
saw Wu 43, 46, 48, 63, 65, saw
Nat'ung 72, 81, 86, 103, 112, 113,
115, 117, 121, 126, 130, 132, 134,
note about Trade Regulations 150,
151, left for home 166, blamed by
Mumm 223
- Cockburn, N.C. II: travelling companion of
Sutton Timmins 249
- Cockburn, Mrs. Henry II: birth of baby boy
53, baby christened Francis Claud 62,
145, 166
- Cockerell, W.A. I: 2, 312, 313, outfit to
consuls 327, 338
- Cockerell, Mrs. I: 336
- Cohen, Miss I: 337
- Coke II: 300, 303

- Collier, Robert (Third Secretary, British Legation) II: arrived 129, walked to Cottage with 150, 151n, 188, 190, 191, 207, 234, 237
- Collinet, Major I: 224
- Collins of Reuters I: 182, 394, 397, in search of information 400
II: 19, 31, 212, 213
- Collins, Lady I: 336
- Collins, Sir Richard Henn (Master of the Rolls) I: 315n
- Collinson II: 218, 250, 287
- Cólogan, Món. (Spanish minister, Doyen of the Diplomatic Body) I: 35, 38, 39, 51, 58, 61, 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, a man of no capacity, hand in glove with de Giers 74n, 75, 77, 104, 108, 127, 128, 132, 136, 138, 139, 140, 146, 172
II: 29
- Colquhoun, (*Times* correspondent) II: 18
- Coltman, Dr. Robert I: 165
- Colvin, Auckland II: 185
- Conant, Charles A. (U.S. commission on International Exchange) I: 341
- Conant, Ned I: 4
- Conder, Josiah II: 299
- Confucius I: dispute at Shantung college about 242
- Conger, Mrs. Sarah (Doyenne in 1903) I: 35, 38, 96, 174, 191, 196n, 247, dined with 262, did not go to audience 278, 363, 378, ridiculed by Susan Townley 379n, 396 II: 1, farewell dinner to 171
- Conger, Edwin Hurd (U.S. minister, Doyen in 1903) (1843-1907) I: 35, 38, 40n, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, leaves Peking 96, 132, 134, 139, 144, 145, 146, 161, 163, 167, 171, 174, 177, 178, 179, 182, 187, 191, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 218, 221, 222, 228, 229, 230, Satow shows Agreement B to 235, 236-7, Manchurian mining agreements 242, 244, 245, carried off wife 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 256, 257, Doyen 258, 261, dined with 262, 267, Chinese should not write to doyen 271, banking expert for Yuan 276, 277, gold or silver 279, 280, 281 indemnity 282, before dinner 284, 289, no news about Newchwang evacuation 291, 300, 341, 361, called on 362, 363, 368, Prince Ch'ing to ask advice of 370, 371, offence at remarks 378, 379, 381, 382, 386, 390, 392, signature absent 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 403, 404, 407
II: 2, 7, Japanese ultimatum to Russia 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, telegram to Coolidge 18, 21, instructions sent to Kurino 22, 23, 28, 30, acted as Doyen 32, 33, 36, Newchwang 37, 38, 41, 42, arbitration at Hankow 45, 46, canal 47, 48, letter from Miller 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, letter from Miller 64, 66, 67, 74, gunboats on Poyang Lake 78,

- 79, report from Martin 82, 83,
Trade-marks 85, 89, 92, Chefoo
incident 93, 94, 95, 96, Askold 97,
went to Lessar 99, 102, 103, 104,
106, 109, Tibetan agreement 111, 113,
Poyang Lake 115, 116, report from
Newchwang 117, 119, Trademark
regulations 122, 124, 125, 128, 129,
Trademarks negotiations 130, 131,
132, 133, 137, draft of Note 142, 143,
144, meeting to discuss reply to
Chinese note 145, 146, 157, 158, 164,
appointed ambassador to Mexico 169,
farewell dinner to 171, 213
- Connaught, Duchess of II: 174
- Connaught, Duke of I: 343
- Contini II: 131
- Conyngham Greene, W. (Sir) I: 17
- Cookson, Charles I: 314
- Coolidge (U.S. legation) I: 369 II: 19, 45,
48, 79, 151, letter from 164, 177, 180,
183, 193
- Cooper, Col. Harry I: 330
- Cooper, Major I: 163
- Cordes (German legation) I: 205, 361 II:
12, 64, 67, 72, 139, 199, sent to
Hankow by Mumm 211, 212, wished
to retain price 241
- Corfe, Charles John, Bishop II: returning
home from Corea 190, 191, lunch
with 281, 283
- Cory, Mrs. I: 347
- Couget II: 265, transferred to Japan 274,
missionaries 277, 288
- Courrejolles, Admiral I: 151
- Courtenay, Capt. I: 312
- Cousins, Edmond I: 33, 121, 124, 141,
request for information 167, 171, 184,
202, 216, 218, 223, 229, 230, railway
land arbitration 257, 276,
representing B. & C. Corporation 279,
280, 282, 286, 362, lunch with 383,
389
- Cousins, Rev. G. (London Missionary Society)
II: conflicts between converts 68-9
- Cowan (Acting commissioner of Customs,
Weihaiwei) I: 194, 213
- Cowan, William (Office of Works) I: 24, 29,
47, discussed estimates with 305 II:
74, 198, 207
- Cowen II: 41, 136
- Cowie I: rumours 281, 282
- Cowie, a young civilian, of the J.C.S. I: 348
- Cowper, Commr. I: 24
- Cox, little I: 281
- Cox, General I: 320
- Cox, Lt. T.S. I: 255, 294
- Cox, Sir Lionel I: 356
- Cozens-Hardy I: 16, 17, 332
- Cradock, Capt. I: 107, 159
- Cranborne, Lord I: open door 260, 331,
committee 335, 371
- Crawford, Francis Marion (novelist) II: 55,
305n
- Crawford, Lord I: 338
- Crawford, Thomas II: 305n
- Creagh, General I: 24, 29, 30, 127, 128, 129,
131, 132, 133, 141, 142, 143, 149,
163, 165, 170, 175, 181, 183, 184,
185, 191, 199, 200, 202, 219, 227,
238, 242, meets Satow at Tientsin
258, 259, letter 260, 262, letter to 265,

- Yuan should consult 270, came up to stop 274, telegram to 275, Satow agrees to order handover of Shanhaikwan 276, 278, 303, 311, 344, 363, report on Chinese regiment 390, 404
 II: 178
- Creagh, Lt. I: 149
- Creagh, Mrs. I: 108, 163, 278
- Crichton, Capt. I: 345
- Cripps K.C. I: 202
- Crocker, Capt. R.M.L.I. I: 312, 361
- Crofton I: 110
- Cronin I: 26
- Cross, J.W. I: 337
- Crowe, Edward Thomas Frederick I: 23
- Cuffe, Hamilton (Lord Desart) I: cemetery at Montevideo 340
- Cummin I: 27
- Cummings, Miss Gordon II: 131
- Cunningham, Cuthbert I: 17, 332
- Currie (of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co.) I: 353
- Currie, Andrew (of Cornes Co. Ltd.) I: 343
- Currie, Lord Philip (British ambassador in Rome from 1898, former P.U.S.) I: 126, letter of introduction to 269, left card on 337
- Curry, Colonel Monty I: 4
- Curry, Hamilton I: 12
- Curry, Mrs. Hamilton I: 315, tea with 329
- Curry, Mrs. I: 4, 5, 313
- Curzon, George Nathaniel, (Viceroy of India, 1899-1905) I: sure to be Foreign Secretary 312, very unpopular with Civil Service in India 314, Satow suggests he go to see 327, done exceedingly well in India but unpopular 328, Satow again suggests he see 331, 336, resents refusal of his proposals 338, plans about Tibet not sanctioned by Cabinet 344, letter from 347, absent on Satow's arrival 348, back from Naldera 349, talk about Burma frontier 351, N.W. frontier province 352
 II: 18, 64
- Curzon, Lady I: 349, 352
- Custance, Admiral I: 6
- Cuverville, de (French military attaché) II: 160
- Cyril, Grand Duke I: 247, 248, dinner to 249
- Czar, The I: 216, coronation 217, Emperor Nicholas 298, name day 406
 II: easily influenced 3, no pledge to Japan about Manchuria 19, not at all inclined to make peace 199, 242, 308
- Czikann von Wahlborn, Freiherr/Baron Moritz (Austro-Hungarian minister) I: 22, 29, 30, 40, 42, 44, 47, 51, 53, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 72, 73, 79, 82, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 104, 117, 118, 119, 124, 139, 140, becomes Doyen 145, 146, 164, 166, 168, 192, 196, 198, 203, 208, 211, 213, 220, 234, produces letter 235, 236, 241, 244, 246, 247, 262, left card on 363, 369, 375, 383, 386, Hwangpoo conservancy 393, 394, 395, 404, 407
 II: rate of exchange 2, 32, 33, 38, 56, 57, 59, Mumm complains about 61, 69, 70, audiences 129, 133, 143, 145,

- absent from New Year's audience 157,
158
- Daintree, Comr. I: 150
- Dalai Lama II: 87, 103, 165, 171, still at
Urga 197, 208, 209, 214, 226, 288
- Dale, H. I: 321
- Dalton, Col. I: 333
- Dalton, Mrs. I: 333
- Daly, Major I: 349
- Daly, Mrs. I: 349
- Dane, L.W. (Foreign Secretary, India) I: 349,
350
- Dane, Mrs. I: 351
- d'Anethan, Baron Albert (Belgian minister,
Japan) I: 1, 23, 35, 305, 398n; II:
sanguine about eventual success of
Japan in war with Russia, very
pro-Japanese 112, 295, spent an hour
with 297, lunched with 298, not
pleased with Mumm 304, 398n
- Daniell, Capt. I: 390 II: 235
- d'Anthouard, Baron (French legation secretary)
I: 39, 42, 47, 52, 75, 96, 109, 122,
125, 132, 229
- Darwin, Charles I: 329
- Date of Sendai II: 298
- Dauglish, Henry I: 11
- d'Auty, Bous II: 83, 124-5, 196, 200, 245
- Davenport, Arthur (former consul in China) I:
332
- Davidson II: appointed U.S. consul to
Antung 22, 23, 183
- Davidson, W.E. (Law Officer, Foreign Office)
I: 6, 327-8, 342, said goodbye to 345
II: proposes a trip to the Alps 306
- Davies, David II: 151n
- Davies, E. I: 334
- Davies, G.R.B. I: 342, bored me 343
- Davis, Edmund (financier) I: 339, 365, 407
II: 62
- Davison, James I: 14, 21
- Davydoff II: 160, 191, 200
- Dawkins, Col. I: 327
- Dawkins, Clinton (financier) I: 351
- Dawkins, Mrs./Lady Clinton I: 10, 347
- Dawson, Rev. Mr. I: 330
- Day I: 58
- Dean, Mrs. Montague II: 294
- de Almeida, Gabriel (Portuguese Chargé
d'Affaires) I: 297, 370 II: 40,
glacis circular 71, 72, 75, telegram
104, 130, ridiculous objection (1902)
133, Mixed Court 134, 136. 138,
dined at 232, letter of protest to
Mumm 251, lorcha seized, "common,
offensive creature" 254, left card on
285
- Barings II: 275
- de Barre, William I: 314
- de Bavier, E. (Swiss merchant from Shanghai)
II: requests introduction to T'ang
Shao-yi 275
- de Bunsen, Miss Hildegard I: 319
- de Bunsen, Lothair I: 319, 320
- de Cartier (Belgian minister) I: 24, 29, 30,
166, 170, 180, 208, 234, 235, nobbled
236, 240, went to Prince Ch'ing 243,
244, discontent with Chang 247, 249,
251, 252, 254, 257-8, lighting and
tramways 258, Beau's languid
support of 261

- Deering, F.N. II: 172
- de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Baron E. (Belgian minister)
I: 281, 366, 389, 399 II: 45, 52, 71, 72, 73, Belgian indemnity proposal 74, 75, 80, 82, 83, 112, 123, 130, 131, 132, 136, indemnity 137, 144, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 161, 163, 165, 166, 170, 171, sycee 174, 175, 184, 187, 188, 190, 196, 197, indemnity 199, 200, 204, 207, 211, 214, 228, 233, 238
- de Giers, Baron Mikhail (Russian minister)
I: 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81, 84, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 135, 136, 141, 155, 158, 173, 218, 230, 257, Chinese promise to 262, 263, 309, not liked 340
II: 52
- de Giers, Mme. I: 137
- de Gorloff, Genl. A. I: 311, 316, moon photographs/maps 317, 318
- d'Iffanger, F. I: 343
- de Keller I: 50
- de Lichtenfilde I: 370
- de Luca, R. (acting commissioner of customs, Hankow) I: 84, 159 II: 185
- de Luca, Mme. II: 122
- de Marteau, Emile II: 124, 125, 144, came 262
- de Pelli II: 128
- de Prelles II: 228, dinner at 267
- de Renzis, Count I: 322
- de Rijke (Dutch engineer) II: 141, Satow supports appointment of 143, 196, 239, 241, appointment to take charge of Conservancy works 242
- de Rothschild, Miss Alice I: 320
- de Ruka, Mme. I: 311
- de Saumarez II: 222, a practical man 225, inquiry into police conduct by 257, 262, came on board 292
- de Staal, M. I: 190, 216, and Cambon 260
- de Vesci, Lady I: 13
- de Wenters I: 140
- de Wouters [Woutens?] II: 138, 182
- de Witte – see Witte
- Delaroche, Paul I: 14
- Delcassé, Théophile (French foreign minister)
II: 15, 53, 84n, 143, 186
- Delcoigne (Belgian adviser to Korean Foreign Department) II: 75
- Deloncle, François (French, deputy for Indo-China) II: 228, 229, 231
- del Var, Mgr. Merry I: 322
- Denby, young (Charles?) I: 72, 198, 240, 271
- Denby, Charles (son of Col. Denby, former U.S. minister) I: proposal about T.P.G. archives 295 II: Satow did not trust 16, 47, 121, 167
- Denison, Henry Willard (American adviser to Japanese F.O.) I: 22 II: 9, 96, called 241, 242, 243, 244, 296, 298, 299, 305
- Dent I: 150
- Dent (lawyer) I: 345

- Dent, Alfred I: 318
- Derby, Miss I: 305
- Dering, Herbert Guy Nevill (1867-1933, Sir, colonial administrator, British minister in Siam, 1919-25) I: 20, 34, 35, 66, 104, 106, 155 II: 284
- Derouin, Étienne, Père (1869-1920, French missionary) II: un homme imprudent 126, Dubail recommends removal of 130, 160, 200, still at Miaoyütsao 245
- Dessino I: 133
- Detring, Gustav (Customs official at Tientsin) I: 65, 120, 121, 167, 296, 298, award 368, 372, 401, 407 II: ought to go to England and tell the whole truth 22, hated by Yüan 50, ought to go home to give evidence 139, deceived Chang Yi 182
- Devonshire, Duke of I: conferred degrees 343
- d'Hautepoule, Marquis I: 311
- Dick, J.M. (Chairman, Bombay Chamber of Commerce) I: 347, 348
- Dickie, Major I: 106, 110, 111, 114, 115, 127, 128, 165
- Dickins, Frederick Victor I: 13, 329n, 339, 343, 403n
- Dickins, Mrs. I: 14
- Dickinson, Miss I: 337
- Dickinson, John (Tientsin) II: played bridge at Club with 138
- Dickinson, J.W. II: 11, Taku bar improvement scheme 194
- Dickson of Jardine's I: 357
- Dickson, Mrs. (third daughter of Sir Harry Parkes) II: 303
- Dimsdale, Sir Joseph I: 343
- Divers, Dr. I: 345
- Dobeniski I: 308
- Dobbie, Col. & Mrs. II: 168
- Dodge, Chas. I: 2
- Donaldson, Alick I: 14
- Dorward, Genl. Sir Arthur I: at Wei-hai-wei 150, at Singapore 356
- Doubelt (Russian guard) I: 224
- Douglas (Shanghai magistrate) I: 361 II: Shanghai Registrar 292
- Douglas, Capt. R.A. (son of R.K. Douglas) II: 188
- Douglas, A. Archibald (Archie) I: 18 II: eldest son of R.K. Douglas 130
- Douglas, Jim I: 338
- Douglas, Philip I: 31, 109
- Douglas, Sir Robert Kennaway (1838-1913) I: 3, 6, 11, 31, pen name "Jehu Junior" 314n, wrote the notice appended to caricature in Vanity Fair 330, to Dulwich with 338 II: my old friend 130, 188
- Douglas, Sholto I: 338
- Drage, Geoffrey I: 219, lunched with 312, 334, talk with 340, lunch with 345, 346
- Drake-Bockman I: 276
- Drew, Edward Bangs I: 65
- Drosemeier II: 199, 202
- Drummond, W.V. of Shanghai I: wrote to O'Connor 308 II: called and bored me 293
- Drury, Admiral I: 7
- Dubail (French minister) I: 295, a cunning little man 296, no instructions about

evacuating Shanghai 297, 363, 366, 368, 369, 371, glacis 372-3, 374, 375, 376, 379, Yünnan railway 382, returns Satow's essay on glacis 383, essay on glacis 391, 392, 393, 395, result of Supao trial 396, 397, 398, 400, talk with 401-3, 404, 405

II: 2-3, Manchuria 3-4, 8, 11, 14, 15, vanity, untrustworthiness of 16, 17, proposal 18, 19, 20, 21, neutralization of Chihli 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, furious 39, Congress 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 51, and Lansdowne 53, cock and bull story 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, railway concession 66, 67, 68, proposal 70, 72, 73, railways 77, teased by Satow 79, indemnity 84, hospital 87, 88, 89, 92, Askold 94, 97, memos 101-2, seen Lienfang 106, opened mouth wide 110, 112, 113, 115, 116, merchants 117, 118, letter of congratulation 119, 122, transit fees 123, 126, 127, 129, Tientsin taxes 130, 132, 133, 134, 136, instructions from Paris 137, 138, 141, sharp discussion with 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, bona fide 155, 156, indemnity 157, 160, 161, 162, misjudged by Satow 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, Trademark regulations 170, 171, 172, peace on the tapis 173, authorized 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 186, Germans 190, 191, 192, 195, 196, 197, indemnity 200, 203, 204, 205, 206,

Huangpu agreement 207, 209, 210, 211, Batang murders 212, 213, 214, peace arranged 217, 219, 220, 222, 225, dined with 228, 231, 232, 236, evacuation 237, 238, 240, no instructions 241, 244, 245, instructions about evacuation of troops 246, asked about Komura's negotiations 247, suggested 500 men at Tientsin would suffice 249, leaving only 500 men inconvenient to us 251, withdrawing troops 255, mediator 258, 259, came 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, Hwangpu conservancy bureau 266, 267, 268, Nanch'ang murders 269, 270, 271, 272, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, says goodbye to Satow 285, Satow sees off 287, 288

Du Boulay I: 42, 64, 71, 96, 125 II: 60

Ducat, Col. Charles Merewether I: 247, 290, 387, 390, 391 II: dined 32, excellent report 39, 63, sensational story 171, 196

Dudgeon, C.J. II: 86

Dudgeon, Dr. John. I: 37, letter to 274

Dudgeon, Mrs. I: 374

Dudgeon, Sir Charles J. (1855-1928) (Asst. Commissioner, Shanghai) I: 138, 154, 155, 156, supports Treaty 304, Manchurian mining concessions 305, 359

II: 225, and Lady 292, 293

Duer I: 23

Duff, Grant I: 346

Dufferin, Lord I: 338

du Halgouet – see Halgouet

- Duncan, Moir I: 103
- Dunn (of the Borneo Co.) I: 356
- Dunn, John I: 324
- Dunsterville I: 276
- Durand, Sir Henry Mortimer (British ambassador at Washington 1903-06)
II: 221, reason why two American regiments sent to Manila 264, felt a failure and offered to go 284
- Durrell, Alice I: 13
- Eames, J.B. I: 113, 140, 366
- Earle, Prof. I: 3
- Eastes, Arthur Ernest (1877-1948, student interpreter 1901) I: 171, 371, 376, 379, 386, 403; II: 6, 35, 114, 173, 188, 281, 283, 285, 288, 301, came to cottage later 371, 376, 379, 386, 403
II: 6, 36, 114, 138, 173, 188, 281, 283, 285, 288, 302
- Eastes, Dr. George (father of A.E. Eastes) I: 345
- Eberhard, Capt. I: 176, 177, 190
- Eck, Professor of French literature II: 303
- Eckardstein I: 129, 283, Lord Lansdowne's reply to 290
- Eckert II: 297
- Eckhart II: 137
- Ede, H. Montague II: prospecting agreements 222, 225, 232
- Edkins (Municipal Council, Nanking) I: 161
II: 139
- Edward VII, King I: 174, Coronation 183, 185, investiture of G.C.M.G. 249n, coronation postponed 253, coronation day 268, invests Satow with G.C.M.G. at Sandringham 311, has to be consulted 327, Satow takes leave of 344, 346
II: drink health of 1, 2, photograph of Empress-Dowager for 134-5, telegrams exchanged with German Emperor 232, 233, birthday of 237, 298, Komura's name submitted to 299, 304, permission to accept Japanese decoration awaited 305, audience with 308-9
- Edwards I: 10, 136, 334, book binding 340
- Edwards, Prof. Charles (music professor) I: 310
- Edwards, Dr. E.H. I: 115, 117 II: 126
- Edwards, G.H. I: 76, 114
- Egerton, Mrs. I: 333
- Ehrle, Father I: 325
- Elderton, Comr. I: 149
- Elgin, Lord I: 17n II: 213
- Elles, General I: 351
- Elliott, Arthur I: 338
- Elliott, Mrs. I: 339
- Elliott, Sir Henry I: 339
- Elliott, W.S. II: 114
- Ellis, Mrs. I: 310
- Emery, Winifred I: 11
- Emperor, Chinese (Kuang Hsu) (1871-1908, Emperor 1875-1908) I: 18, 26, 35, 37, 43, 49, 65, 66, 69, 76, 78, 91, 112, 121, 138, 139, 140, 144, 172, 173, 179, 180, audience with 188-9, audience 192, 200, New Year audience 203, 268, Raja seeks audience with 378, 391
II: 1, New Year audience 32, 40, 45,

- no force of character 46, 61, 108,
audience for Admiral Noel 117, 120,
127, 133, audience 134, 157, 158,
183, more ill than usual 187, 206, 208,
confined again by Empress-Dowager
232, 233, 251, New Year audience
(1906) 265, 270, 283, 285, Satow's
farewell audience 288
- Emperor, Francis Joseph of Austria II: 201
- Emperor, German – see William, Emperor
- Emperor, Japanese (Emperor Meiji) I: Garter
for Mikado 346 II: 40, shaking
hands 46, 221, 296, desire to see
Satow 297, audience with 298, 299
- Emperor, Russian – see Czar
- Empress, Japanese II: audience with 298
- Empress-Dowager ('E-D'), Chinese (Tzu Hsi)
(1835-1908) I: 2, 18, 26, 27, 29,
32, 36, 37, 63, 91, 104, 138, 144, 146,
147, 148, 149, 152, 156, 172, 178,
179, 180, 188, 191, 192-3, 196, 199,
New Year audience 203, 205, 212,
214, 217, 227, 241, great row 243,
244, three days grace 261, 268, 274,
ladies' audience with 278, helping
285, 298, 301, 344, 346, incorrect
information about 356, 363, 374, no
reform while living 375, surrounded
by American ladies 378, 390, 391,
402
II: 1, 7, approved of neutrality
proclamation being communicated 17,
rumour 19, 44, 46, portrait of 53, a
good look at 60, 61, birthday 68, 74,
donation to medical school 80, 95,
audience for Admiral Noel 117, 121,
128, 129, 132, audience to present
King's letters to 133, audience 134,
photographs of 135, New Year's
audience 157, 158, wants to take over
Mukden 168, 169, 178, audience 188,
205, 220, will not be deceived again
by Russians 224, garden party 228,
229, leans on Prince Ch'ing and Yuan
230, 231, confines Emperor again
232, rumoured letter 236, need for
strong army 252, Kuei-chun
accompanied in 1900 during her
escape 260, New Year's audience
(1906) 265, put off ladies' audience
277, very angry 283, 288
- Enomoto Takeaki II: 299
- Enshou 恩壽 (New governor of Shansi
province) II: called 272
- Erskine, Capt. I: 122, 259
- Escombe, Flag-Lieut. II: 117
- Esher, Lord I: 10
- Euan-Smith, C.B. (Sir) I: appointed to Bogota
352
- Evans I: 159
- Evans, Admiral R.D. (U.S. Navy, "Fighting
Bob") I: 306, thinks Japanese navy
inferior to Russian 307, 368, 405n
II: 10, 37
- Evans, David I: 288
- Everett II: 28
- Everitt, Major I: 165
- Ewing, Professor (formerly in Japan) I: 343
- Fabriz, Miss I: 259
- Fair, Flag-Lieut. I: 107, 108
- Fairholme I: 15

- Fairless, Michael (Maggie Barber) I: 342
- Farrow, Capt. I: 206 II: prospecting license 44
- Favier, Monseigneur Auguste (Bishop of Peking) I: 214, 222, accusation 268 II: gives Satow his book on Peking 44, autographs book 132, funeral service of 174
- Fearon, James I: 256
- Fell (I.C.S.) I: 354
- Fên II: 50
- Fêng-chuan II: murder of 182, brought on rising 186
- Fenton (Reuters correspondent) I: 290
- Ferguson (Aide-de-camp of General Ventris) II: 170
- Ferguson R.A. I: 403 II: 17
- Ferguson (American) I: 305
- Ferrant, Mgr. Paul-Louis (Catholic bishop) II: called to order by Dubail 272
- Findlay of Bulloch Bros. I: 355
- Finlay II: in a Russian tea-hong 290
- Firth I: 23
- Fischer, Professor II: 270
- Fischer, Dr. (attached to German legation as government archaeologist) II: 265
- Fischer, Frau II: 256
- Fitzgerald, Mrs. I: 344
- Fitzgerald, Rear Admiral Penrose I: 15, 16
- Fitzroy, Almeric I: 331 II: 309
- Flaherty, A.J. I: 386, 403 II: 139, 289
- Fleming, Canon I: 311
- Fletcher II: 158, young 290
- Florentz, Dr. Karl II: 303
- Foley I: 2
- Foley, Miss I: 376
- Foote, Commodore of the "Ocean" I: 361
- Foote, Mrs. I: 370, 371
- Forrest II: reported to have escaped 213
- Forster I: 23
- Fortescue, Major Hon. John I: at Sandringham 311
- Foss, Bishop II: at lunch in Kobe 294
- Foster I: 161
- Foster, Tom I: 11, losing eyesight 313
- Foster, William I: 6, 10
- Foster, Mrs. W.K. I: 337
- Fowler II: 85, 103
- Fox, Capt. of "Parramatta" I: 307
- Fox, Hon. C.E. I: 355
- Fox, Harry Halton I: 24 II: 22, 52
- Francqui I: 163, 220
- Franklin, Sir Benjamin I: 351
- Franzius II: 142
- Fraser I: 403
- Fraser, Sir Andrew I: dyspepsia 353
- Fraser, David (*Times* correspondent in Japan) II: 18, 145, came to call 234
- Fraser, Everard H. (British Consul-General at Hankow, 1901) I: 34, 50, 80, 88, 92, 95, 98, 159, 160, 161, 177, 181, 182, 194, 226, 228, 278, 285, 290, message received through 291, instructed to talk to Viceroy 292, 293, 302 II: 50, 158, instructions to 167, 199, 219, 223, 226, notified Chang of end of Tibetan negotiations 245, not of sufficient standing 285, 289
- Fraser, Mr. Hugh (British Minister to Japan, 1889-94) II: 305n
- Fraser, Mrs. Hugh (née Mary Crawford) II:

- 295, 300, 305n
- Fraser, Thomas of the Chartered Bank II: 283
- Frederick of Hohenzollern, Prince II: 162
- Frederick/Friedrich Leopold of Prussia, Prince (1865-1931) II: 174, 176, 190
- Frederick, Empress I: 128
- Fremantle, Sir Edmund & Lady I: 332 II: 295
- French, General I: 343
- Freshfield, Wm. I: 11
- Freud I: 403
- Fry, Francis I: 297
- Fujii II: 145
- Fujii, Professor (Head of botanical gardens) II: 303, 305
- Fujimi-chō (O-Kane's house) II: 298, 299
- Fukushima II: 140, 222
- Fukuzawa, Yukichi (Editor-in-chief, *Jiji Shinpo*) II: letter to Kamei 16
- Fulford, H.E. I: 3, 114 II: arrived from Newchwang 6, a very nice fellow 7, 9, recommended for Mukden by Satow 22, instruction to protest 42, 45, 69, 104, 120, 138, 139, 158
- Fulford, Mrs. II: and daughter 44, 48
- Fung Wa-chen II: 264
- Funke, Capt. II: 45
- Gaiffier – see de Gaiffier
- Gage, Capt. I.M.S. I: 353
- Gallina, Count Giovanni (Italian representative) I: 236, 244, 247, 250, 251, farewell lunch 290, 295, left card on 363, 369, 374, 375, glacis 377, despondent 385, 386, 391, about glacis 399
- II: 19, 22, 23, bored 29, 31, 34, 35, 40, 47, 53, 55, draft protocol 69, declined St. Petersburg Embassy 78n, 95, 116, 123, 125, 127, 129, supposed intermeddling in 1904 286
- Gardner, Christopher II: 252
- Gardner, Wade I: 24
- Garnett II: 249, 265, 287, 288
- Garstin, Charles Fortescue I: 403 II: 207
- Gascoigne, General Sir Wm. & Lady I: 358
- Gaselee, General Sir Alfred I: 29, 30, 32, 35, 38, 41, 42, 48, 49, 51, 54, 57, 60, 63, 68, 73, 76, 78, 90, 91, 94, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122, 163, 173, 230
- Gatrell, Dr. Thomas J.N. I: 114, 116, 128, 189, 225, 248, 375, 405
- II: 16, 17, 26, 34, at Paotingfu 39, 50, 57, returned from long journey to Urga 128, offer from G. Jamieson 146
- Geddes, (Chairman of the Municipal Council, Hankow) I: 160 II: trees on English bund 290, 292
- Gemmell II: 298
- Gérard, Auguste I: promise made to 168, 228
- Gerrare, Wirt (William Oliver Greener, 1862-1935) II: 18, 30
- Giannotti I: 323
- Gibbs, Alban I: 312
- Gibson, Miss I: 345
- Giers – see de Giers
- Gilbert, manager of the Y.M.C.A. II: 280
- Giles, Professor Herbert A., of Cambridge University I: republication of

- dictionary 326
- Giles, Lancelot (student interpreter, 1899) I:
to proceed to Changsha in river
gunboat HMS Snipe 270, mixed
court assessor in "Supao" case 393,
396
II: 225
- Gilgenheim, Hentschel von (German military
attaché) II: thrown overboard
160
- Ginnell II: 211
- Ginsburg, Baron M.H. I: 401
- Glass, J.H. (of Peking Syndicate) I: 340
- Glover, Alf. I: 23
- Godley, Sir Arthur & Lady I: 344
- Goffe, Herbert (consul at Têng-yüeh) I: 315
- Goforth, Rev. Jonathan II: 107
- Goltz – see von der Goltz
- Goluchowski, Graf/Count (Austrian foreign
minister 1895-1906) II: 56
- Gonzalou [Gonzales?] II: 136
- Goodman, Alfred I: 307
- Goodman, Sir William I: 307, 358
- Goodnow, Hon. John (U.S. Consul-General,
Shanghai) I: 156, 161, 162, 194,
200, 207, 208, 230, instruction sent to
277, 279, 373
II: 46, 65, 85, 97, a great liar 272
- Goodridge, Capt. (controller of Bombay
Marine) I: 347, 351
- Gordon, Edward L.S. I: 23
- Gordon-Smith II: rather a "frondeur" 294
- Gore, Arthur I: 336
- Gore, Bishop of Worcester I: 307, 329
- Gore, Canon I: 10, 15, 16, 18, 20
- Gore, Mrs. Francis I: 334
- Gore-Browne, Wilfred I: 329
- Gorton, Miss Maye I: 2
- Goschen, G. J. I: 12
- Goshirakawa no In II: 303
- Gosse, Edmund I: 9
- Gosselin, Martin I: 20
- Gotti, Cardinal (Prefect of Propaganda, Rome)
I: missions in China 322, interview
with 323-4
- Goudy, Prof. I: 342
- Gowland, Prof. William I: 314
- Graham I: 308
- Grainger I: 338
- Grandprey, Col. (French military attaché) I: 370
- Grant, Major I: 20
- Grant, Sir Alexander I: 349
- Granville, Lord I: 10 II: 302
- Grassi (Italian legation guard) II: 169,
estimate for wireless installations 178
- Graves, Bishop II: 226
- Gray, Dr. I: 363, 403 II: 39, 55, advises
Satow to stay in bed 56, hospital 134,
151, 168, 190, 198, advises trip to
Peitaiho 207, 227, 269
- Gray, Mrs. I: 363, 403 II: to Drum
Tower with 171, 198, 207, 251
- Greaves of Butterfields at Hankow II: 289
- Greener - see Gerrare
- Gregg II: 31
- Grenfell, Miss I: 317
- Grenfell, Lord I: 326, 343
- Grenfell, Rear-Admiral I: 249, 259
- Grenfell, W.H. I: 328
- Greppi, Count I: 323
- Grey II: 285
- Grey, Mrs. II: 289

- Grey, Sir Edward (British foreign secretary, 1892-95 and 1905-16) I: 334
II: Cambon's statement to 277, 284, 286, 288, 304, telegraphed to ask Satow what his wishes were 305, appointment for private talk next week 306, dined tête à tête (privately) with 306-308, an excellent foreign minister 309
- Grierson, Col. I: 35, 40, 41, 42, 70, 82, 90, 91, 100, 102, 112
- Grinnell, Mrs. II: 305
- Griscom, Lloyd (U.S. minister at Tokyo) II: 2, 8, 15, 206
- Groot, Dr. I: 137
- Grosse II: 76, 78, 94
- Grosvenor, Countess I: 328
- Groves I: 356
- Grüne II: 118
- Grunenwald, Dr. (German consul, Hankow) I: 159
- Gubbins, John H. I: 1, 3, 13, 17, to lunch 313; II: a long talk with 296, 299, 300, 301, 303, came on board 305
- Gubbins, Mrs. II: 297
- Guedes I: 186
- Guest, Monty I: 311
- Guillemand, Dr. I: 343
- Guinness, B.S. I: 2, 3, 356
- Guiocioli, Marquis I: 324
- Guise, Arthur I: 248
- Gunter, Capt. Dr. (of the R.A.M.C.) I: 387, 403 II: 50
- Gutschmid, Freiherr von I: sudden volte-face 385
- Gwynne, Major I: 20, 151
- Haas, M. (consul-general in partibus) I: tramway and petroleum concessions 264
- Haga Ya-ichi II: 303
- Haggard, Wm. (Minister at Buenos Aires) I: 336
- Haig, Col. I: 345
- Haldane, Richard Burdon (Liberal M.P.) I: radical but sensible 315
- Halgouet (French) II: 270, du Halgouet 272, 273, 278, 279, returned 281, 282
- Hall, John Carey (British consul in Kōbe) I: 23
- Hall, W.E. II: 104
- Hamaguchi Kichiyemon II: 238
- Hamao Arata, Dr. II: 301, invitation to Bureau for compiling historical materials 303
- Hamilton, Flag Lieut. to Admiral Bridge I: 122, 258
- Hamilton, Col. I: 349
- Hamilton, Col. Angus I: 48
- Hamilton, Claud of the "Rosario" I: 259
- Hamilton, D.M. of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. I: at Calcutta 352
- Hamilton, General Sir Ian I: 330
- Hamilton, Lord Claud I: 10, 331
- Hamilton, Lord Fred. I: 13
- Hamilton, Lord Geo. I: 12, 51, 94, 163, 331, 344
- Hamilton, Lady Geo. I: 344
- Hamilton, I.G. II: 36, 39
- Hamilton Cavill, P.G. I: 329
- Hamley I: 151
- Hampden – see Hobart-Hampden

- Hanabusa II: 297, 299
- Hanbury, Cecil I: 316
- Hanbury, Charlotte I: 14
- Hanbury, Sir Thomas I: seed-rooms 317, 320
- Hankin, Seymer I: 74
- Hanna, Hugh H. (U.S. commission on International Exchange) I: 341
- Hanneken – see von Hanneken
- Hannen, Beau I: nomination for F.O. exam 345
- Hannen, E. I: 337
- Hannen, Jessie I: 14, 337, 347
- Hannen, Lady I: 14, called on 314, 337, 345, 347
- Hannen, Mrs. Lance I: 14
- Hannen, Rosie I: 14
- Hannen, Mrs. Ted I: 14, 331
- Hanotaux, Gabriel I: 399
- Hanson [P.C. Hansson in Customs Service?] (Norwegian Commr. of Customs) I: 358 II: 136
- Hara Kei (Editor, *Ozaka Shinpō*) II: 218
- Harada (Japanese military attaché, Rome) I: 325
- Harcourt, Sir W. II: 51
- Harding I: 29
- Harding, John Reginald (engineer of I.M.C.) II: letter 141
- Hardinge, Charles (Lord Hardinge of Penshurst) I: 338, goodbye to 345 II: 305
- Hardinge, Mrs. Ch. I: 346
- Hardouin, Consul I: 152, 153, 208
- Hardwicke, Lord I: 311
- Hardy/Hendy I: of the Hart 259
- Hardy, Mrs. II: 120
- Hardy, Thomas (novelist) I: 343
- Hare, Asst. Comr. I: 150
- Harford, Frederick Dundas (Diplomatic Service) II: 173
- Harmand, Jules (French minister in Tokyo) II: left card on 296
- Harriman, Mr. II: 226, 235
- Harriman, Mr. & Mrs. II: automobilism on the brain 276
- Harris [W.B.? Nicholson succeeded Satow in Morocco] I: intriguing against Nicolson 344
- Harris, interpreter I: 219
- Harris, Lt. Col. I: 24, 129
- Harris (Office of Works) I: 362
- Harris, Dr. Rutherford II: endeavours to have English capital invest in Japanese industries 293
- Harris, W.B. (*Times* correspondent in Morocco) I: 326
- Harrison-Smith, Comr. I: 122
- Hart, Lady Robert (née Hester Jane Bredon) II: 272, 273
- Hart, Miss II: 284
- Hart, Sir Robert (1835-1911) ('I.-G.', Inspector-General, Imperial Maritime Customs 1863-1907) I: 15, 18, 19, 24, 35, 36, 47, 56, 57, 59, 65, 78, 80, 83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 100, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 119, 122, 123, 125, 129, 137, 138, 144, 145, 146, 154, 155, 164, 167, 171, 182, 187, 189, 192, 193-4, 195, 196, 197, 198, 203, 207, 212, 214, 227, letter to 236, seen by Bohlen 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, suggests giving Chinese time

- 251, 252, advises Azevedo 261, 263, 265. Hart telegraphs Bredon 266, lent band 268, 273, 274, 278, agreement with Azevedo 281, 285, Bredon's right to succeed 306, 313, Townley's successor 314, letter from 335, insidious work 354, trade mark registration 367, came to call 369, harmful to Chinese interests 370, Russian demands 371, 376, band 380, 384, brass band 385, 386, 396
II: 12, 24, thinks Mumm is up to mischief 31, 45, 53, 55, garden party 67, 73, 76, 85, cigarette export duty 102, successor 107, 119, 132, 'going on leave' 141, 143, Lockhart memorial committee 151, wedding speech 152, 158, 167-8, looking fresh as a daisy despite age 174, 188, 194, 200, 220, 226, brass band for King's birthday celebration at legation 237, Newchwang customs revenue 241, 246, speech at opening of medical college and hospital 267, import of opium 269, 273, 287, 288, suppression of 292
- Hart, Dr. S. Lavington. (President, Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College) II: 37, 158
- Harvey, Alexander I: 312
- Harvey, A.S. (formerly of China consular service) I: 343
- Hashiguchi, Major II: 263
- Haskins, Mrs. II: 293
- Hastings, Warren I: 353
- Hatchett I: 9, 13, 18
- Hatoyama II: 295
- Hattori II: 214
- Hawdon I: 370
- Hawkins, Caesar (Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, Yokohama branch) II: transacted business with 296
- Hauer II: 283
- Hausser II: 58
- Hay, Dalrymple I: 10
- Hay, John (U.S. Secretary of State) I: 107, 132, 162, 197 II: 27n, 30, 40, 45, 46, 47, policy against Russia 121, 130
- Hayashi (Kyoto curio dealer) II: 294
- Hayashi Gonsuke II: 299
- Hayashi Tadasu, Baron I: 14, 125, 199, 201, 205, a sharp fellow 210, telegram given to 286, called on 330, Viscount 340, lunch at Carlton 342, 346, lack of first-class cruisers 360, 362
II: 10, 18, to be Minister for Foreign Affairs 224, extension of alliance 243, 258, 290, left card on 297, 298, Rising Sun order for Satow 299, Cambridge Club 301, 303, urges Satow to write history of revolution in Japan 304, 305
- Hayes, Dr. I: 242
- Headlam, Lt. I: 149
- Headland II: Chinese pictures 251
- Heath, Lord I: 318
- Heinemann, William I: 7
- Henderson, old lady I: 160
- Henderson, Capt. Frank I: 137, 149, 150, 259
- Henderson, Admiral W.H. I: 6, 10, 332, 333
- Hendricks, Bishop I: 21

- Hendry I: 51
- Hengelmüller I: 22
- Henningsen I: 1
- Hensley, Canon I: 347
- Herbert, Arthur II: 174
- Herbert, H.A. I: 343
- Herman I: coal-mines in western hills 72
- Herriman I: 326
- Hertslet, Sir Ed. I: 9, 334
- Hervey, Dudley I: 7, 8
- Hesse (London Manager of Eastern Extension
Telegraphs Co.) II: 76, went away
78
- Hewett/Hewitt, E. (of the P. & O.) I: 24,
106, 144, 307
- Hewitt, S.A. (Chairman, Hong Kong
Committee of Chamber of
Commerce) I: 357
- Hewitt/Hewett (Shanghai municipal council)
I: 24, 120, 121, 122, 137
- Hewlett, Maurice I: 9
- Hewlett, W. Meyrick I: 110, 117, 131, 141,
142, 143, 149, 150, 157, 160, 188,
307 II: came up from Tientsin 114,
302
- Hewston, Mrs. I: 259
- Hideyoshi II: 224
- Hijikata, Count II: visit of 232, very cordial
238
- Hill, Lord & Lady Arthur I: 336
- Hill, Clement I: 334
- Hillier, Edward Guy (Hong Kong & Shanghai
Bank) I: 32, 51, 67, 68, 69, 74, 82,
88, 92, 94, 100, 107, 111, 115, 119,
121, 124, 132, 154, 156, 164, 202,
208, 209, 211, 227, 229, Satow to
advise 243, 248, 249, refuses to
convert monthly payment 266,
fractional bonds 279, 280, 289,
intramural indemnity 295, 376, 383,
traffic on extra-mural line 387,
cadastral survey 399
II: 5, 6, 9, telegram 15, 22, letter 28,
42, 50, loan 69, 72, 79, 80, 82,
railway and mining concessions 83,
85, opium monopoly 104, 105, 108,
112, 121, payment of indemnity
through opium 130, 131, 132, 133,
indemnity 136, 137, 138, 141,
advises Chao 147, Belgian sale of
Luhan railway 148, telegraphic
transfers 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 157,
loan to Chang Chih tung 158, 159,
167, 172, 178, Russian indemnity 182,
183, 184, dined with 189, sycee 192,
198, 202, 203, 204, 212, disturbed
215, tendering for loan 218, 219, 223,
280, 287
- Hillier, Sir Walter (diplomat) I: 88, 93, 96, 101,
103, leaves Peking 104, divorced
wife 332, 340, 342, 347, 369, 388,
391
II: 262
- Hills, Capt. I: 11
- Hiltebrandt I: 151
- Hioki (Nishi's secretary) I: 38, 48, 53, 59, 60,
61, 62, Sugiyama reparation 64, 72,
objections to Mackay treaty 305, 307
- Hippisley, A. E. (Assistant Commissioner,
Imperial Maritime Customs) I: 18,
19, 83, 84, Hippeley 140, unhealthy
condition of 147, 155, 212, Hippeley

- 244, 245, Hipplesey 304, 307, 371, 384
 II: Hipplesey 207, 293
 Hipplesey, Mrs. I: 305 II: Hipplesey 207
 Hiraoka (Japanese Member of Parliament) II: 203, irresponsible 205
 Hirata Tōsuke II: 299
 Hjousbery, Ed. I: 154
 Ho Naiying I: 121, 199
 Hoare, Bishop & Mrs. I: 357
 Hoare, Sir Samuel I: 320
 Hobart-Hampden, Ernest Miller I: 23 II: 305
 Hobson, Herbert Elgar (Imperial Maritime Customs commissioner at Shanghai 1901-10) I: 102, 208, 384 II: Odagiri's cautious letter to 78, sent to investigate 220
 Hodges, Rev. I: 27
 Hoggs I: 27
 Hohenloh II: 281
 Hohler, Thomas B. (Tokyo legation) I: 367, 369, 400
 Hohlimann I: 48
 Holder II: 239
 Hollams I: 11
 Holland, Comr. I: 355
 Holland, Professor I: 342
 Holliday, Wm. II: 182
 Holmes, Ernest Hamilton I: 23
 Holmes, Miss I: 323
 Holstein I: 328
 Home, Major (Gurkhas) II: 54
 Hoover, Herbert I: 81, 120, sale to 298, 339, 362, 366, 405 II: 36, 135, 182
 Hope, Henry I: 56
 Hope, Mrs. Adrian I: 11
 Hope-Biddulph II: 31
 Hopkins, L.C. (British consul, Tientsin) I: 111, 124, 136, 141, 172, 177, 195, 222, 223, 229, 235, 247, 249, meets Satow at Tientsin 258, despatch from 265, 276, 279, 289, 294, 296, 297, 304, 312, 361, 362, arbitration 372, 380
 II: 1, 9, 10, 22, and niece 30, 36, 37, mistake 167, 178, instructions to 215, 216
 Hosie, Alexander (Sir) [Hosie was in the consular service but became acting commercial attaché in 1905]
 I: 176, 222, 392 II: duties imposable 236, arrived 249, 265, 276, 283, 287
 Hoste, Dick (of China Inland Mission) I: 114
 II: 126
 Hoyos, Count I: 6, 7, 40
 Howard, Miss II: 293
 Howard, Esmé I: 325
 Howard-Smith, Rev. T. I: 194, requests help for Y.M.C.A. 382
 Howell, W.G. I: 10, 329, 330, 343
 Hozumi Nobushige II: 303
 Hsi-liang I: 96, 392 II: 178
 Hsü Ch'êng-yü I: 90, 91
 Hsü Chih-hsiang I: 175
 Hsü Choupêng/Shoupêng I: 104, 109, 111, 112, 147, 300
 Hsü Chüeh (Chinese minister to Rome) I: missionary question 269
 Hsü Fu I: 175
 Hsü Hui-fêng I: 175
 Hsü Shih-chang (Minister of Police) II: 224,

- president of new ministry of police
229, 230, huge luncheon at
Wagons-Lits 277
- Hsün, Duke I: 121, 154, 170, 174
- Hu tajan I: 110
- Hu Ting-kan (governor) II: 155, not done
his duty 272, 279
- Hu (Hu Yü-fên) I: 50, 82, 109, 117, 127, 131,
135, 147, 169, 170, 171, 173, 175,
176, 179, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188,
190, 198, 199, 202, 212, 214, 221,
223, 227, 230, 235, 236, 237, sees
Campbell 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, no
decree against 244, railway question
245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252,
253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258,
Manchurian ratification 259, quotes
Lord Cranborne 260, 261, visits
Uchida 262, 263, draft 264, railway
265, hopes French will give way 267,
268, with Kinder 269, 271, 370, 387,
388, 389, 396, 406 273, 274, got very
excited 275, arguing 276, 278, 280,
lied to Cousins 282, 286, 289, 294,
called on 364, old Hu 369, 370, 387,
388, 389, 396, 406
- II: 1, 7, 11, request for British
mediation 13, 14, 15, in great triumph
16, 17, telegram from Yinkow 24, 25,
flour 33, 38, loan agreement 42, 65,
asks Satow for recommendation to
Nat'ung 72, desire to go to Hupeh 74,
83, 88, services rendered 89, 95, 106,
109, 125, 151, 158, stoppage of
traffic on railway 168, 181, 189,
luncheon with bad cookery and
inferior wines 190, 262, seventieth
birthday celebrations 263, Lister
Kaye's mining concession 264, 268,
283-4, 287, 289
- Hubback I: 355
- Hubbard (Times correspondent) I: 322
- Hübner, Freiherr/Baron Joseph Alexander von
II: 177, read diary of 236
- Hübner, Count II: 177
- Huerta, Pablo Herrera de (Mexican envoy at
Peking, 1906-09) II: 286
- Huerta, Mme. II: 243
- Hughes, Mr. I: 342
- Hughes, Willoughby R., harbour master at
Chin wang tao I: 117, 142, 163, 259,
Satow stays night at his house 298-9
II: 17
- Hughes, Mrs. I: 24
- Hui-chang I: 175
- Hülle, Hermann II: 71
- Hume, Colonel Ch. (military attaché at Tokyo)
I: 342 II: 296, 298, left card on
301
- Hume, Major Martin I: 330
- Hume, Mrs. II: 297
- Hunt I: 235, 236
- Hunter II: 204, letter 208, 218 of the Bank
292, 293
- Hunter, Genl. I: 343
- Hunter, Lt. I: 114, 219
- Huntingdon-Wilson II: 297, 298, 305
- Hutchinson II: 139
- Hwang Chung-husi I: 57
- H.Y. – see Takeda Hisayoshi
- Hylton, Dowager Lady I: 336
- Hynd (banker) I: 49, 58, 60, 65, 196, 202,

- 205, 211, 216, 227, brings
prospectus 230, 235, 236, objects
to Browne 255, 261, railway 265,
met in the street 275
- Ibbetson, Sir Denzil I: 350, 351, Curzon's
high opinion of 352
- Ibbetson, Lady I: 350, 351
- Ichiku (Japanese first secretary, Rome) I: 325
- Ichinomiya of the *Shuntien Jihpao* newspaper
II: speaks Chinese fluently 217, 218
- Iditti, Genl. I: 22
- Ijuin II: 97
- Iku I: rewarded 169
- Ili-fu II: 263
- Imbeek/Imbeck I: 56, 85
- ImThurn, Everard (Lt. Governor, Ceylon) I:
309
- Inaba, Viscount II: one of the Cambridge
set 294, 297
- Inagaki Manjirō II: 298
- Inglis, R. I: 229, opium hulks 304
- Inouye of the *Shuntien-pao* (newspaper) II:
217
- Inouye Kaoru, Count (1835-1915) II: dinner
Inouye is going to give us 296, on
board "Barrosa" 297, dinner in my
honour 299, 301, 305
- Inouye Katsunosuke I: 58
- Inouye Masaru, Viscount I: 145 II: 140,
Komura and 226
- Ireland of Mackinnons I: 348
- Irving, Mrs. J. Bell I: 9
- Isaacs, Rufus I: 336
- Isawa Shuji (House of Peers) II: romanisation
300
- Ishiguro, Baron II: 300
- Ismay, James I: 219
- Ismay, Lottie I: 219
- Iswolsky I: 103, 201, recalled from Tokyo
330, 365
- Itiffe I: thanked me 142
- Itō Hirobumi (Japanese elder statesman) I: 36,
196, 208, Uchida comments on 210,
visit to Petersburg 330, 367n, 401
II: 40, 140, 198, well-known love
of peace 221, letter to King of Korea
243, left card on 296, return to
Chōshiū with Inouye 297, 298, 299,
spoke 300, strongly supported
MacDonald 304, 305
- Izard, Rev. Arthur I: 6, 13, 15, 18
- Jackson, Capt. (Royal Navy) II: 298
- Jackson, Comr. of the "Rosario" I: 356
- Jackson, David I: 23
- Jackson, D.H. I: professorship at Peking 336
- Jackson, Tom I: 18, 21 II: 259
- Jackson, Sir Thomas I: at Lombard St. 335
- Jacobsen, Frau I: 376
- Jadeau I: 140
- Jadow I: 170, 171, 173, 176
- James, F.H. I: 10
- James, F.S. I: 11 II: 303, 305
- James, Frank of Yokohama II: 281
- James, J.M. I: 23
- James, Captain Lionel (correspondent) II:
18, called with Morrison 106,
condemned for uncensored telegrams
145
- Jameson, Mrs. I: 11
- Jamieson, young II: 6

- Jamieson, F.A. (son of R.A. Jamieson) I: 142
- Jamieson, George (1843-1920) (Director of the British and Chinese Corporation)
I: 10, 12, 13, 24, 29, 53, 54, 61, 65, 66, 67, 86, 87, 90, 92, 105, 135, 138, 156, 169, 172, 204, 208, 215, 225, 229, 235, Shansi mines 247, 264, interested in railway matters 286, consent 313, 389, 392
II: 5, 74, 102, Peking Syndicate railway agreement 110, 111, 113, continue negotiating with Shêng 115, 116, 132, 133, 134, 135, 143, offer to Gatrell 146, near agreement with W.W.P. 152, interview with Lei 159, 173, 179, 197, 198, 204, 217, Legation not 'handy man' of Syndicate 223, gave him draft to read 235
- Jamieson, J.W. (commercial attaché) I: 107, 306, 394, 395 II: 114, 116
- Jamieson, R.A. (Satow's fellow-student in Peking, 1861) I: 142
- Jarlin, Mgr. Bishop Stanislas (1856-1933) I: 91, 115, 214, 222 II: 45, 278, 287
- Jebb, Sir Richard I: 343
- Jellicoe, John R. (later Admiral Lord) I: 30, 110, 314
- Jenkins, Alice I: 4
- Jenkins, Sir Lawrence I: 348
- Jenks, Professor Jeremiah Whipple (U.S. Commission on International Exchange) (1856-1929) I: 341
II: 21, 30, 80, dined with 83, 86, Satow praises currency scheme of 88, dinner given by 90, came to say goodbye 99n, 181
- Jennings, F.C. I: 2
- Jerome, Capt. of the "Albion" I: 358
- Jeune [Jeme?] II: 191
- Joe (dog) I: 137 II: 45, death of 269
- John, Dr. Griffith I: 161
- Johnson (American Lightering Co., Tientsin) II: 117
- Johnson, David Campbell I: 10
- Johnson, R.T. I: 358
- Jones, Capt. (Royal Marine Light Infantry) II: 293, 302
- Jones, Frederic (Commercial agent for Queensland) II: import duty on coal 214
- Jones, Sir William I: portraits of 353
- Joostens, Maurice (Belgian minister) I: 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 59, 61, 73, 75, 79, 93, 94, 99, 124, 137, 139, 140, 166, 169, 177, a queer proceeding 256, left card on 362, dined with 364, Kaifêng mines 365, 366, 368, indemnity proposal 373, 374, 376, 379, 383, 385, 386, 397, 398, 404, and Chang Yi 405
II: 8, 16, 26, 33, 40, 42, Chang yi in fresh difficulties 50, 51, farewell dinner 52, Japanese victory a good thing 54, 55, 62, 63, indemnity proposal 66, 70, 71, proposal 79
- Jordan, John Newell I: 15, might succeed Tower at Bangkok 313
II: 31, foresaw withdrawal of legation from Seoul 248, Satow's successor 284, junior to Warren and Mansfield 285, 288, telegram in

- evening papers that Jordan is to succeed Satow 292, conference with 306, Grey's instructions to 307, came by appointment 308, a good knowledge of Chinese affairs 309
- Jorkins II: Satow is Dubail's 279
- Joyce, Mr. II: 182
- Jui-liang I: 201, 228, 234, 265, 281, goes to Hunan 367, 369
- Jung Ch'ing (President of Board of Punishments) I: co-Chancellor 365 II: 268, 276
- Jung Lu/Junglu, General I: 41, 147, 148, 155, 157, 160, 168, 172, 179, 183, 188, 191, 195, 197, 199, 205, 214, 219, 227, 243, 247, 260, 268, education abroad 284, 301, death of 330 II: 220
- Juto I: 175
- Kagawa, old II: 297
- Kahn, little (French diplomat) I: 90, 117, 125, 137, 229, budget commission for legation quarter 286, an able second to Dubail 296 II: dined at 13, 94, 107, Dubail's instructions to 186, interference in Canton-Kowloon railway 260
- Kalachin 喀喇沁 (Mongol prince) II: came to call 156, 158
- Kamei (*Jiji Shinpo* correspondent) II: 16, 25, time-waster 33, 44, 54, 79, Tibetan question 121, 175, 176, 183, 226, Tibetan negotiations 284
- Kamimura II: 93
- Kaneko Kentarō, Count II: 304
- Kangyi I: 57
- Kang-yu-wei I: 65
- Kao Erhyi/Er-hyi II: 222, 232
- Karberg, Amhold & Co. I: 156
- Kassberg/Kassburg, Mrs. (Satow's new housekeeper) I: arrived 390 II: spelt Kassburg 186, 269
- Katō Takaaki/Kōmei I: 36 II: 224, 299
- Katsura Tarō, General (1848-1913, Japanese prime minister June 1901-January 1906) I: 386 II: 140, 217, pro-German 234, 299
- Kawakami Sōroku, General (1848-99) II: 244
- Kawara Torako, Miss II: 227
- Kay, Capt. I: at Tongshan 298
- Kaye, Lady Lister II: 19, invited by Empress 30, 38, 44, tea with 70
- Kaye, Sir John Lister II: copper and iron mining concession in Anhui 17, 19, 26, 30, 40, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 53, 55, showed him correspondence 57, tea with 70, mining license 72, 108, 115, not a man of business 224, 225, badly treated 230, 232, urged necessity of reply 249, Anhui concession 256, 261, 264, a most difficult affair 268, wrangle about 273, 277, 280, Sir E. Grey disposed to sacrifice 306
- Keane, Sir John I: 307, 357
- Keary, Col. (of Hankow-Canton railway) I: 163, 262, decree 263, 355
- Keay I: 220
- Kekewich, Mr. Justice & Lady I: 315, called on 330
- Kekewich, Miss Emma I: 315, 347

- Kell, Capt. & Mrs. I: 259, 371
- Kelvin, Lord I: 339
- Kempf, Admiral II: 304
- Kenna, Lt. M. I: 303
- Kennan, George II: 246
- Kennard, Mrs. I: 12 II: 259
- Kennedy, Mr. Justice I: 330
- Kennedy, J.G. I: 9, 12, 15
- Kennedy, Lady I: 322
- Kennett, Sir Vincent I: 327
- Kenny, W.J. (British Consul-General at Manila)
II: 10
- Kent, a lawyer I: 379
- Kent, Percy II: 144
- Keppel, Derek I: 312
- Ker, Kenneth Gaselee I: 331, 341
- Ker, Mrs. Lucy I: 15, 95, 131, 136n, 137, 158,
314, 336, 341 II: 290
- Ker, W.P. Consul (Wuhu) I: 28, 34, 158, 159,
331, 341 II: 46, 291
- Keswick, Henry II: 72, railway matters
197
- Keswick, J. I: 67
- Keswick, William II: 52, 185n
- Ketteler, General I: 77
- Khan, Ahmed I: 386
- Khan, Genjis II: 295
- Khan, Mehdi Gouli/Douli I: 386
- Kidston, George Jardine I: to cottage with
363, 386, 387, 390, 392, 403
II: 30, 48, 56, 66, 68, 79, 80, 117,
125, 126, 134, left 137
- Kikuchi Dairoku, Baron II: 301, 303
- Kinder, Claude William (British railway
engineer) I: 37, 51, 61, 63, 64, 65,
68, 114, 115, 118, 127, 141, 142, 163,
171, 173, 184, 199, 202, 225, 230,
235, 236, 246, objects to Browne 255,
257, 263, compromise 265, with Hu
269, 273, 277, telegram 282, 286,
complaint about 292, 294, 387, 388
II: telegram from 5, suggestion 6, 9,
telegram from 15, offer of a bridge 18,
Chang Yi a foe of 22, 151, 178, 181,
Hillier and 183, return from Kalgan
191, waste of money 215
- King of Korea II: 243
- King, Harold Frederick I: 28, 358
- King, Mrs. II: 6
- King, Rev. A.F. I: 20
- King, Walter Ed. I: 16, 342, 378, 403 II: 39
- Kingham, Rev. Harry Claude (missionary) II:
murdered with his wife Octavia at
Nanch'ang 270
- Kinkaid-Smith/Kincaid-Smith, Capt. M. I:
347, 348
- Kinnaird, Miss I: 11, 13
- Kirby, R.J. I: 6
- Kirkwood, Townsend I: 330
- Kirkwood, William M. H. I: 11, 137, lunch
with 312 at Highfield Park 330
- Kirkwood, Mrs. I: 11, 137, 330
- Kirton, W. of Central News II: 15
- Kitchener, Herbert Horatio (later Earl) I: 2,
body of troops available 328, ball 349
II: letter of introduction from 54
- Kiyofuji Aki, Miss II: 227
- Kleckskowski II: 45
- Kleeschulte, Frau (pianist) II: 238
- Kleimenow II: despatch from 266
- Knappe (German Consul-General, Shanghai) I:
80, 156, 194, 208, 219, 224, 230, 280,

- 284, 289
 II: appointment of 66, Poyang Lake
 115, 130, 132, 148, 194, going to
 retire 233, Mumm regrets conduct of
 257-8, Senior Consul 262, no
 information from 276
- Knight, Miss I: 355
- Knight-Bruce, R. I: 6
- Knobel, F.M. (Dutch minister) I: 27, 28, 72,
 73, 75, 99, 119, 121, 122, 123, 137,
 144, 145, 230
- Knollys, Lord I: 344
- Knollys, Miss I: 312
- Knowles, Jas. of *XIX Century* I: 337, lunch
 with 339, 344, 345, 347
- Ko Taotai II: 237
- Koch II: 149
- Kodama Gentarō (Chief of General Staff) II:
 79, 101, 140, 210, 222, 224, 298
- Koike, little (Secretary of Japanese legation in
 London) I: 342, sees off Satow 347
- Koidzumi (Koizumi), T. (*Kokumin Shimbun*
 correspondent) II: 18, 21, 23,
 24-5, time-waster 33, vexed 44, 94
- Kokubu II: old embassy servant 294
- Kolessoff II: sent urgently by Lessar to
 Lienfang 101, woke Lienfang 103,
 267
- Komatsu, Prince I: rude remarks about 271
- Komura (nephew of Komura Jutarō) II: 85
- Komura Jutarō, Baron (Japanese minister,
 foreign minister) 84n, 89, 92, 93,
 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104,
 110, 112, 116, 117, 118, 120, 122,
 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131,
 133, 149, 178, request 271, Note
- verbale from Arco-valley 280, 386,
 389
 II: 8, 15, 201, 217, 224, 226, 227,
 believed by Dubail to be seeking
 alliance with China 236, 238, 239,
 Mumm to present colleagues to 241,
 reception of diplomatic body 242,
 dinner at Japanese legation 243, 244,
 Satow gives dinner to 245, 246,
 negotiations 247, withdrawing
 legation at Seoul 248, Liaotung
 peninsula and Weihaiwei 249, Satow
 dined with 255, 258, goes to London
 as Ambassador 296, 298, name
 submitted to King as ambassador 299,
 305
- Konovaloff/Konovalov, N.A. I: appointed
 acting commissioner 335,
 Newchwang customs 345, praised by
 Hart 371
- Ko Tao-t'ai of the Luhan line I: 251
- Ko Pao-hua of the Board of Works I: 175
- Koto, Dr. B. (Professor of Geology) II: 303
- Kou/Kow of Russo-Chinese bank I: 219, 229,
 230, 279
- Kozakof/Kozakov/Kozakow (of the Russian
 legation) II: 176, 180, 187,
 Kozakov 189, 190, 191, 199, 200,
 203, letter 204, Kozakow 206, 210,
 219, 228, 232, Kozakof 297
- Krausse, Alexis S. I: 150
- Krebs, Emil (German legation) I: 76, 369
 II: 125, 168, 283
- Kroupensky, Basil N. I: 68, 78, 106, 111, 118,
 125, 216, 229, 234
- Kroupensky, brother of Basil I: 324

- Krüger, Stepanus Johannes Paulus I: 85, 308
- Krummacher, Dr. I: 388 II: 155, 179
- Krupfel, Capt. I: 137
- Ku Chao-hsin (Secretary, Wai wu pu) I: 220, 228, with Prince Ch'ing 266, brought original German and French notes 292, 363, 376, 388, 391, 399 II: 1, appointed to Board of Commerce 8, 286
- Kuczinski, Eugen Ritter von (Austro-Hungarian envoy from March 27, 1906) II: 286
- Ku Hung-ming I: 375
- Kuei-ch'un/Kuei-chun 奎俊 I: 121, 284, old and feeble 289, should be shelved for good 291 II: 41, 158, 189, 267
- Kuei-chun 桂春 (nominally governor of Tingchow, former Boxer) II: intelligent 1-2, 38, up to date 148, 176, Intendant of granaries 260, 263, dined with at Wagon-lits 280, 283
- Kuei-hêng I: 175
- Kump, Mr. I: on indemnities 102
- Kung, Prince I: 152, 187, 199, 236 II: unusually stupid 6, 9, 37, 148, New Year call on 159, 267
- K'un-kang I: Hanlin Academy gentleman 175, nothing European about him 199
- Kup – see Boyce-Kup
- Kurino Shinichirō (Japanese minister at St. Petersburg) I: presented proposals to Russian government 362 II: 2, 10 reported audience with Czar 16, instructed to break off negotiations with Russia 22, 25, conversation with Witte 42
- Kuroda, Marquis II: 301
- Kuroda Kiyotsura, Viscount (Kuroda Kayemon of Satsuma) II: 304
- Kurodzuka II: former judge 299
- Kuroki Tametomo, General II: 79, 82, 106, 145, 213, 234
- Kuropatkin, General Aleksei Nikolaevich (Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army) I: 97 II: 47, 73, 74, 82, numerically superior force 92, retreated in good order 106, setback 107, 110n, 121, 122, 163, 174
- Kushida, M. (Mitsubishi Gōshi Kwaisha bank manager) II: 297, 304
- Kutani II: 65
- Lacruche, Père II: 271, said to blame for death of magistrate 272, entirely exonerated 275, 279
- Laffan, William Mackay I: 87
- Lafrank, Douglas II: steamers 196
- Lake I: 5
- Lambert, Dr. II: 290
- Lamsdorff/Lamsdorf, Count (Russian foreign minister) I: 97, 158, 202, 204, 213, 367n II: 2, 3, stormy interview 10, 30, 57, 176
- Lan, Duke (brother of Prince Tuan) I: 70, 72, 80, 81, 82, 86, 89, 90, 157
- Lancaster, Miss I: 322
- Lanciani, R. I: 326
- Landale II: 293
- Langley, Walter I: 314, about C.W. Campbell's allowance 342, 346 II: 306
- Lansdowne, Lord I: 6, 10, 13, 57, 62, 69, 70,

- 71, 74n, 82n, 86, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 101, 105, 112, 170, 185, 190, 205, 214, 217, 218, 229, telegram awarding G.C.M.G. to Satow 249, conversation with Baron Whetnall 258, telegram from 262, 267, telegram to 271, 281, Eckardstein wrote letter to 283, 284, business-like 287, reply to Germany 289, 290, instructions 293, 311, 312, 314, consent to employing Backhouse 327, declines German alliance 328, about Manchuria 331, further discussion of Manchuria 334, draft telegram to Townley 335, 337, approves of Satow going to Simla 338, 340, Satow speaks well of Creagh to 344, 345, 346, 351, not supporting Japan sufficiently 360, 362, 365, no instructions from 366, 369, 385, 386, 388
- II: 9, 27, 35, 52n, and Dubail in Canada 53, message about neutrality 63, memo to Cambon 89, Satow writes private letter to 107, private letter to 116n, private letter to 124, 164, private letter to 165, and Cambon 192, private letter to 195, 210, 224, 229, correspondence with Metternich 232, semi-official letter from about renewal of Satow's appointment for one year 239, "approached" Hayashi 243, 282, said by Morrison to have suggested Jordan to succeed Satow 284, 288, 304, Satow tells King Edward VII that Lansdowne was an excellent foreign minister 308
- Laptiew/Laptew I: 229, Lessar's instructions to instruct Laptiew 232, 242, Laptew 247, 249, 276, Laptew refusing to admit a certain legal doctrine 279, agreed with Hopkins 296, 368, 372
- II: 178, 245
- Laribe II: row with Chinese soldiers 113-4, 277
- Lascelles, Sir Frank I: 10, 58, 185
- Laughlin, Irwin (Second Secretary, U.S. legation at Tokyo) II: called 235
- Law of Butterfield & Swire I: 357
- Law, Sir E. Fitzg. I: 351, Chinese currency reform 352 II: 21
- Lawrence, Sir Walter (private secretary to Curzon) I: 348, 351
- Lawrence, Lady I: 349, 351
- Layard, Raymond de B. M. II: 306
- Leake, Lt. Francis, commander of the "Bramble" I: 225, 252
- Learmont I: 347
- Leatham, Commander of the "Alacrity" II: 293
- Leckie, Charles S. I: 16, 343
- Leckie, S. I: dined at Oriental Club 314
- Lecomte, Jules I: 297
- Leduc I: 268, 271
- Lee, Austin I: 14
- Lee, Major/Capt. (Royal Engineers) I: 150
- Lee, Mrs. I: 323
- Lee, T.A. II: 38, arbitration at Hankow 45, 128
- Leech, S. I: 324
- Lefevre, General I: 267, 270, 271 II: letter

- to Bower 262
- Lefroy, Bishop I: 351
- Lei II: 133, 159, with Natung 249, 254
- Leigh, Capt. I: 347
- Lemaire II: 45
- Lenox-Simpson, Mrs. (of Amoy) I: 304
- Lenz (German consul, Chefoo) I: 259 II: 85
- Lera, Carlos Américo (Mexican envoy for China and Japan) II: 113, 115, 300, left card on 301
- Lessar, Pavel Mikhailovich (Russian minister)
- I: 139, 140, 143, 145, 155, 163, 166, 169, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 188, 190, 193, 197, 201, 204, 206, 208, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216n, 217, 218, 220, 223, 224, 226, 229
- wants his own way in everything 230, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, demand impracticable 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, revenues of Kalgan railway 248, 249, 250, satisfied 251, 252, 253, Satow dines with 254, 255, 258, proposal 260, furious with Beau 261, 263, 264, Chinese assurances to 265, 268, not ready 269, 273, demand from Chinese 274, 275, 278-9, 282, 289, 296, tricks 309, not Anglo-phobe 334, friendly message from King to 344, 363, 364, 365, 366, 368, demands from Chinese same advantages as G.B. 369, attack on our interests 370, 371, ill 373, attack on Morrison 374, 375, 376, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, dined at 391, 393, 394, 396, 397, 398, 400, against continued Russian occupation of Manchuria 403, 406, 407
- II: 3, claws like a cat 6, 8, 13, 14, 17, remark about twisting pigtales 18, no answer from 19, 20, pleased and upset 25, 31, Mandjour 33, 34, 35, canal 37, 38, 40, protest 42, 43, 47, Satow disappointed in 52, 56, unwilling to meet Uchida 57, 59, 60, absurd behaviour 62, 67, 68, 72, 74, Espiègle 76, telegram 78, 79, 80, 89, 92, 93, violent note 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, scare 103, 121, 123, 129, indemnity 144, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, protest to 154, 160, instructions 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 168, amiable, sarcoma on foot 169, 170, 176, stormy interview with Mumm 177, died in the night 179, a most undaunted spirit 180, 181, 182, 187, 189
- Lessius, Capt. I: 152
- Lethbridge, Miss I: 322
- Lethbridge, Walter I: 321
- Levison (Asst. Secy., Municipal Council, Shanghai) I: 358
- Lewis (American correspondent) II: 106
- Lew Yuk lin II: 63
- Liang I: 154, 170, 172, 174, 181 of Hankow 389
- Liang (Director of Railways) II: 68, 139, 209
- Liang (Viceroy Chang Chih-tung's secretary and interpreter) I: 290, 300, sent by Viceroy 382, sent with kakemono 386, 395, 403
- II: 8, visited Conger 15, 64, 83, 140,

- 178, 185, 223, 281
- Liang, Major II: 263
- Liang Tun-yen (Liang Taotai) II: sent to Nanch'ang 272, 280, 281
- Liang-chêng, Sir Chentung I: 119, came to call 185, 186, 195, 220, 278, 284, Chênchou murders 285, 287, 288, came to say goodbye 297, at Tientsin station 298
- Liang Chên-tung, Chinese envoy in Washington (same person as Liang-chêng, Sir Chentung?) II: 271
- Liang Chung-hêng (of the Board of Works) I: 175
- Liang Tun-yen (Tientsin Customs Taotai) II: 272
- Li, Lord II: 211
- Li, Prince I: 236
- Li Ching-mai (son of Li Hung-chang, director of Russo-Chinese Bank) I: 60, 148, 149, 253 II: 112, 158, returned call of 234, appointment to Vienna 247
- Li-Chun, Admiral II: piracy 192
- Li Chu-wa I: 175
- Liddell, Rev. J.R. (London Mission) II: 60n
- Liébert I: 108, 229
- Lien-fang/Lienfang (of the Foreign Board) I: 52n, 65, 90, 112, 175, 192, 195, 200, 203, 211, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 228, 234, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, railway question 245, 246, Kalgan railway 248, 249, 250, suspected of bluffing 252, 255, 257, 258, Note identique to 264, notes exchanged 266, 268, been to Lessar 269, looked haggard 270, 273, 274, authentic 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 363, 364, Lessar wrote to 370, 376, 377, 385, 386, 388, 393, 396, 400
- II: 1, 15, 23, 32, 34, 42, 44, 57, 61, 63, 65, long talk with 77, 79, 81, repairs of Askold 100, 101, 103, rumours 106, 112, 117, 126, 127, 133, portraits 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 145, 151, 157, trademarks 161, 171, 174, 176, 180, 196, 214, 219, 223, 228, Shanghai row 254, 255, 260, Nanch'ang affair 278, 279, 280, came to discuss sentences 282, 283, 286, 288, 289
- Lien-yu II: 182
- Li Hsing-jui II: eighty years old, not sober after lunch 104
- Li Hung-chang (Chinese plenipotentiary) I: 19, 31, 34, 35, 36, 40-41, 43, 47, 48, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 78, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 116, 117, 121, 122, 158, no railway fund to pay interest 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 145, 147, 149, death of 152, 153, 157, 160, 164, 165, 170, 171, 181, 183, 188, 195, 205, 215, 217, 227, 235, 236, no authority 243, 244, valedictory 245, 246, 251, letter of no value 253, promise from 267, 288, 300, 313, 342, missed by noone except Russians 344, 368n, 375, letter

- to 377
 II: 45, Treaty of Tientsin 81, 121,
 mistaken policy of conciliating
 Russia 137, grandson of 287
- Li Kuo-chieh 李國杰 (grandnephew of Li
 Hung-chang) II: 121
- Li Lien-ying (Grand Eunuch) II: 169
- Li Ping-hêng, Admiral I: 57, 58, 60 II:
 136
- Lim Boon Keng, Dr. I: 356
- Lin I: 79
- Lindau, Rudolph II: open letter 304
- Lindley, Francis (Second Secretary, British
 legation, Tokyo) II: 297, 298,
 dined with 300, 301, dined with 303,
 304, 305, 308
- Lindley, Mrs. II: 297, took to Museum 300,
 303, 304, 305, 308
- Lindsay, Harry I: 339
- Lindsay, Ronald I: 338
- Liniévitch I: 50, 51
- Lissakowsky I: 365, 368
- Li Shêng-têh/Li Shêng tê, formerly Chinese
 minister at Tokyo I: 246, 268, 297,
 370, 388, 392 II: 1, 38, 41, 79, 104,
 promised to invite 134, New Year call
 on 159, 189, 190, 199, 214, returned
 call of 234
- Lister Kaye – see Kaye
- Litchfield, Henry Charles II: 303
- Little, Archie I: called 366 II: Szechuen
 coal mining concession 108, 144, 232,
 met at courthouse 293
- Little, Mrs. Archie I: 27
- Little, Bob (editor, *North China Herald*) I: 24,
 28, 30, 155, 271, 303, removal of
 opium-husks 305, 358, 359
- Little, Mrs. Bob I: 156, tea with 305 II:
 burnt Satow's letters to her late
 husband 292
- Little, Charlie I: 27
- Little, Mr. Edward Selby (missionary founder
 of Kuling hill-station, later
 businessman with chemical company
 Brunner Mond) I: 159, 231 II:
 famous letter of 225, brazenfacedness
 249
- Little, H.A. (acting consul at Newchwang) II:
 61, instructions 76, 78, 79, short, dark,
 thickset, opinionated 116
- Little, W.D. (Chairman, Chamber of
 Commerce) II: 143, 179, letter
 from 200
- Littledale, St. George, Mr. & Mrs. II: 186
- Litton, G.J.L. I: 354 II: 273
- Liu II: 123
- Liu Kun-yi/Liu Kunyi (Yangtze viceroy) I: 26,
 29, 41, 54, 56, 93, 95, 100, 116, 131,
 132, 137, 148, 155, 157, vile
 Hunanese dialect 158, 160, 167, 174,
 176, 177, 187, 201, 234, 239, 254,
 266, obstinate 279, 282, 289, flat
 refusal 295, 302, 341, 403n
 II: 136, 197
- Liu Shu t'ang I: 112
- Liu Tie-yun of the Peking Syndicate I: 63, 86
- Lloyd, Miss I: 341
- Lloyd, Mrs. II: asked after Satow's sons
 297
- Lloyd, Rev. Arthur (of Tokyo) I: 341 II: 297
- Loader-Smith, Chaplain at Worcester I: 329
- Loch I: 223

- Lo[Lu?] Chung yao II: 281
- Lock, S. G. I: 55
- Locke I: 51
- Lockhart, J. H. Stewart (Commissioner of Wei-hai-wei from 1902) I: 109, 110, went over to Matsu to call on 259, 360, 361 II: mono-autocrat of Weihai-wei 64, hot 72, proposals about Wei-hai-wei 108, 175
- Lockhart, Miss I: 320
- Lo Fêng-luh/Lofêng luh (Chinese envoy in London) I: 34, told in London that Satow had received instructions to sign 70, 86, 88, 95, going to Lord Lansdowne 98, 147, 148, 199, 389 II: not to be trusted 272
- Lomüller, Père I: 235
- Londonderry, Lady I: 328
- Long, Walter I: 12
- Longford, Joseph Henry I: 23, 312
- Lorne Campbell I: 127
- Loubet, Émile François (1838-1929) (President of France, February 1899 - January 1906) II: 2, Kaiser telegraphs to 231, non-committal reply 232
- Loudon (Dutch minister at Peking until early 1903) I: 163, Loudoun 166, 174, 183, 216, 225, 234, came for information 245, 273, visit to Japan 286, recently arrived here married 296, 297
- Loughlin of the American legation II: 297, 300
- Louveau[?], Robert II: a young Frenchman in business 294
- Lowder, F.S. II: 237
- Lowe (provost marshal in Peking) I: 351
- Lowrie (father and son) I: 198
- Lowry, Dr. H.H. I: 262 II: letter to 114, 280
- Lowther, Mrs. I: 10, 13, 327, 336, 340
- Lowther, Wm. I: 327
- Lowther-Crofton, Lt. I: 109
- Luard, Comr. of the Cadmus II: 289
- Luba I: 221, 224
- Lü Chuan Lin I: 41, 57, 160, 172, 200, 223, 244, memorial 271 II: 11, against Jenks plan for currency reform 86, shunted from Board of Revenue to Board of Works 99, 109, will resign soon 230, dined with 280
- Lu Chuan-shü (Governor of Kiangon) II: 136
- Lucan, Lord I: 10
- Lucas I: 308
- Lun Peitze I: 183, 268 II: 287
- Luzzatti I: 135
- Lyle, T.H. (Vice-consul, Bangkok) II: 46
- Lyte, Mrs. I: 13, 14, 331, talked in wild manner 342
- Lytton, Lord I: 351, 352
- Macartney I: embassy to China 134, 213
- Macdona, John Cumming I: 345, Canton-Swatow railway concession 356
- MacDonald, Col. I: 111, 114, 115, 116
- MacDonald, Lady Ethel I: 34, 36, 38, 136, 196n II: 294, 297
- MacDonald, Sir Claude Maxwell (British minister) I: 2, 3, 14, 15, 17, 20, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 47, 51, 55, 57, 63, 67, 68, 85, 89, 103,

- 135, 136, 153, 205, exchange with
Satow 211, demand that I-G should
be an Englishman 212, 215, 248, 288,
295, belief that Hart had promised to
resign 306, 342, 345, appointed to
Peking 352, does not get on well with
Japanese 360, telegraphing 404
II: telegram from Scott 19, 31, 56,
telegram to 93, 96, 145, Sir C. MacD.
168, site of house 207, 217,
appointed Ambassador provisionally
242, 243, in Tokyo 294, 296, 297,
MacD. tells Satow departure of
"Siberia" will be delayed 299, 300,
301, 304, made permanent
ambassador instead of provisional
305, Satow leaves Tokyo 305, wrote
to F.O. 306, King asks about 308
- MacDonald, Sir Hector I: 309
- MacDonald, Hugh John I: 1
- MacDonnell I: 312
- MacDonnell, Dr. I: 356
- MacEuen, E.P. II: 179
- MacEwan I: 24
- Macfarlane I: Imperial Library, Calcutta 353
- MacGregor, J. of Chartered Bank II: loan
for Hupeh section of
Hankow-Chêngtu railway 235
- Machado I: Singapore botanical gardens
308
- Mackay, an Australian girl I: 310
- Mackay, Sir James I: 138, 153, 154, 156, 159,
161, 169, 194, 200, 207, need not
take notice of Bredon 212, despatch
215, 219, 220, 223, 228, 230, mining
regulations 239, 244, 254, 267, 272,
273, scheme for abolition of likin 275,
visit to Nanking 280, 281, 295, 303,
305, 309, at Oriental Club 314,
committee 335, 337, dined at 344,
ratifications of treaty 346, Art. VIII of
the Mackay Treaty 348
- Mackay, Lady I: 331
- Mackenzie I: 24, 361
- Mackie, J. of Jardine's II: 116
- Mackintosh, Duncan (Hong Kong & Shanghai
bank, Tientsin) I: 276, 315, 362
II: flattery of Satow 36, 138, 139,
loan 163
- Mackintosh, Mrs. Duncan II: tea with 207
- MacMahon, Sir Horace I: 103
- Macpherson, Lt. Col. II: 30
- Macpherson, Mrs. II: 31
- MacSwiney, Capt. I: 10
- MacWade I: 145, McWade 151
- Madden, Archie I: 16
- Maeda II: 298
- Makarof, Admiral II: 96
- Makino I: 375
- Ma Liang, Genl. I: 171 II: 96
- Mallaby, Mrs. I: 354
- Mallet, Louis I: 19, 20, 330, audience of the
King 342
- Malmesbury, Lady I: 10, 344
- Mandl II: 15
- Manifold, Colonel, I.M.S. I: 329, further
exploration in Western China 337,
345, Lansdowne inclined to postpone
Tibet exploration 346
II: expedition 4
- Manifold, Major I: 114, 128, 219
- Manners, Miss I: 312

- Manse II: 229
- Mansfield, R.W. (British consul at Amoy) I: 34, 156, 220, 250, 278, telegraph to 286, 304, 305, 358, 359, 367
II: willing to serve under Jordan 285
- Marcilly, French consul at Hankow I: 226
- Markby, Sir William of All Souls, Oxford I: 15, 342
- Markham, Admiral Albert I: 7
- Marivelle, Père S.J. I: 259
- Marjoribanks, Ed. (Lord Tweedmouth) I: in Japan in 1871 337
- Marsh, Mrs. I: 368
- Marshall, F.J. (Shanghai) I: 359
- Marshall, Capt. I: 1
- Marshall, Genl. I: 321
- Marshall, Miss II: 297
- Marsham, Henry I: 10 II: arrived to stay 179, 181, left 185, met me at Kyoto station 294
- Marteau II: 43
- Martin, U.S. consul at Nanking II: 82
- Martin, General John I: 326
- Martin, Dr. W.A.P. I: 117
- Martin, W.C. II: 164
- Martinengo, Countess Cesaresco I: 151
- Mason, (Pembroke Lodge, Cambridge) I: 343
- Mason, Miss I: 9, Reverend Mother 314
- Mason, H. I: 310
- Mason, Lucy I: 9
- Mason, Miss I: 342
- Mason, Mrs. I: 343
- Mason, Thos. I: 343
- Masujima, R. I: 329
- Matsugata, young I: 11 II: 296, 305
- Matsugata (Matsukata) II: 221, dined at 296, 298
- Matsui (Chargé d'Affaires, London) I: 10
- Matsui Keishirō (Japanese secretary of legation) I: in charge during Uchida's absence 292, 293, bonds for indemnity 296, 297, dinner 370
II: 79, 145, says Mumm is anti-Japanese 149, 154, 168, had written 169
- Matsura of Hirado II: 294
- Maud, Princess I: 312
- Maxwell, Capt. I: 49, Major 303
- Maxwell, Bernard I: 319
- Maxwell, Rd. I: 313
- Maxwell, Wm. (of *The Standard*) II: 145, dined 146
- May, Paul I: 23, lunch with 336
- May, Sir Francis Henry (Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 1902-10) I: 357
- May, Mrs. (wife of Col. Sec. Hong Kong) I: 333, 357
- Mayall (Sherwood Foresters) I: 403
- Maycock I: 20
- Mayer I: 26
- Mayers, S.F. (British legation) I: 144, 201, 258, 264, exchange 266, 267, 268, Hu's parting shot 269, at Wai Wu Pu 270, 271, draft 273, 277, 280, 296, 299, 300, 307, sees off Satow 347
II: 79, 83, 93, 95, 96, 112, 115, 117, 126, 130, 133, 134, 144, 146, 153, 163, 168, 170, 171, 176, 190, Trademarks 192, 197, 210, 214, 225, 228, 234, 280, 285, 287
- Mayers, Mrs. I: 278 II: 289
- Mayers, young (Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank)

- I: 368
- Mayne, Col. I: 24, 27
- Mayo, Lord I: 339, 346
- Mayore, Col. I: 154
- Ma Yu-Kun I: 147, 175 II: 32, 83
- McAndrew, Major G.B. (Lincolnshire Regiment) II: 102
- McBain I: steamers sold to N.Y.K. 369, 379
- McConnell, Mrs. II: 61
- McCormick I: 182, 191, 208, statement to Hynd 265, 290, 400
II: 30
- McKie I: 77, 96
- McKinley, William (U.S. President, 1897-1901)
II: 246
- McLeish (Secretary to Municipal Council, Tientsin) I: 361 II: 139
- McMorran (Vice-President, Tea Association)
I: 353
- McNeile, Lt. I: 310
- McNeill, Mrs. of Shanghai I: 336 II: 292
- Meath, Lord I: 319
- Meath, Lady I: 320
- Mednezynski, Count (spy) I: a great liar 290, Suchekomatz Misczinsky 308
- Meech, Rev. S. Evans (London Missionary Society) II: 60, 68-9, 151, 280
- Mei Dong-pen, General 梅東盆 I: 178
- Mei Tung-i, General I: 248
- Meinertzhagen I: 10
- Melchers I: 13
- Menicke, Max I: 54
- Menzies, G.F. Capt. (Wandering Willie) I: 142, 163, 190, 247, probably staying with Yuan Shih-kai 266, Major 297, 404
II: 26, 31, 122, 139, 140, 178, 179, investigating bomb attack 224, conversation with Uchida 245, 248, 265, 266
- Mercer, General II: 284
- Merrill, Henry F. I: 158
- Merrill, Mrs. H.F. I: 159
- Merrylees, Miss II: 188
- Metternich, Paul Graf/Count von (German ambassador in London) I: 218, 328, talk after dinner 340, invitation from 342, 345, straightforward 346
II: correspondence with Lansdowne 232
- Meurice, Marc Froment I: 56
- Meyer (U.S. ambassador in Rome) I: 324
- Meyer, Carl II: 54
- Micha I: 351
- Michael, Genl. I: 311
- Michie, Alexander (editor, *Chinese Times*) I: 110
- Mickleth, Major II: 138
- Middleton, Conservative agent I: 336
- Middleton, O. I: 379
- Middleton, Lord I: 6
- Midzuno Idzumi no Kami I: 87
- Mikami, Professor II: 303
- Milbanke I: 317
- Miles, Capt. I: 213, being appointed Consul at Kashgar 349, 350, 351
- Miley, Dr. I: 347
- Miller (U.S. Consul-General at Chefoo) II: 34, instruction to protest 42, 45, 48, 53, 61, letter to Conger 63, 65, reports 85, two despatches 201
- Miller, Gordon II: 31
- Milne, John I: 15

- Milner, Lord II: 1, 64
- Min, Sir Henry I: 321
- Minoura II: 299, speech 300
- Mirsky I: 282
- Misaki Kamenosuke (Vice-President, Specie Bank) II: 121, lunch 122
- Mitchell, Asst. Secretary I: 356
- Mitford, A.B. (1837-1916, Lord Redesdale from 1902) I: 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 20, dined with 315, 318, 331
- Mitford, Bertram (son of A.B.) I: 20
- Mito Tokugawa II: 298
- Miura, Dr. of the pathological institute II: 303
- Miyadzu II: old embassy servant 294
- Mizuno (Japanese consul) II: excellent English of 290
- Moberly, Mrs. I: 332
- Mobsby, the pilot I: 160, 161, 299
- Mochizuki/Mochidzuki Kotaro II: 190, 194, Mochidzuki 198, 203, 210, Mochizuki came 216, 217, 218, 220, 221, 224, 226, Japanese dinner with 227, 228, 229, 243, 299, 305
- Mockler (police commander, Tientsin) I: 351
- Möerendorf, Miss von II: 257
- Molchanof I: 278
- Mole, John I: 288
- Molloy, Capt. R.M.L.I. II: 117
- Money, Miss I: 386, 391, 403
- Monk-Button I: 2
- Monson, Sir Edmund (British ambassador in Paris) I: 281 II: 53, 84n
- Montagu, Sir Saml. I: on silver 311, letter of introduction to 336
- Montanare, Countess I: 323
- Monteath, R.G. McL. of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. I: letter from 347
- Monteau II: 4
- Montgelas I: 118, 119, 174, 207
- Montgelas, Count (formerly commander of the Peking German Legation Guard, later diplomat) I: 118, 119, 174, 207
- Montgelas, Countess (wife of the above) I: 137, 174, 207
- Montgelas, Count (cousin of the German Count Montgelas, formerly of Austrian diplomatic service) I: 318
- Montgomery, Bishop H.H. I: 329
- Moon, Ed. I: 347
- Moon, Mrs. E. I: 334, 347
- Moore, Admiral Sir Arthur II: 292, 293
- Moore, James Amory I: 2
- Morant, Eddie I: 339
- Moreing (company run by C. Algernon Moreing and his brother Bewick Moreing, engaged in railway matters) I: 67, 81, 120, 339 II: 36, 135, 216
- Morgan, Edwin (U.S. Minister in Corea) II: 222, 243, 246
- Morgan F.A., Commissioner of Customs at Canton I: 152, 153, 171, 307 II: 77
- Morgan, J.P. I: 322 II: 209, name stank 275
- Morgan, Kenyon Vaughan (Morgan Crucible Co. sales representative) II: 280
- Morgan, William Pritchard I: 366
- Morgan, Mrs. I: 343
- Mōri Gorō of Chōshū, Baron II: 301
- Morier I: 309
- Morisse II: 151, 206, 282

- Morisse, Mme. II: 287
- Morley, John II: 284, opium question 306
- Morris at San Remo I: 357
- Morris, Mr. Mowbray I: 315, 334
- Morrison, Col. I: 332
- Morrison, Dr. George Ernest (*Times* correspondent, Peking) I: 15, 47, 54, 57, 61, 65, 68, 72, 88, 92, 96, 105, 132, 156, 181, 191, 194, 195, 196, 198, 205, 206, 207, 208, 216, 219, 230, 234, 235, opium monopoly decree 245, 250, came at Satow's request 285, Satow's objections to German conditions 288, 289, 292, 361, 365, 367, 371, Lessar attacks 373, Satow defends 374, looks unwell 375, penitent about telegram 380, 383, 391, asks about Russo-Japanese negotiations 399, 406
II: 16, 18, 20, 25, 30, 31, called 39, 51, returned from Nagasaki 62, requests prohibition on Haimun be removed 64, 65, complaint by Mumm about telegram 74, brought Ralph Walter 78, 79, 82, libel action 85, Japanese assault 89, Japanese blunder 93, 96, 104, 106, 121, 124, telegram story denied 125, 127, 146, indemnity question 155, return from Shantung 167, German demands rejected seriatim by Chinese 170, off to Corea 172, letter from 175, 179, Söul-Fusan railway 185, 186, Lessar's attack on 187, 189, 190, 203, looks very fit 282, powers of imprisonment of Mixed Court magistrates 284, 286, Satow's cottage sold to 287, 288
- Morrison, G.J. I: 156
- Mort I: Supao case 396
- Mortimore I: 359
- Moslé I: 13
- Motoda Hajime II: 300
- Motono Ichirō (Japanese minister in France) II: instructions to 15
- Moule, Bishop George Evans I: 219, excellent letter of 296, at Ningpo 357, 359, 383
II: 68, 101
- Moule, G.T. I: 27, 142
- Moule, Mrs. I. I: 27
- Mounsey, Daisy (born in Japan) I: 331
- Mounsey, Mrs. I: 331
- Mount-Edgumbe, Lord I: 13, 333
- Mouravieff, Mikhail (Russian foreign minister) I: 312
- Mowat, Robert Anderson I: 342
- Muirhead, Rev. W. I: 27
- Muir-Mackenzie, Kenneth I: 337
- Muller, Professor Osvald I: 348
- Müller, Max II: 301
- Mumm, Alfons, Freiherr/Baron von Schwarzenstein (German minister) (1859-1924)
I: 31, 32, 39, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133,

134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 144, 145, 163, 165, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 194, 198, 200, 201, 202, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, provisional partition 212, vexed 213, 214, 216, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 229, 230, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, study of Chihli province 242, 243, 246, indemnity 248, 249, 250, German Shylock 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, walked home with 257, talk about T.P.G. 259, 260, 261, to say goodbye 262, instructions 267, 277, 289, praised 340, met 361, tried to pump me 366, 372, 374, poked the fire 375, 376, financiers 377, chuckled 378, 380, 383, 387, proposal to withdraw from Yangtsun 388, 390, Satow's essay on glaxis 391, 392, 393, 395, 397, 399, Whangpoo conservancy 405, 407
 II: 2, 5, 6, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, glaxis question 34, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, gossip 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, amused Satow 70, Yashima lost 73, 74, 80, 85, 89, 110, 111, Poyang Lake 114, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 124, 125, Trade marks 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, long talk with 135-6, 137, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, very anti-Japanese 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, acted as Doyen 157, 158,

159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, deceived Townley 167, 168, indemnity 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, annoyed 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, indemnity 199, 201, 202, 205, 206, 207, 208, 211, 212, 218, 222, 223, 225, 231, 232, 233, functions and archives of Doyen returned to 234, Chefoo regulations 235, believed staying to watch Japanese negotiations 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, told to stay here 245, 246, indemnity 247, always at Uchida to discover Japanese intentions 251, 252, 253, 254, complains about Rosthorn 255, dinner 256, circular about Watergate 257, 259, raging then pacific 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, promoted to Ambassador at Tokyo 266, 267, Mixed Court note 268, 269, Nanch'ang murders of missionaries 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 281, 282, 283, left Peking by night train for Japan via Hankow 284, 286, Satow left card on 295, 297, ambassadorial reception in Tokyo 298, d'Anethan not pleased with 304
 Mundy (Reuters correspondent) II: 125, 160, 182
 Munther, Col. I: 389 II: 16
 Munton, Sir Walter I: 314
 Murakami, Professor II: 303
 Murkens, Mlle. II: 188
 Murphy, Mrs. I: 7, 332, 340, to Cambridge

- with 343, 344
- Murphy, James I: 3
- Murphy, Tom I: 3
- Murray (Singapore) I: 356
- Murray, Col, (Royal Artillery) II: studying Japanese military education 298, studying Japanese army 300
- Murray, Mr. (blind school) I: 103, 105, 122
- Murray, Rev. D.S. (of London Missionary Society) I: 248
- Murray, Rev. W. II: 131
- Murray, young John I: 337
- Mutsu, Count II: 299
- Myers, Mrs. I: 171
- Nabekura (manager of Yokohama Specie Bank, Peking) I: 221 II: 79
- Nabeshima, Marchioness II: Tōhō Fujinkai 227
- Nachin II: 176
- Nadelmaker of the Wagon-lits II: 297
- Nagai II: 303
- Nagamasa Toi I: 33
- Nagasaki II: 296, 297, 305
- Nakamura (Japanese consul, Fukhien) II: 91
- Nakayama Kuanrokurō II: sent by Yamagata 300
- Napier I: 10, 11
- Napier, Capt. G.F. I: 100
- Napier, Col. I: 344
- Napier, Hon. Mrs. I: 335, 345
- Napier, Miss I: 345
- Napoléon II: 221
- Nathan, Sir Matthew (Governor of Hong Kong, 1903-07) II: prohibited export of arms to Macao 112, 159, 219, in touch with the great financiers 230
- Nathan, Major W.S. (Manager, Chinese Engineering & Mining Co.) I: successor to T. Wynne 407 II: 18, 22, 36, 50, 62, 89, 104, Dubail 110, low opinion of Hoover and Moreing 135, 138, 170, gambles 178, 215, 245, 247, London Board no use 256
- Nat'ung/Natung (Na) I: 36, 84, 104, 112, 119, ceremonial call 168, 169, 175, 182, 189, 193, 195, on Anglo-Japanese agreement 203, 214, 215, 223, 228, 234, memorial 243, commercial negotiations 245, lunch 249, 263, military people kittle-cattle 264, railway matters 265, notes exchanged 266, 267, coronation day 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, mentioned Bredon to 280, 282, 286, 287, 289, came on behalf of Prince Ch'ing 290, 291, asks about F.O. answer 292, 293, 294, 297, 300, appointment a good thing 341, very chatty 364, 369, amassing wealth 375, 385, 386, 389, 391, 393 II: 1, 9, 10, 12, 17, 38, 44, lunch at private house 45, 56, 61, 65, 66, 67, 72, 74, lunch at country cottage 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 89, 95, asks advice 98, to private house 103, 108, 117, 120, 126, 128, 129, Peking Syndicate's railway 133, 135, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 163, 165, 171, 173, 176, 177, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, 193, 197, 203,

- 204, 205, 208, lunch with 214,
Campbell talks to 218, 221, had it out
in a friendly way with 229, 233, 240,
245, Satow visits 249-51, too affable
252, Shanghai row 254, speech 267,
268, 271, 272, 276, 278, 279, 280,
288
- Neill, Mrs. I: 27
- Nepean, Mrs. 340
- Ness, G.P. I: left card on 315, 331
- Nevill, Lady Dorothy I: 345
- Nevin, Rev. Dr. I: 136, 322, 323, 325, 326
- Newbery II: 147
- Newdigate, Hon. Mrs. I: 11
- Newman I: 6, 345
- Newmarch I: 115, 170
- Nicolas, Comr. I: 356
- Nicolson, Sir Arthur (later Lord Carnock) I:
in Morocco 344
- Nicholson (Agent of Hong Kong & Shanghai
bank, Singapore) I: 356
- Nicholson of the Bodleian Library, Oxford I:
341
- Nicholson, Comr. I: 159, 160, 161
- Nieh, Govr. II: 72
- Nishi/Nissi Amame, Baron (Japanese minister)
I: 36, 37-38, 39, 43, 48, 53, 59, 60, 62,
63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76n
- Nishida Kōichi (峠一) II: 238
- Noel, Admiral Sir Gerard
(Commander-in-Chief, British China
squadron)
II: 46, impulsiveness 76, telegram
from 92, 117, 118, 120
- Noel, Lady & Miss II: 224, to Cottage with
225, 227
- Nogi Maresuke, General (1849-1912) II:
234
- Noguchi, Mrs. of Kobe II: cheque for
pension 294
- Norie, Capt. I: 114
- Norman, Capt. (A.D.C. of General Creagh) I:
127, 142
- Norman, Rev. H.B. (murdered missionary) I: 48
- Norman, Sir Francis I: 11
- Norris, Reverend Frank L. I: 48, 49, 74, 79,
85, 179, 188, 222, went with Satow
to Cottage 264, last dinner 297, 388,
403
II: 46, wedding ceremony 152, 158,
162, 212, 243, dined with Satow 258
- Norris, Mrs. I: 336
- Norton I: 14, 18
- Norton of the American school, Rome I: 325
- Norton, Edward I: 345
- Norton, Lieut. I: 12
- Oakes, A.H., F.O. librarian I: 334
- O'Brien Butler, P.E. (British consul, Foochow)
I: 27, 34 II: 22, thanks of
Japanese government 33, sensational
account 92, 103, difficulty 168, 188
- O'Connor, Sir Nicholas Roderick (former British
minister at Peking) I: conversation
with Sir Chêntung Liang-chêng 298,
308
- Odagiri, M. I: 25, 370 II: cautious letter to
Hobson 78, 186, 226, former
Consul-general 227
- O Fuku II: old embassy servant 294
- Ogorodnikoff II: 241
- Ogilvy, Comr. I: 150

- Ogle, Col. I: 321
 Ogle, Miss I: 311
 O'Gorman, Madam I: 103
 Ogorodnikoff II: 267, 269
 Ōishi (Ōkuma's secretary) II: 297
 O.K. – see Takeda O-Kane
 Okada II: 303
 Okada Tōkichi (Takaoka Kaname) II: pension paid to Satow's former teacher 304
 Oku II: 79, army ordered to attack 106, 213
 Ōkubo Ichizō/Toshimichi (1830-78) II: letter from Saigo to 296
 Ōkuma Shigenobu, Count (1838-1922) II: called on 295, caught me 297, 308
 Okura I: 22
 Olarovsky I: in Siam 364
 Oldfield, Private II: 73
 Oldham, Sir Henry I: 336
 Oliphant, David I: 15, 36
 Oliver, Ch. I: 374
 Onson, W.E.P. (M.P.) I: 315
 Ord, Major I: 332
 Orfini I: 1
 Ormrond, Lord I: 337
 Orr-Ewing, Archibald (China Inland Mission) I: 114 II: 126
 Osborn, Percival I: 343
 Osborne, Midshipman I: 109
 Ostrovenkof I: 190
 O'Shea I: 201, Hankow waterworks 358
 O'Sullivan, Colonel I: 61, 198, letter from 274, 356, 404
 O'Sullivan, Capt. Mortimer I: 395
 Ōtani, Count (大谷 光瑞 *Ōtani Kōzui*; 1876-1948) II: 175
 Ōtori Keisuke II: 299
 Otter, Mrs. I: 337, 338
 Ottewill, Miss II: wedding 152
 Ottewill, H.A. I: 403 II: 5, 146
 Ottley I: 6, 21
 Oudendijk, William (Netherlands Chargé d'Affaires) I: 368, 389 II: 241, 288
 Oukhtomsky, Prince (Ukhtomskii, Prince Esper) I: 22, 62
 Overbeck I: 318
 Owen, Dr. I: 87
 Owen, Rev. Geo. (London Missionary Society) I: 76, 96, 103, 194
 Ōyama (Japanese representative at Rome) I: 324, dined at 325
 Oyama, Marchioness II: garden party 300, 305
 Oyama, Marshall Iwao (1842-1916) (Japanese Commander-in-Chief, later a Genro) II: 79, 110n, friendly message from 140, 174, photograph of 181, 195, 213, excellent relations with T'ing chieh 222, 224, 300, representative of 305
 Ozaki Wataru (correspondent of *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* and *Ozaka Shinpō*) II: 218
 Packenham, Cynthia I: 305
 Packman, Capt. I: 355
 Page-Roberts, Canon I: 12
 Paget, Ralph I: 6, 338
 Pak Chai-sun II: 243
 Palmer, General Sir A.P. I: 330
 Palmer, Frederick II: author of "With Kuroki in Manchuria" 213

- Palmer, Godfrey I: 368
 Panafien (French Secretary) I: Pannafien 368, 370
 Panchen Erdeni (Tibetan title) II: 209
 Pansa, Alberto I: 119
 P'ang Hung-shu I: 396
 Pao, Taotai I: 81, 83
 Parker, Secretary to Admiral Noel II: 117
 Parker, Mrs. II: 120
 Parkes, young I: 26
 Parkes, Sir Harry I: 223, youngest daughter of 357 II: 303, 304
 Parlett, Harold George I: 23 II: acting consul 293
 Parr I: 353, poses as friend of Indian government 354, 396 II: 76
 Partridge II: 227
 Pasha, Midhat I: 339
 Paterson, Lieut.-Gen. Mr. I: 1
 Paton, Dr. I: 347
 Paton, Frederick Noel I: 348
 Patti I: 13
 Pauncefote, Sir J. I: 162
 Pavlov, Alexander? II: 13, Prince Ch'ing dislikes Pavlov 183
 Payne II: Satow called on 303
 Payne, Dr. Frank I: 16
 Peace, Sir Walter (Agent-General for Natal) I: 334
 Peacock, Inspector Peter II: died yesterday 301, pension of Okada 303
 Peak, Sir Cuthbert I: 6
 Pearson, Lieut. (R.E.) I: 128, 165, 177
 Pearson, Weetman I: 359
 Peek, Lady I: 13, 332
 Peel (Asst. Colonial Secretary, Singapore) I: 356
 Peel, Hon. Geo. II: 76, presented his book to Satow 78
 Peel, Robert I: 121
 Pell I: 94
 Pembroke I: 13
 P'êng Ying chin I: 96, aspersions of Moir Duncan 103, settling missionary cases 276
 Pennefather, Midshipman II: 117, 120
 Pennell I: 355
 Pepper, Mary I: 5
 Percy, Lord Algernon I: 336 II: 249
 Pereira, M. Carlos Goncalves (Brazilian envoy in Japan) II: appointed to Bolivia as Envoy Extraordinary 300
 Pereira, Major (of the Grenadier guards) I: 114, 117, 346, 390, 391 II: 226
 Perry, Commodore Matthew C. II: arrival in Japan 301
 Perry, F. II: trying to get coolies for Transvaal 36, 39, arrived late from Tientsin 72, 89, writing to Morrison 96, Satow glad he has gone 135
 Pethick, William N. I: 78, 93, 95
 Petit, Bomonjee Dinshaw I: to cotton mills with 348
 Petit, Jehangir Bomonjee I: 348
 Petrovski I: 349
 Pets, E. I: 10
 Petz, Baron I: 22
 Petzel, General I: 388 II: withdrawal of all troops by 1 April 240
 Phayre, Col. I: 142
 Phillips, Capt. I: 35, 42, 258, Tientsin coronation ball 276, come from

- Tientsin 361
 II: 36
- Phipps II: 293
- Phipps, Capt. I: 342
- Pi Shia li I: 288
- Pichon, Mme. I: 39
- Pichon, Stephen (French minister) I: 16, 35, 49, 51, 53, 54n, 55, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 92, 93, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 107, 109, 186, kept secret from 267
- Picton, Major II: hornwork 5, succeeded by Major Blair 259
- Pierce, Miss I: 96
- Pigott I: 113, 115, 179
- Piggott, F.T. I: 10
- Pike, Lt. II: 201
- Pike, Joseph I: new orderly 288
- Pilon (of the French legation) I: 194, 229
- Pillsbury, Capt. I: 154
- Pimodan I: 53
- Pipon, General I: walked on wall with 106, 115
- Pirrie, Mr. & Mrs. (of Harland & Wolff) I: 340, 344
- Piry, A. Théophile I: 168 II: 74, 107, 110
- Piry, Mme. II: 287
- Pitzipio I: 304, 359 II: 100
- Plançon, G.A. I: 391, Hu sees 406
 II: 13n, blundered 14, 35, 40
- Platt I: 27 II: agent for Kaye's concession 224, 225
- Playfair of Chartered Bank I: 307
- Playfair, G.W.F. I: 343 II: 38, 51, 74
- Plunkett, Sir Francis I: 16, 20, 21
- Poë, Rear Admiral I: 333
- Poklevsky I: 139, plan 330
- Pokotilov/Pokotilof(f), Dmitrii Dmitrievich (Manager of Russo-Chinese Bank 1896-1903, later Minister at Peking, 1905-8) I: 48, 67, 68, 182, 192, 193, 194, 198, 200, 212, 217n, 222, 235, 236, 239, offered money 288
 II: 13, Pokotilow appointed Lessar's successor 182, Pokotiloff 203, 204, Pokotilow 205, 206, 210, reported only 80 men 236, 241, working against Japanese 244, Pokotilow 245, 247, dinner in honour of Komura 248, dinner to 252, 255, brought correspondence 264, 266, 267, 269, 282, blundering manner 286
- Pokotiloff, Mme. I: 278 II: Mme. Pokotilow's day 251, 252
- Pollack II: 146
- Pollard I: 249
- Polsen I: 55
- Poma (Italian consul, Tientsin) II: 37
- Ponsonby, Dick I: travels in Japan 309
- Poole, Capt. I: 131, 171
- Poole, Dr. Wordsworth I: 33, 35, 95, 110, dies of typhoid 179, 343
- Poole, Mrs. (mother of Dr. Poole) I: 343
- Pope, The II: French quarrel with 307
- Popoff I: 75
- Poppé, Monsieur I: 124, 136, 141, 143, 238
- Porter, little II: 302
- Porter, Col. (Controller of the Bombay Mint) I: 347, 348
- Porter, Dr. Henry I: 33, 66
- Porter, Mrs. II: 287

- Posdnieff (Pozdneyev), A. M. (representative of Russo-Chinese Bank at Peking) 168, 176, 268, 274, 280, 288
 II: 24
- Pottinger, Capt. Eldred I: 30
- Poulsen I: 73
- Pourtalès-Gorgier, Le Comte de (French legation secretary) II: house at Lake Chuzenji 301
- Powell I: 40, 42, 51, 113, 124
- Powell, Mrs. I: 125
- Pownall, Mrs. I: 336
- Prain, Major (Indian Medical Service) I: letter from 352, Botanical gardens 353
- Premyslaw II: violin concert 256
- Prendergast, Colonel, Royal Engineers I: 165, 176
- Prentice (Chairman, Shanghai Municipal Council) I: 156
- Preston, Lt. I: 299
- Prinetti I: 323
- Pringle, Capt. R.A. II: 42, 125, 146
- Pritchard-Morgan - see Morgan, William Pritchard
- Probyn, Sir Dighton I: 311
- Procter, H.E.H. I: 348
- Prothero, Sir George Walter (Editor of Cambridge histories) I: 343
- Prouwe II: 54
- Pu-chun I: 146
- P'u-ku I: 175
- P'u-shan I: 175
- Pugh I: 159
- Pu-liang I: 175
- Pu-lun/P'ulun/Pulun, Prince I: 378, returned call 379 II: 113, 158, dined with 168, 176, 268, 274, 280, 288
- Pu-ti II: going to Kalgan as Tartar-general 168
- Pym, Miss I: 160
- Radford, John I: 4
- Radowitz – see von Radowitz
- Raffles, Sir Stamford I: statue of 315
- Raikes II: 284
- Rainsford, Col. I: 116, 128, 130
- Raja of Kapurthala I: 378
- Ramsay I: 159
- Rangoon, Bishop of I: 355
- Ransome, Mrs. I: 339
- Ransome, Sister Jessie II: funeral of 227
- Ransome, Stafford I: 87
- Raschid Sadi Bey I: 345
- Ratard, L. (French consul-general and president of municipal council, Shanghai, 1901-09) I: 108, 109, 172, 174, 264, on sick leave in Japan 275, not have to consult 281, agreed duties on French wines 284, Ningpo land dispute 305, 359, 383
 II: telegram to Dubail 97, 270
- Rawlings I: 337
- Reader II: 31
- Reeders/Rehders (a director of the Disconto-Gesellschaft with an interest in Tientsin-Chinkiang railway) II: 158, 159
- Redesdale, Lady (wife of A.B. Mitford, Lord Redesdale) I: away 336
- Reid I: 127
- Reid, Alexander (Peking Syndicate) II: 49, 179
- Reid, E.J. I: 343

- Reid, Genl. I: 30, 54, 76
- Reid, Rev. Gilbert I: 49, 69
- Reid, J.P. I: 9, 10, 343, 345
- Rein, Johann Justus I: 159
- Reid, Miss I: 345
- Reith of the Bank at Hankow II: 289
- Rennie, Sir Richard Temple I: 13
- Rentiers, John B. (Japan consular service) I: 23 II: to Kyoto with 294
- Rent-Phipps[?] II: 294
- Reynaud, Monseigneur (Bishop) I: 186, 219, Ningpo road dispute 267, 289, 305, 383 II: 101
- Reynell of Jardines at Hankow II: 289
- Reynolds, R. I: 142, 163
- Rex, Count (Mumm's successor) II: 266, started from Teheran 274
- Richards, Timothy I: 114, 225 II: 126
- Richardson, General I: 48, 311
- Richardson, Charles Lennox II: murdered at Namamugi 298
- Richardson, J.W. (I.M.C.) II: 152, 176
- Richie, C.T. II: 246
- Richter, Col. Max I: 120
- Richthofen, Baron Ferdinand von I: 54, 58 II: 281
- Ricketts I: 142
- Ricketts, Mrs. I: 1, 142
- Riddell I: 277
- Riddell, Buchanan I: 209
- Riddell, Sir John I: 209
- Ridgeway, Sir West (Governor of Ceylon) I: 309
- Ridley, Henry Nicholas (Director, Singapore botanic gardens 1889-1911) I: 308, 356
- Ringer I: 22, 23
- Risley, Sir Herbert Hope (Home Dept., Indian Civil Service) I: 351
- Ritter, Otto (councillor of the Bavarian legation, Rome) I: 326
- Roberts, Lord I: 2, 4, 328
- Roberts, Lady I: 328
- Robertson, Lt. R.A.W. II: 71
- Robertson, Mrs. I: 235, 236
- Robertson, Major I: 116
- Robertson, Malcolm Arnold I: 20 II: 249, 265
- Robertson, Sir Brooke I: 153
- Robins, Rev. W.A. II: 162, left 164
- Robinson I: 21, 48 II: 295
- Robinson, Commodore I: 357
- Roches, Léon (French envoy in Bakumatsu Japan) II: 296, 304
- Rochechouart I: 393 II: 84
- Rocher, E. I: 222, came with concession 253 II: 167
- Rockhill, William Woodville (1854-1914, U.S. plenipotentiary and minister from March 1905) I: 26, 53, 54, 60, 71, 79, 83, 84, 85, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 149, 197, telegram from 263, against Conger 361, 387, great mistake 389 II: 26, 144, 165, 192, 193, arrives at Peking 194, biographical note 195n, 196, 201, 206, 207, 209, peace treaty 211, 212, 213, book by 217, 218, met

- on wall 219, discussed peace treaty provisions 221, 225, 226, 228, 231, 232, 236, 238, 241, 242, chat with 243, 246, one of China's best ever friends 252, 255, 259, Municipal Council should admit a Chinese member 260, 262, 264, 265, 266, speech at opening ceremony 267, Mixed Court note 268, 269, 270, 271, much perturbed about instructions 276, 277, 278, 281, 283, 285, on the platform 289, 296
- Rockhill, Miss II: 293
- Rodachowski II: 45
- Rodd I: 324, 326
- Rodgers II: 211, report to Rockhill 260, 262
- Rogers, Lt. I: 333
- Rogestvinsky/Rojestvinsky [Admiral Z.P.?
I: dined at 404 II: 1, 72, 74, dined with 136, 176, Japanese fleet will beat 177, 194, 195, 206, Shanhaikwan 267, 288
- Rojestvinsky, Madame II: 186
- Rohrscheidt – see von Rohrscheidt
- Rokujō Tokuzen II: 294
- Rollit, Sir Albert I: 340
- Rolls, Hon. Gilbert I: 319, 320
- Romano (Italian diplomat) I: 174, 175, 176, 214, 215
- Ronaldshay, Lord I: 374, 375
- Roosevelt, Miss II: 226
- Roosevelt, Theodore (U.S. President) II: 36, 206, insistence on peace 219, pressing Japanese to give way, distrusts them 221, forced Japan to give way 223, private letter to Rockhill about Russians 232, Japanese made skilful use of 234, saw that Witte was a great intriguer 242, 244, 245, 284, at loggerheads with Senate 307
- Rosebery, Lord I: 56, 309, almost at war with France over Siam 350
- Rosen, Baron Roman Romanovich I: 15, sent to Tokyo to prevent renewal of Anglo-Japanese alliance 330
II: agreement with Komura ad referendum 15, 20, 21
- Rospigliosi II: 152
- Ross I: 205
- Ross, C.H. of Jardine's II: here about Canton-Kowloon railway 179, 185, 197, 211, 217, 223, viceroy refused to see 250, 261
- Rossi, Prof. I: 320
- Rosthorn – see von Rosthorn
- Rothschild, young I: permission to attend Imperial garden party 284
- Rothschilds II: 275
- Rothschild, Miss Alice de I: 320 II: 308
- Roudanowsky II: 13
- Roudanowsky, Mme. II: Russian New Year's Day 8
- Rousing I: 350
- Rouvier I: 189
- Rowan, Col. & Mrs. I: 347
- Rudkin I: 143
- Rumbold, Sir Horace I: 327
- Rundall, Col. I: 27
- Russell, Claud I: 185, 203, 258, 259, at cottage 270, 296, 297, 299, 300, 306, to Peak in tram 307, to cottage with

- 371, 376, 386, 390, 403
 II: 17, 25, 30, to Mosque with 44,
 48, to cottage with 55, went away by
 the mid-day train 56
- Russell, Lt. Gilbert I: 390, 391
- Russell, Capt. Stuart (father of young Claud
 Russell) I: 315
- Russell, Lady Arthur I: 346 II: letter of
 introduction from 241
- Russell, Lord I: 315
- Russell, W.P.M. II: 293
- Ruthven, young I: 349
- Sabbione, E. I: 86, 167, 191, appointed Lister
 Kaye's agent 277
- Saburō (Honma Saburō, Satow's manservant)
 I: 12, 21, 299 II: forgot knee
 breeches 308
- Sah II: report 93
- Saigo Shingo II: 263
- Saigo Kichinosuke/Takamori (1827-77) II:
 296
- Saint-James I: 323
- Saionji Kinmochi, Marquis I: warlike
 sentiments 401 II: 263, 290n, left
 card on 296, doubtful about Russian
 evacuation of Manchuria 298
- Saitō the Minister of Marine II: 299
- Saitō Momotarō II: 297
- Sakharoff, General II: 109
- Salinger I: 152
- Salisbury, Lord I: 6, 9, 12, 17, 18, 21, 23, 26,
 28, 30, 34, 40, 43, 49, 51, 70, 308,
 dispute with Lansdowne 312,
 instructions to Buller to withdraw
 from Port Arthur 333-4, appointed
- MacDonald 352
- Salis Schwabe, General II: ticket of soup 241
- Salis-Schwabe, Edgar W. II: 39, 74, 241
- Salm-Dyck, Princess I: 318, 321
- Salvago (Marquis Giuseppe di Salvago-Raggi,
 Italian minister) I: 34, 35, 39, 42,
 44, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59,
 60, 61, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80,
 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95,
 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 110, 114, 119,
 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 135, 136,
 138, 174, 176, 177, 192, 221, 377,
 399
 II: 29, 78n, 149
- Sandberg I: 226
- Sanderson, Sir Thomas "Lamps" (P.U.S.)
 (1841-1925) I: 2, 6, 11, 17, 71n,
 219, dined with 312, 314, unrest in
 Russia 327, 338, 344, said goodbye
 to 345, 346, letter of introduction
 from 383
 II: recommended Satow 304
- Sanderson, Miss I: 330
- Sandford, Bishop of Gibraltar I: 319
- Sandini I: 27
- Sandys, Dr. (public orator) I: 343
- Sannomiya, Baroness Alethea Yayeno
 (English-born, née Alethea Raynor,
 1846-1919) II: 296, 303
- San Tien-yu II: 178
- Sassa Tomofusa II: 300
- Satchell, Dr. I: 312
- Satō Aimaro II: 241
- Satoh, Henry (Reuter's agent) II: 300
- Satow, Agneta I: 3, 13, 18, 329, 337, 345, 347
- Satow, Capt. II: 42

- Satow, Charlie M. I: 2, 8, vacuum cleaning company 313
- Satow, David (elder brother of Ernest) I: 4, 8, 332, 333
- Satow, Edward I: 8
- Satow, Eitarō - see Takeda Eitarō
- Satow, Ethel I: 315, 322, 326, settlement on 343, 345, trust deed 347
- Satow, Fedor & Mrs. I: 11, 12, 336 II: a friend of 249
- Satow, Geoffrey I: out of a job 336, 347
- Satow, Harold I: 338
- Satow, Harry I: 18
- Satow, Henry L. I: 12, vacuum cleaning company 312, 313, 342
- Satow, Hisayoshi – see Takeda Hisayoshi
- Satow, Hugh I: 312
- Satow, Lisinka I: 318, 319, 320, 322
- Satow, Mary I: 315, 345
- Satow, Olga I: 13, 336, 345
- Satow, Olive Jessie I: 13
- Satow, Phil I: fresh open countenance 355
- Satow, Sam (younger brother of Ernest) I: 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 20, 28, meets Ernest at Victoria 311, lunch with 315, 326, at Berkhamsted 328, 329, 334, 345, 347; II: wrote to 302, met Ernest in London 306
- Saumarez – see de Saumarez
- Saussine, Mme. II: 287
- Savory, Sir B. I: 9
- Schaefer, Fräulein (violinist) II: 238
- Schefer, Ary I: 14, 18
- Schellendorf (Schellhoss?) II: 141
- Schellhoss II: 66, 143, 196
- Schlösser, Miss I: 14
- Schnitzler I: 144
- Schol, Mr. I: 332
- Scholtz II: 261, 262
- Scholz, Dr. II: 167
- Schomberg, Capt. I: 13
- Schomberg I: 312
- Schröder, Baron I: 14
- Schuster, Ernest I: 9, 13
- Schuster, Mrs. Ernest I: 331
- Schuster, Felix I: 334, 342
- Schuster, Mrs. Felix I: 334
- Schwarzhof – see von Schwarzhof
- Scindia, Maharaja I: 38
- Scott, Sir Charles Stewart (British ambassador to Imperial Russia at Moscow, 1898-1904) I: 158, 404 II: 10, telegram to MacDonald 19, 30, report 42
- Scott, Bishop Charles Perry (Anglican) I: just lost wife 23, 179, 203, 208, 259, 343 II: 2, theatricals 6, 32, lunched 44, 107, 168, 191, 226, 227
- Scott, Sir Geo. I: 354 II: 107
- Scott, James (acting Consul-General, Canton) I: 144, 145, 152, 157, despatch 274, 307, 312 II: 6
- Scott, J.L. I: 358
- Scott, Capt. Percy I: 150, 312, 343
- Scott, Major I: at Tung-chou 33, 351
- Scott, Miss (Bishop Scott's niece) II: pleasant 2, 6, sang nicely 37
- Scott, Mrs. James I: 152
- Scott-Cranstown II: 169
- Scott-Moncrieff, Col. I: 100, 106
- Sedgewick, Rev. J.H. (missionary) II: 7
- Selwyn, Capt. I: 61, 63, 69

- Semba I: 401
- Sergeant, Dr. I: 142
- Sewell, Mrs. Wm. I: 313, 345, 368
- Seymour, Admiral Sir Edward Hobart I: 19, 30, 31, 36, 57, 107, 108, 110, 151, 153, 303, Japanese navy inferior to Russian 307, 313, 333, honorary degree at Cambridge 343
- Seymour, Sir Henry I: 333
- Sforza II: 40
- Shand, A.A. I: 3, 10, 17, 313, 327, 334, letter of introduction 336
- Shand, W.J.S. (brother of A.A.) I: candidate for professorship of Japanese 331, 343
- Shang Ch'ih-hêng/Ch'i-hêng (late Provincial Treasurer of Shantung) II: 234, returned call of 242
- Shangli I: 368
- Shao-ying II: 224, uncle of Duke Tsai 229
- Sharp I: 307
- Sharratts, Genl. (U.S. tariff commissioner) I: 161, 166, 167, at dinner with Congers 262
- Shaughnessy, T.H. I: 1
- Shaw, Alick (Peking Syndicate) I: 313 II: 36, 37, 56, 174, 272, 273
- Shaw, Mrs. I: 341, 342 II: 174
- Shaw, Ronald I: 341
- Sheffield, Dr. I: 33, 87
- Sheldon, Rev. Chas. M. I: 2
- Shemoukhov II: 232
- Shên Chia-pên I: 175
- Shên-Chien I: beaten to death 392
- Shêng Hsuan-huai 盛宣懷 (Director-General of Chinese national railways) (1844-1916) I: 24, 27, 70, 73, 83, 100, 109, 140, 155, 162, 169, 172, 176, 178, 198, 201, 204, 207, 208, 215, 218, 220, 223, 225, 228, 235, 236, 244, negotiator in Shanghai 247, 252, Azevedo refuses to see 266, memorial 271, telegrams to Wai Wu Pu 277, 278, anxious 281, 283, letter from 286, instructed to treat 297, Shanghai-Nanking railway agreement 304, 305, 306, difficulties 389, 392 II: 5, obstructive attitude 19, 21, iron mine 26, commercial treaty 39, 43, gave way 46, 48, 51, instructions to 53, 54, Shanghai-Nanking railway 71, obstructiveness of 77, 79, 80, 86, 102, no change to route of railway 109, 110, wasted fourteen months in negotiations 115, 124, Satow demands negotiator be changed 130, 132, 144, squeeze paid to 148, propitiated with £40,000 in cash 159, 171, 173, 176, despatched memorial 179, 197, 201, 204, 205, funds 206, trickery of 208, Satow's open contempt for 210, 211, quarrel with 212, quarrel 217, 228, 231, 232, 233, 237, 246, 250, did not understand English 253, letter to B. & C. Corporation 261, decree 274
- Shêng Kung-pao II: 198
- Shên Tun-ho/Shêntunho (English-speaking taotai) I: nobbled by de Cartier 236, compensation to Christians 257, Kalgan railway 273, 274, project of 286

- II: 126
- Shiba I: 42
- Shiba Goro, Col. I: 36, 38, 42, 69 II: 299
- Shibusawa Eiichi I: fiery speech 390 II: 299, called and said money plentiful 300
- Shih-hsü (Head of the Imperial Household Department) I: 175, 199, 205 II: New Year call on 159, returned call 162, 176, 263
- Shimada Saburo II: 300
- Shimadzu Samuro II: 298
- Shinran Shōnin II: 297
- Shō-ami II: 294
- Shou-chi I: 175
- Shu I: 102
- Siebold II: 211
- Siebold, Alex I: 23
- Siffert (Belgian Consul-General, Shanghai) II: 65
- Simpson, Cecil J.W. (Office of Works) I: 29, 33, 37, 110, 111, reported (to be) impossible to get on with 115, 143, 156, 213
- Sinclair (Editor, *Free Press*) I: 356
- Singh, Col. Sir Pratab (1850-1925) I: 24, 26
- Sin Hsiwan II: 128
- Sivewright, Sir James I: 343
- Skinner, A.M. I: 7, 8
- Skottowe I: 92
- Sly I: 24, 27, 66
- Smith of Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank I: 357, II: 15
- Smith (Rockhill's secretary) I: 94
- Smith (Tientsin) I: 31
- Smith, Rev. Dr. Arthur (U.S. missionary) I: 33 II: 74, 107
- Smith, Cecil I: 9, 13, 219, suggested for Peking 352
- Smith, Euan I: 326
- Smith, R. Gordon I: 344
- Smollett-Campbell II: 168
- Smyth, Capt. I: 252
- Somers Cocks, C.S. I: 153
- Somerville, Major John C. II: a language man 296, beautiful bass voice 305
- Soné, Baron I: 344
- Sonne I: 207, 215, 218
- Sonnino, Sidney I: 324
- Souchon II: 54
- Souffart II: 4
- Southall, Lord & Lady I: 311
- Southcott, Walter E. (of Forbes & Co.) II: 1
- Souza/Sonza, a Portuguese merchant I: 249
- Soveral I: 201
- Sowerby II: 126
- Sowne (Chief Superintendent, Chinese Telegraph Administration) II: 172
- Soyeda Jiūichirō II: 299, 303
- Speck I: 361 II: 27n
- Spencer, Herbert II: 131
- Speyer, Comr. I: 153
- Spicer I: 21
- Spitzel (U.S. citizen) II: arrested 117
- Sprent, Rev. Francis H. I: 177
- Spring-Rice, Cecil A. I: 330, 334, 342
- Squiers, Mr. Herbert (U.S. legation secretary) I: 53, 74, 92, 96, 115, 116, 134, 136, 230
- Squiers, Mrs. I: 57, 135, 136
- St. Albans, Dowager Duchess of I: 314, 337, dined with 345

- Startoff I: 382
- Statham, E. I: claim for unpaid salary 286
- Steele, Major I: 114
- Stephen, Condie I: 330
- Stephenson II: 300, 303
- Sternberg II: 27
- Stevens, D.W. II: 298, 299
- Stevenson, Rev. I.W. I: 27
- Stewart, Comr. I: 151
- Stewart, Capt. I: 31
- Stewart, Miss I: 376
- Stewart, Gershom (bill-broker of Hong Kong)
I: 357 II: 51-2, 54, came at Satow's
request 55
- Stewart, Sir Norman I: 100
- Stewart Lockhart, J. H. – see Lockhart
- Stirling, Bishop II: letter of introduction
from 280, 305
- Stiven, J. (of Chartered Bank, formerly in
Japan) I: 347
- St. John, Lt. (A.D.C. to General Creagh) 278
- St. John, Admiral Henry I: 314, 315
- Stockley, Major I: 48, 49
- Stoessel, General (Russian commandant, Port
Arthur) II: offered to surrender 148
- Stokes, Capt. of the “Eclipse” I: 358
- Stokes, Capt. of the “Talbot” I: 299
- Stokes, Mrs. I: 358, 373, left 374
- Stone, Capt. I: 355
- Stone, W.H. II: 298
- Stonehouse, Rev. J. I: 41, 66, funeral 100
- Stopford, Capt. Hon. Walter I: 156, 157, 360
II: 117, 118, 120
- Story, Mrs. I: 322, 325
- Stout, Mrs. I: 341
- Strachey, John St. Loe (Editor of *Spectator*) I:
334
- Straight, W.D. II: 30, 31
- Stronach II: 252
- Strong, Lt. II: 289, 290
- Stübel I: 124
- Studd, Mrs. J.K. I: 331
- Sturges, Emma I: 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 18, 20,
313, 328, 329, 330, 334, lying on sofa
338, tea with 340, 344
II: letter from 56
- Sturges, Helen I: 11
- Sturges, Will I: 13
- Sturtin, Capt. I: 30
- Su, Marshal I: 369 II: never paid his men
112
- Su, Prince I: 87, 91, 108, 154, 170, 189, 199
II: New Year call on 159, 214, 259
- Sucillon, Genl. I: 133, 191, 219
- Sugden at Hankow II: 289
- Sugden, Mrs. I: 153
- Sugiyama Akira I: 45n, 60, 61, 62, 64
- Sun, Genl. I: 172
- Sundius, A.J. Consul (Nanking) I: 27, 93, 156,
157, very deaf 158, 160, 194,
coronation day 268 II: 82,
came on board 290, sent telegram to
293
- Sung, Marshall I: 242
- Sung-kuei I: 175
- Sung-shou/Sung-chou (Governor of Honan)
I: 185, 186
- Sun Pao-chi II: back from Paris 283
- Supao case (Shanghai sedition trial, heard in
Shanghai Mixed Court, December
3-16, 1903) I: 358, 362, 363, 365,
366, 367, 368, 370, 371, 373, 375,

- 376, 383, 387, 391, 392, result of 396,
397
II: pamphleteers 17, 19, 42, 46, 52,
65, 187
- Sutton I: 331
- Suyematsu Kenchō II: 304
- Suyenobu II: 295
- Swan, Howard II: 112, teaching
appointment at Peking University 113,
164
- Swan, W. (of the Eastern Extension co.) I:
175, 176, 178, 198, 207, 211, 218,
report 278, text of new Great
Northern agreement 286
- Swan, Col. I: 31, 127
- Swettenham, Sir Frank (Governor of
Singapore) I: 282, 307, secret treaty
with Siam a mistake 308, no time to
see 355
- Swiney, Capt. I: 314
- Synge I: Japanese group 327
- Syu Chie nai II: 276
- Taft, Judge II: 36
- Tagart, Lady Mary I: 349, 350
- Tai II: only one ready and willing to go
abroad 229
- Takahashi Korekiyo II: 299, in express train
to Yokohama with 303
- Takahira II: ramolli 198, 246
- Takakusu Junjirō, Professor of Sanscrit II:
301
- Takeda Eitarō (Satow's first son) I: 6, 12,
13, 15, 18, trust deed 347 II: 296,
Lloyds inquire after 297, 306
- Takeda Hisayoshi ('H.Y.', Satow's second son)
I: ordered botanical text book for 338
II: 296, Lloyds inquire after 297,
getting him married 299, 301, said
goodbye to again 305
- Takeda O-Kane ('O.K.', Satow's Japanese wife,
not formally acknowledged) II:
went to see 296, 299, said goodbye to
again 305
- Tampieri, Mgr. I: 322
- Tanaka (Minister of the Household) II:
lunched with at Shiba Rikiu 297,
299
- T'ang (Yüan Shih-kai's interpreter) I: 167,
170, 171, 180, 198, 199, 219
- T'ang Shao-yi (Tang Taotai) I: 198, 206, 223,
227, 243, 245, 251, 252, 268, 271,
361, 380-1, 389
II: 1, 8, 17, 21, 36, 37, 50, 51, 64,
67, 83, notice about recruiting 104,
118, to go to Tibet 120, 123, 129, 136,
139, 193, does not wish to go to
England 197, Wang Tahsieh to go to
England instead of 219, 237, called
245-6, censorate ordered by 247,
returned call of 248, 250, importation
to Wai Wu Pu 252, 256, came 261,
264, 266, speaks foreign languages
267, 268, gave him draft convention
274, 275, coming to see me 277, 278,
came to discuss sentences 282,
283, 285, 287, parting present from
288, 289, 292, complained 307
- Tao-mu, Viceroy I: 152, 153
- Tartar-General I: 388
- Tattenbach I: 189, 250 II: 177, trick on
Satow 187

- Taylor I: 9
- Taylor (Colonial Secretary, Singapore) I: 356
- Taylor, Miss I: 318
- Taylor, Miss (missionary) I: 353
- Taylor, Francis Edward (Statistical Secretary & Asst. Commissioner, Imperial Maritime Customs) I: 25, 28, 140, 155, 212, 244, 245, 305, 307
- Tcherbatskoi II: 226
- Teesdale II: 224
- Tei (Japanese legation) I: 386 II: 79, 223
- Temple, Lord I: 12
- Tennery[?], Dr. II: resignation of 266
- Teoduli, Marchesa I: 326
- Terauchi Masatake, Japanese Minister of War II: 299
- Terry, Professor of Law II: 303
- Teshima II: 226, 228, cable laying 236
- Té-shou I: 153
- Tewkesbury I: 255
- Thayer, W.R. II: 27n
- Theodor, Mr. & Mrs. II: interested in tea 290
- Thihmann I: 219
- Thomas I: 395
- Thomas, Henry T. (a young lawyer) II: trade in printed calicoes 236
- Thomas, T. II: 305
- Thomson, G.W. I: 337, lunched with 343
- Thorne, C. of Tientsin II: introduced himself 302
- Thornicraft, Dr. II: 294
- Thornton, Conway I: 330
- Thurby I: 314
- Thursby, Mrs. I: 3, 10, 334, 337
- Thuyll, Mme. I: 317
- Thuys, Col. (Belgian financier connected with Chinese Engineering & Mining Co.) I: 339, 365, 405 II: 62
- Tieh-liang II: 203, 230, 234, 263, 292
- Tillett, Capt. I: 23
- Tilley, Sir John I: committee on consular service 335, 345
- Timmis, Sutton (a friend of Fedor Satow) II: 249
- T'ing chieh 廷杰 (late Governor of Mukden) II: 222, returned call of 223
- T'ing Yang I: 41
- Tittoni II: 160
- Toda II: 297
- Togo Heihachirō, Admiral II: 41, 62, 64, 91, reports no serious damage to ships 93, 176, Satow proposes health of 299
- Tokutomi II: 18, 297
- Tomo I: 33
- Tonami, Comr. II: 64
- Tour I: 359
- Tours I: 33 II: 249
- Tower, Reginald (Secretary of Legation) I: 2, 3, 8, 9, 20, 34, 35, 37, 38, 44, 47, 49, 53, 55, 69, 74, 78, 88, 92, 95, 96, 97, 130, 136, 137, 146, 154, farewell dinner to 164, 168, 184, 207, 290, dined with 312, 313, 326, dined at Travellers with 330, 334, dined at Travellers with 335, 338, 344, offered Munich 345 II: passed over 284
- Townley, Lady Susan I: 196, 235, invitation to Empress-Dowager 249, 265, 268, 270, 288, 346, tormented by Cárcer 364, 365, on Sarah Conger 379n, 386, 390, farewell to 391n

- Townley, Walter (Secretary of Legation) I: 40n, 224, 235, 243, 248, 249, 250, stayed with 265, to cottage with 268, 270, telegraph to Mansfield 286, 288, 290, 296, consultation with 297, 301, 303, 304, Alger asked to write to 305, telegram from Peking 313, 314, message to 330, 335, done very well 344, 346, 360, 362, 365, 367, 369, letter to 373, 378, 386, 390, farewell to 391, 404
II: 68, 71, 107, 141, deceived by Mumm 167, wanted at Washington 284
- Townsend (Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, London) II: 5, 185
- Townsend, Major (Burma commission) II: 42, 43
- Townsend, A.M. I: 343
- Tozer, Augusta (née Satow, a sister of Ernest) I: 3, 6, 9, 18, 20, 310, 318, 322, came to lunch 331, to say goodbye to 345, 347
- Tozer, Edward I: 20
- Tozer, Henry I: 3, 310, 317, 318, 321, 322, walked in Parks with 341
- Tozer, Mrs. Eddie I: 332
- Tracey, Admiral I: 313
- Tratman I: 34
- Treherne, Col. I: 317, 322
- Trevelyan, Rev. I: 313
- Trevis I: 325
- Trevithick, F.H. I: 11, 312, 337
- Tricou, Père II: 182
- Tripp, Major & Mrs. I: 355
- Trotha, General von I: 104, 173
- Trotter, a Natal stockfarmer II: 302
- Trowbridge (naval attaché in Tokyo) I: 360
- Trower I: 7, 9, 10, dined with 314 II: Seymour 50-1
- Trower, Mrs. I: 334
- Truppel, Frau (wife of governor of Kiaochow) I: 376 II: 122
- Tsai, Duke II: mission going abroad to study constitutional systems 214, 229, 234, mission to U.S. and Europe 290
- Tsai Nien I: 70
- Ts'ai, Expectant Taot'ai I: 291, 293 II: interpreter for Yüan 16 II: 37, 60, 176, 238-9, 241
- Tsai-chên, Prince (son of Prince Ch'ing) I: 220n, 221, 223, visit to England 277-8, memorial to throne 284, dinner postponed 285, to say goodbye 297, Board of Commerce 377, money grabber 396
II: 29, squared by Hu 151, New Year call on 159, dined with 171, 213, dined with 286
- Tsai Mien I: 70
- Tsai-tsê II: 295
- Tsen II: 4, troubles his own fault 137, 227, punishment 276
- T'sen Chun ming 岑春蓂, Govr. of Shansi I: 179, reports Ssuchuan troops useless 291, 375
- Tsêng, little I: 60, 65, 66, 67, 81, 82, 83, 88, 90, 92, 94, 102, 105, 108, 112, 138, 148, 168, 175, 178, 184, 189, 191, 195, just back from Shanghai 271, message from Prince Ch'ing 284, 288, draft contract for a professor 297,

- impossibility of professor under £600
per annum 330
II: 24, 31, 44, requests English
teacher 45, 48, interpreting 53, 63, 65,
86, interpreting 87, 89, 112, 118, 134,
211, 287, 289
- Tsêng Kuo fan I: 195
- Tsêng Kwang-hsian II: says Coreans detest
Japanese 252
- Tsêng, Taotai II: 211
- Tsuboi Masagoro the antiquarian II: 303
- Tsuchiya (correspondent, *Osaka Asahi
Shinbun*) II: 175, 176, 203, 217,
218
- Tsuda Sen II: old 299
- Tsudzuki Keizō I: 330
- Tsuzuki/Tsudzuki Keiroku I: 367n II: 296,
297, 298, 299
- Tuan, Prince (antiforeign) I: 14, 31, 32, 35,
41, 53, 58, 69, 72, 80, 81, 82, 86, 89,
90, 146, 156, 157, 193n
II: false edict of 136, cause of
hatred of foreigners 220
- Tuanfang/Tuan Fang/Tuan-fang I: 160, spoke
in favour of 282, a good man 291
II: 17, 220, target of assassination
attempt 224, 229
- Tudor, Capt. of the "Cressy" I: 361 II: 117
- Tuke, Comr. I: 109, 110, 332
- Tulloch I: 91
- Tulloh, Lt. II: 218
- Tung Fuhsiang, General (Boxer leader) I: 14,
24, 31, 41, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62,
63, 65, 67, 81, 82, 90, 114, 147, 148,
157, 171
II: wanted to kill Prince Ch'ing 89
- Turbat II: 295
- Turner, Major I: 24
- Turton, Arthur Edward (vice-consul) I: 318
- Tussū I: decapitated 365
- Twyman, B. II: 225, refusing to remove 255,
asked not to remove by Prince Ch'ing
256
- Tycoon (Satow's pony) I: 108, 236 II:
enjoyed ride 44
- Tyler, W.F. (Commissioner of Customs,
Canton) II: 77, plans to reorganise
Chinese navy 224
- Tylor, E.B. I: 3, 341, bat used in dakiū 342
- Tyrell, Amy I: 322
- Tyrrell I: 5
- Uchida Yasuya (Japanese minister) I: 164n,
165, 169, 176, 178, 180, 185, 190,
193, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201,
203, 204, 206, 207, 209, 213, 214,
215, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223,
Russian mining privileges 228, 234,
236, 237, 238, mining agreements
242, 244, Kirin mining agreement
245, 247, not satisfied 248, no
instructions 249, 250, partial
moratorium 251, promises support
253, 254, talk about T.P.G. 259, 261,
promise 266, request 271, asks Goltz
to act on his instructions 272, 277, no
instructions yet 280, 281, 283, loan
for Peking-Kalgan railway 286,
dinner with 292, 293, called on 362,
expects war 363, 366, 368, strong
hostility 370, 371, 374, 379, 386, 390,
395, 397, 398, knows more than

- hitherto admitted 399-400, 407
- II: 2, 7, Chinese neutrality 8, 9, 10-11, 15, 16, 17, coal 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, stupid mess 25, 30, 32, 33, 34, Mandjour negotiations 35, Newchwang 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, Mandjour 47, 51, 56, 57, Garden Party 60, 61, 62, 63, Hatsuse sunk 66, sketch 68, draft protocol 69, 74, Russian police 75, drastic reply 78, 79, 82, 88, naval engagement 91, camphor 91-2, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, losses of troops 101, 102, wharfage dues 113, 114, 121, fighting again 128, trademarks 129, 134, Chinese proposal 142, looking cheerful 157, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 181, 182, 183, thanks Satow 186, 188, 189, 196, 197, 204, 205, 207, 213, Satow congratulates on peace 218, 219, 226, 227, Satow goes to 232, 236, 238, 239, 240, 245, 247, 248, very amusing 249, instructions about troop withdrawals 251, 258, 259, 263, 264, 266, 269, 275, 276, 277, 284, 285, came to say goodbye 287, thought to be very capable 290, representative of 305
- Uchida, Mme. I: 207 II: 1, 30, 234, 273, 287
- Ukida Hideiye II: 224
- Ume Kenjirō, Professor of International Law II: 294, 303
- Upcraft, W.M. I: 83
- Uyeno, Japanese consul at Amoy I: 220
- Vade I: 356
- van Aalst, J.A. I: 168
- van Citters, Jonkheer Adolph Jacobus (Dutch minister at Peking, 1903-08) I: reception by Prince Ch'ing 386, 389 II: 4, 8, 45, 68, 73, 129, 141, 143, 160, 164, 188, 207, dined with 229, disturbed 239, came to thank me 241, farewell dinner to 265
- van der Gucht I: 125
- Van Horne, Sir William I: 1, 21
- Van Loo I: 324
- van Someren, G. I: 355
- Van Wahre II: 4
- Vaughan, John Charles Tudor I: 116, 117, 131, 223, dined with 335
- Vaughan-Lee, Capt. of the Astraea II: 290
- Vay de Vaya, Monsignor I: 277
- Veitch I: 4
- Venables, Capt. II: 218
- Ventris, Francis, General (based at Tientsin) I: 350, 361, 362, 371, to be made Major-General 386, 387, 388, Satow informs him of promotion 390 II: 36, 37, ordered back to England 51, 139, came up to Peking 170, Genl. V's entourage 219, came up 235, departure of 280, 283
- Ventris, Mrs. II: 36
- Verney, Sir Harry Lloyd I: young 341
- Verney, Fred I: 336
- Vickers, Mrs. I: 340
- Victoria, Princess I: 312
- Victoria, Queen I: 3, 13, 26, 66, 70, death of 82, 83, memorial service 85

- Vidal I: 108
- Vidal, Mme. I: 53
- Vignon (French Secretary) I: 368 II: 56, 151, 170, 206
- Villega de St. Pierre (Belgian Vice-consul) I: 161
- Villiers, Freddy I: 2, 6, 20, 312 II: 59, 304
- Vitale I: 55 II: 127, 286
- Vlanzali, old I: 318, 322
- Voek, Miss II: 293
- von Baur, Col. I: 50
- von Below I: 35, 85
- von Bohlen I: 50, 75, 89, 106, 112, 132, 167, 241, stoppage of tariff negotiations 242, 252, 256, sent by Mumm 262, tariff 264, 268, 295, U.S. proposed arbitration 296
- von Borch I: 388 II: 144, 153
- von Brandt, Max II: 115
- von Bülow – see Bülow
- von Claer (German military attaché) I: 370 II: 110, 176
- von der Goltz (German) I: 47, 67, 122, 135, 209, 220, 224, 236, about Hillier 266, 267, 272, 279, 280, 281, admitted everything 283, 284, 287, 289, German line prolongation 292, 295, 296, 372, written protest 378 II: stupid proceedings of 24, 53, 66, instructions to 74, 80, 83, 86, 93, 100, 151, 168, dined with to play bridge 173, 174, 203, 204, 211, 232, 234, annoyance 274, 283, 288, 289
- von Falkenhayn I: 141, 185, 213, 227, 250
- von Forster I: 22
- von Groth (sic), von Grot, V. I: 313
- von Hanneken I: 47, 54, 55, 56, 72
- von Holzendorff, General II: 45
- von Jedina, Frau II: 177
- von Ketteler, Clemens Freiherr (German minister killed by Boxers) I: 35, 44, 62, 67, 117, monument 209
- von Lessels I: 133
- von Mollendorf, Misses Margaret and Dora I: 376
- von Naumann, Col. I: 48, 49
- von Prittwitz, Admiral II: 54
- von Radowitz I: 370 II: 67, 170, 174, 191
- von Rohrscheidt, General I: 131, 133, 149, 184, 185, 191, 211, 242, no objection to railway handover 266, going home via Japan 379, 386, 401
- von Rosthorn, Arthur Elder (1862-1945) (Austro-Hungarian minister 1902-03) I: 297 II: 172, 177, 200, 211, dispute with Wai Wu Pu 247, Mumm complains about 255, 257, 262, 266, dined at 267
- von Rosthorn, Mme. Paula (wife of Arthur) I: 278
- von Schröder, Baron I: 322
- von Schwarzhof/Schwarzhoff, General I: 90, 101, speak to Schwartzhof about evacuation 102, death of in fire 104, funeral 105, agreement with Barrow 240
- von Soden I: 85
- von Trotha, Genl. I: 127
- Voyron, Genl. (French) I: 59, 60, 64, 79, 104, 126, 323
- Vrard II: 202

- Wace, Dean I: 337
- Wade, Mr. I: 153
- Wade, Sir Thomas Francis (diplomat) II: 45
- Wade-Gardner I: 24, 30
- Wahol, Abdul II: 44
- Waldersee, Field Marshal Count Alfred von (1832-1904) I: 30, 31, 36, 40, 42, 44, 50, 61, 62, 64, 68, 73, 76, 79, 81, 82, 85, 89, 90, 98, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 111, says goodbye 112, 133, 138, 149, 181, 185, 218, 230, agreement with Gaselee 234, 238, arrangements 254
- Waldron I: 318
- Waldstein, Countess I: 317
- Wales, Prince of I: 311, 312
- Walford, Ambrose I: 345
- Walker, Capt. I: 21
- Walker (U.S. missionary) I: 134
- Wallace I: 317
- Wallbaum, Dr. I: 10
- Walrond, Sir John I: 311
- Walrond, Sir Wm. I: 317, committee 335
- Walsh, Col. I: 332
- Walsham, J.S. I: wants a post in China 344
- Walter (Magistrate) I: 361
- Walter, Mr. H. I: 2
- Walter, Ralph II: 62, 63, 64, 72, Morrison brings to Satow 78, 79
- Walters, James II: 305
- Walton, Mr. Justice I: 337
- Wang taotai I: 157, 158, 160
- Wang, emissary of Shangpu II: 220
- Wang Chih-chun II: 124
- Wang Tahsieh II: to go to London 219, 285, 288
- Wang Wên shao (Grand Council member appointed to Foreign Board) I: 41, 157, ceremonial call 168, 169, 175, 182, dinner to 201, 206, 209, 214, deafness of 241, 243, notes exchanged 266, coronation day 268, 269, 270, 281, Kalgan railway 283, 286, 296, 303, 363, 367
II: guest of Natung 45
- Wantage, Lady I: 338, 339
- Ward, Dr. (of Peterhouse, Cambridge) I: 343
- Ward, Humphrey I: 10
- Ward, Mrs. Humphrey I: 151, house 334
- Ward, Leslie ('Spy', caricaturist of Vanity Fair, knighted 1918; 1851-1922) I: first sitting 314
- Warren, Sir Pelham (Consul General, Shanghai)
I: 17, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, 50, 54, 70, 81, 82, 83, 88, 154, 155, 156, 161, 162, 171, 173, 176, 178, 200, 207, 215, 230, lunch with 339, 378, Supao case 396
II: 9, 33, 46, 65, 72, telegram 77, reports ships 93, cool headed 94, repairs to Askold 97, 98, 172, 182, 228, 249, release of women held in International Gaol at Shanghai 252-3, 255, 256, 257, 261, 271, unsuitable to succeed Satow 285, good relations with Taotai 291, 292, 293
- Warrington, Maud I: 7
- Warrington, Tom I: 337
- Warry I: 350
- Watanabe II: 175, 297
- Watanabe Shujirō/Shinjiro II: brought reprint of Satow's Kinsé Shiriaku

- translation 296, Shinjirō 299
- Watanabe T. II: excessive inquisitiveness 218
- Waterford, Lady I: 329
- Watson, Capt. I: 150
- Watson, Lt. Comr. I: 24
- Watson, Major I: 30
- Watts, Col. (Sherwood Foresters, Tientsin) I: 387, 389
- Watts, Mrs. I: 387
- Watts-Jones, Lt. R.N. I: 73
- Waugh, Dr. I: 329
- Wawn, J. T. I: 23
- Weatherston, Miss I: 27
- Webb II: recommended as a trustee 298
- Webb, Mr. Edward I: 343
- Weber, Sir Hermann & Lady I: 13, 14, 18, 311, 320, 331, liver enlarged 334, dined with 342, 346
- Weber, Edith I: 320
- Weber, Fritz I: 18
- Weber, Hilda I: 9
- Weber, Lady I: 7, 9, 13, 14, 311, 320, 331
- Webster, Rev. James (missionary) I: 71 II: 185
- Wee Theam Tew (a Chinese from Singapore) I: 281
- Wei Chia-chi, Col. I: 268, 276, 286
- Wei Kuang-tao I: 393 II: 67, 104
- Wei Kwang chien I: 375
- Wells, Mary I: 313
- Wemyss, Comr. I: 157, 162
- Wemyss, Lord I: 8
- Wên jui I: 60
- Wên Yun (Governor General, Mukden) II: 81
- Wêng Tung ho (Grand Council member) I: 195, 236, 288, 374
- Werner, Edward T.C. II: sent by Satow in small gunboat to Nanch'ang to investigate murders 271, telegraphic report 273, written report 276, 277, 278, 280, came on board 290
- Westenberg I: 323
- Westwater, Dr. II: 185
- Wheaton, Henry II: 104
- Wheeler I: 328
- Whetnall, Baron (Belgian minister in London) I: 237, conversation with Lord Lansdowne 258
- Whistler of Evans Pugh & Co. II: 289
- Whistler, Mrs. I: 160
- White, U.S. Secretary I: 8
- White, Claude I: 349, 353
- White, Sir Geo. I: 343, 344
- White, Herbert I: 6, 259
- White, Sir Herbert Thirkel I: 355
- Whitehead, Mrs. I: 7
- Whitehead, James B. I: 23
- Whitehead, T.H. (of Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China; represented Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce on Hong Kong Legislative Council, 1890-1902) I: 345, proposed appointment as financial adviser to Chinese government 346 II: letter of introduction from Tommy Whitehead 283
- Whittall of Reuters I: 87, 104
- Whittall, Mrs. I: 198
- Wienecken I: 49

- Wilborn, Mrs. I: 168
- Wilcox, R. Chatterton (Chairman, Hong Kong branch of China Association) II: letter from 51
- Wileman, A.E. I: 2, 23, 342
- Wilkin, Arthur I: 348, 352
- Wilkin, Cathie I: 348, 352 II: 71
- Wilkinson, Mrs. I: 321
- Wilkinson, F.E. I: 156, expenditure of S.S. 303, 379, 392, 403 II: 33, 46, 50, 55, 56, 57, 63, 74
- Wilkinson, Hiram Parkes (son of H.S. Wilkinson) I: 27, 118, 122, 167, 172, 186, 202, 230, 248, not a good appointment 327-8, offered and declined Archer's succession at Bangkok 342 II: 292
- Wilkinson, Hiram Shaw, Chief Justice at Shanghai (1840-1926) I: 3, 24, 25, 141, 143, 154, H.S.W. asks about knighthood 328, wants son to succeed him 342 II: came to stay 128, went off 129
- Wilkinson, William Henry (Consul at Ningpo) I: 24, 305, 306
- Wilkinson, W.H. (Rangoon) I: 354, will stay at Yünnanfu for a couple of years 355 II: 172
- Willfahrt of Russo-Chinese bank I: 255
- William, Emperor (Kaiser Wilhelm I) II: 281
- William, Emperor of Germany (Kaiser Wilhelm II) I: 19, 21, 31, 134, 135, 185-6, 328, 350, 361 II: 17, 27n, Morocco 176, escapade at Tangier 187, nervous trouble 190, Dogger Bank incident 200-1, 223, 231, telegram regarding withdrawal of troops 232, 233, peace initiative 234, 236, telegram to King 237, 238, gradual withdrawal proposed by 240, telegram to King 258, telegrams from 263, 281
- Williams (U.S. legation interpreter) I: 369 II: 79, 196, 246, observations 276
- Williams, Lucy Hume I: 337
- Willis, Dr. William II: 301, 303
- Willis, R. I: 24, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 54, 66
- Wills, Mr. Justice I: 346
- Wills, William I: 346
- Wilson I: 142
- Wilson, Hon. C.H. (of Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank) I: 355
- Winchester, C.W. II: 304
- Windham of the "Amphitrite" I: 361
- Windsor, Lady I: 8
- Wingate, Alfred Woodrow I: 277, 290, 350, 361, 386, article in "China Times" 399, mischief-maker 404 II: 30, came from Tientsin 34, 36, intelligence reports of no value 54
- Winstanley I: 11, at Thatched House 313, 340
- Wintle II: experiences at Port Arthur 30
- Wintz, Capt. I: 24, 125, 259
- Wishaw, Mrs. I: 332
- Witoft, Admiral II: killed on Csarevitch 92-3, 111
- Witte, Count Sergei (1849-1915) (Russian finance minister, 1892-1903) I: 78, 97, 182, 193, 204, will not agree to moratorium 251, 367n II: Kurino's conversation with 42,

- 217, a great intriguer 242, railway guards 248
- Wogack [Wozack?], Col. K. de I: 401
- Wolf, H.E. I: 119
- Wolfe of the Hong Kong Service II: 260
- Wolfe-Murray, General Sir I: 351
- Wolfe-Murray, Lady I: 349
- Wollheim, Mauricio (Mexican Chargé d'Affaires) II: 117
- Wolsley, Lord I: 2
- Wong Kwok-shan II: 253
- Wood of Gibb Livingstons I: 357
- Wood, Major & Mrs. (U.S. legation Tokyo) I: 375
- Woodroffe, Rev. Mr. I: 313
- Woolley, Alfred (P. & O. agent, Yokohama) II: 303
- Wozack/Wogack I: 99, 112, Wogack 133, 191, 240, 247, not to be replaced 252, 391 II: 13
- Wright, Luke (U.S. ambassador, Tokyo) II: 304
- Wrigley I: 16, 17, 332
- Wroltesley, Flag Lt. I: 151
- Wu I: 169, 274
- Wu, Capt. (interpreter of Hu) I: 176, 179, 221, 223, 250, 253, 265
- Wu Chunghsi/Ch'ung-hsi 吳重喜 I: 281 II: acting governor of Kiangsi 282, at Tientsin 283
- Wu Jun pa [?] II: 175
- Wu Shih chao I: 86, 105, 149
- Wu Têchang (secretary to Chinese plenipotentiaries) I: 115, 122
- Wu Ting-fang 伍廷芳 (Chinese representative in U.S.) I: 148, 263, 296, Board of Commerce 377, 379, 386, 389 II: 1, China to remain neutral 7, appointed to Wai wu pu from Board of Commerce 8, 12, 17, 19, talks nonsense as usual 25, proposes consular commission at Shanghai 34, 35, 38, 43, 44, Emperor weak 46, 48, 51, agreement 53, 57, 61, 63, 65, 66, 88, Satow hopes he will stay at Wai wu pu 89, special Chinese mission 105, 109, 110, 112, special mission 113, 117, 119, 121, 133, bad interpreting 134, 137, 140, 141, paraphrase of telegram from F.O. 147, interpreted 157, 164, 165, press law 166, 168, 176, 183, 190, 197, differences 198, 204, 209, 214, slightly wounded 224, 226, hurt by splinter in bomb explosion 229, 264, Mixed Court rules 265, a 'pig' 276, 280, Satow called to say goodbye 287, 289
- Wulff, Marcus I: goldmining 358, 360
- Wurtz I: 322, reception 324
- Wuthmann, Capt. I: 159
- Wybrants, Lt. I: 347
- Wylie, R.A. (of Cornes & Co.) I: 313
- Wyllie, Col. (Sherwood Foresters) I: 358
- Wyndham, Capt. of "Amphitrite" I: 360
- Wyndham, Geo. I: 277, 328
- Wyndham, Sir Hugh I: 10, 35
- Wynne, T.R. (agent of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co.) I: came up to stay 278, Lecomte brings papers from 297, 298, 304, 362, correspondence 366, 369, 399, 401, 404, blamed 405,

- succeeded by Nathan 407
- Yamada Samurō, Dr. II: 303
- Yamagata Aritomo (Chief of Japanese General Staff) II: 40, 140, 145, 221, 224, 243, 298, 300
- Yamaguchi, General I: 44
- Yamamoto II: 175, 281
- Yamamoto Gombei, Japanese Minister of Marine I: 306, emphasised desire for peace 307 II: 40
- Yamane Takesuke, General I: 131, 149, 163, 293-4, says goodbye 398n
- Yang, Col. II: 96
- Yang, General II: 109
- Yang (ex-director of Engineering & Mining Co.) I: 297, hoisted Chinese flag 298
- Yang (governor of Shantung) II: new man 155, 158, telegram from 188
- Yang (minister to Brussels) I: 265
- Yang Chêng II: new Chinese minister to Vienna 25
- Yang Shih-siang 楊士驤 a taotai I: 191, director of Russo-Chinese Bank 194, 195, 243, telegram from 275
- Yang-ju/Yang-yu I: 97, 98
- Yarborough I: 334
- Yates, Frederick (artist) I: 315, crayon portrait 337, 338, finishes crayon sketch 340, 342, finishing touches to portrait 343
- Yeh, Rear Admiral (Leaf=葉) I: 120-121, 277
- Yendo, Admiral I: 27
- Yen Fu I: 375
- Yeung Kwisan I: 152
- Ying Nian I: 87, 89, 90
- Yiu-chang I: going to Berlin 119
- Yokoi II: 299
- Yokoi Heishirō II: 299, 300
- Yokoyama Magoichirō I: wants to sell rifles to China 369 II: 100n, 139-40, 148, supplying armies in Manchuria 158
- Yokura, Major II: 264
- Yorek I: 58
- Yoritomo II: 303
- York, Duke of I: 12
- Yorke, Sir Henry, C.B. I: 5, 10, 331, 334, to Batsford with 336
- Yoshitsune II: 303
- Young I: 361
- Young, Capt. I: 363
- Young, Robert (editor, *Kobe Chronicle*) II: 31
- Young, Misses I: 363
- Younghusband, Colonel Francis (British commissioner to Tibet, 1903-04) I: Tibet expedition 349, travels 353, 388 II: Dalai Lama and 87, 105, 113, 116, 120, at Lhasa 226, adhesion agreement 284
- Yüan-chang I: 91
- Yüan-ching hsien I: 186
- Yüan Shih-kai 袁世凱 (Viceroy of Chihli province at Tientsin, 1901-07) I: 18, 91, 118, 139, 164, 165, 166, 168, 172, 173, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 187, 190, 191, 198, 199, 201, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213, 214, 216, 219, 223, 227, 230, denounced by Waiwupu 238, 239, 240, 241, intrigue against 243, 244. bodyguard 248, 249,

- 250, 251, 252, 263, in yellow jacket
 268, friendly 269, Manchuria 271,
 275, Satow calls on in Tientsin 276,
 telegram from 278, 279, 280, wants
 to send men to put down brigands
 289, talk of new railway line 292,
 294, 295, 298, just arrived in a river
 steamer 303, wants to block Germans
 304, 305, 307, 335, proposal to T. H.
 Whitehead 346, 361, ruins trade 366,
 387, 389, consent of 399, secret edict
 to 401, vexed 404, disliked by
 foreigners 406, power struggle with
 Chang Yi 407
 II: 9, 10, troops 15, 16, 21, 22,
 wanted advice 26, 34, 36, 37, troops
 welcomed 39, son 44, 47, 50, 58, 59,
 60, opium monopoly 64, 74, 80, 81,
 sale of guns to 90, 95, 104, message
 from 120, 123, 124, Satow applauded
 firm attitude of 138, return visit 139,
 151, 178, 184, 206, growing
 anti-Japanese feeling of 221, 224,
 226, 227, 228, Deloncle wrong about
 230, 231, making trouble about
 Italian subjects 236, 238, decision lay
 with 239, 241, returned call 243, 247,
 248, 251, 256, 263, 265, 266, 274,
 goodbye to at Tientsin 283, 291, force
 raised easily dispersed 295, the only
 strong man in China 298
- Yüan Shukang 袁樹勛, Taotai I: 156
- Yüan Tahua I: 396
- Yüan Tai (son of Yüan Shih-kai) II: 158,
 178 Yuan Yuen-tai 266
- Yün I: 83
- Yü Chang I: 67
- Yü Hsien/Yühsien (Boxer leader) I: 31, 43,
 63, 66, 81, 84
- Yü Lien-san I: 365
- Yü Yiu-lin I: 96, 98, 100
- Yung-ching I: 60 II: 203, 230
- Yung-ch'uan I: 111
- Yung-ju I: 100
- Yütai (Chinese Resident, Lhasa – see also
 Amban) I: 385 II: 105, 108, 109
- Yutê I: 175
- Zanelli (Cuban Consul-General at Hong Kong,
 Chargé d'Affaires in China) II: 193
- Zeeder, Captain of "Siberia" II: 305
- Zinovieff I: 309