



Frontispiece

G. Dreyer's Map of China
1696

IDES' MAP, 1696

Western Travellers to China

by

FRANCES MARKLEY ROBERTS



*A Personalized Story of China's
relations with the West in Religion,
Commerce, Diplomacy and Culture,
during Eleven Centuries.*

WITH THREE MAPS

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INTRODUCTORY

. . .

THE story of Western travellers to China is the personalized story of China's relations with the West in religion, commerce, diplomacy and culture. The personality which characterizes the traveller's account of his journey makes an appeal to a wide group not interested in diplomatic or scientific reports. Through the medium of the traveller's eyes the Western world has received most of its impressions of China. This has been due to many causes, chiefly to the inaccessibility of Chinese accounts. Mastery of the Chinese language has been obtained by only a few Westerners, and their translations from the Chinese have been confined largely to the specialized fields of philosophy and classical literature. Only in recent years have Chinese written in Western languages, and their books have not reached a wide public. The increasing number of Western novels with scenes laid in

China contain many true pictures and many highly extravagant episodes. In contrast with these channels of information stand the numerous accounts of China by the travellers who during the past thousand years have come in contact with the China of reality.

The foreign resident in China, unless his business is to write, does not often leave an account of his experiences. He becomes too cautious. Lafcadio Hearn wrote that the longer one remained in the East, the less one knew of what was going on in the Oriental mind. Travellers do not feel that inhibition, their interest is in what they see. Too often the foreign resident is completely occupied by his business, and will not take the time to put down what he has seen. Habit blinds him both to what is picturesque and admirable and to what is distressing. A walk for the first time through a Chinese village is an adventure worthy of at least a chapter, but constant repetition makes it a commonplace, or a thing to be avoided. Foreign residents often try to build up a replica of their home environment and they are successfully acclimated only when they have surrounded themselves with the very things which the traveller is avoiding. For the traveller usually is seeking the unwesternized customs and conditions. Yet the "old China hand" is quite sure that a person coming to China can get nowhere by a diligent half year of study and

inquiry. Ross says, "No traveller if he consults the old treaty-port residents will ever find courage to write anything about the Chinese."¹ A cynical attitude described by Franck asserts that if a person knows all about China he has recently arrived; if he has some doubts he has been in China a few years; if he admits knowing nothing he has probably been in the country a long time.²

The traveller's account of China is therefore in bad repute among foreign residents. It is argued that he has stayed too short a time, has seen only the things he wished to see, has been misled by Chinese opinions. Whether or not such criticisms are true, the fact remains that the traveller is the one to whom most people turn for knowledge of the country. The fantastic stories of a very great traveller earned for him the title of Marco "Millioni," because of the countless fictions he was believed to have invented, but five hundred years after him explorers used his record as a guide book.

Readers are more interested in the life, customs, and racial characteristics of the Chinese than in their history. The most vivid impressions of these can be found through the eyes of the traveller. He has no standard by which he must

¹ ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH—*The Changing Chinese*, London, 1911. p. xv.

² FRANCK, HARRY A.—*Wandering in North China*, New York, 1923. p. vii.

write—no incident or observation is too trivial, and he is animated by the spirit of curiosity which is inherent in the fraternity of the road. This alert interest and freshness of viewpoint has produced a travel literature on China extending over a period of a thousand years which it would be difficult to duplicate.

At first practically all Western knowledge of China was brought by a few travellers. Concerning this strange distant country, fancy was as easy to believe as fact. In more recent times China has been a great attraction for travellers with resources for the study of art, paleontology, ethnology, politics, finance and sociology.

Every traveller brings to China his own preconception. No two pairs of eyes see alike in the East, no two imaginations give the same response. We meet then with diversity of experiences, from that of Marco Polo, the Perfect Traveller, to that of Count Keyserling, to whom China is but the starting point for philosophic reflection. The lure of China has attracted the most diverse types of traveller, yet to all the Chinese people themselves have been the centre of interest. The basic friendliness in the character of the Chinese people and the alert and usually friendly disposition of the traveller have produced a sympathetic liaison, bringing to the narrative a never-failing human touch.

Practically no part of China has been

unvisited by these travellers. They have gone into every province, to the end of the Great Wall and beyond, to the headwaters of the great rivers, to the unexplored and unmapped mountain ranges, to the Tibetan marches, home of strange tribes and varied scenery. They have told the world of diplomatic and political events, of new plants and animals, of a civilization in transition from the Middle Ages to a modern day, but always of a country that wins admiration for the qualities of its many-sided people.

Part I

*Travellers
in the T'ang
and Mongol
Periods*

TRAVELLERS IN THE T'ANG AND MONGOL PERIODS

. . .

NOT until the great T'ang period do we find records of travellers to China. Luxuries from the East had been used in ancient Greece and Rome, but they had been purchased from middlemen. In the Chinese annals there is a reference to a foreign Embassy which may have been from Marcus Aurelius, or from Asia Minor. The western half of the Roman Empire had fallen, the Empire of Charlemagne had not yet risen, and England had not yet achieved the partial unity which Alfred was to give it, when T'ai Tsung, the greatest of the T'ang rulers, was governing the largest Empire in the world.

The sea had become an important factor in travel to China for traders from Arabia, Persia and India. Many cities grew in importance as the result of this new trade: in Kiangsu, Khantu, the present Yangchow; in Chekiang, Khinzai and Mingchow, the present Hangchow and Ningpo; in

Kuangtung, Khanfu, or Canton, and Zayton, just south of the present Foochow. Zayton, or Chuanchow, remained the largest and wealthiest seaport of China until the end of the Yuan dynasty. With few exceptions the information of Europe in the Middle Ages concerning China was brought back by the Arab traders.

Abbé Eusebius Renaudot in 1718 translated Arab accounts of the ninth and tenth centuries under the title *Anciennes Relations de l'Inde et de la Chine de deux Voyageurs Mohametans qui y allerent dans le IXieme siècle*. The introductory parts of the first account available to Renaudot, written in 851, were missing, so the author's identity is lost. The account tells of the manufacture of porcelain, the use of rice wine and tea, the delay of burial for favourable auspices, the use of copper currency, the elaborate official titles, and the custom of doing business by written documents. The writer also describes a religion, Buddhism, which had gone into China from India.

The second account translated by Renaudot was written about sixty years after the first account, by Abu Zaid Hassan of Siraf, a city on the Persian Gulf. He tells about the anarchy and the revolution which in Chinese annals is called the rebellion of Hwang-chao. Most interesting is the account of the visit of an acquaintance of the author's, Ibn Wahab of Basra, to the Emperor Hsi Tsung at his capital Khumdan. He dwells

on the orderly and upright administration of China which continued to be an object of admiration to Western travellers up to the time of the Embassies of the early nineteenth century.

Yule speaks of Mas'udi, another Arab, who wrote "Meadows of Gold" and travelled both to Africa and China after 912. Mas'udi gives very little that is not in the relation by Abu Zaid. Abu Dulaf Mis'ar Ibn Muhalhil was at the court at Bokhara when Ambassadors arrived from the Emperor of China to negotiate a royal marriage. He accompanied these Ambassadors to China. Not all of his narrative is extant but passages are preserved in Yakut, 1220, and Qazwini, 1268-9. Arab travellers were so numerous that foreign quarters near the water front were designated for them, and in the main the most cordial and friendly relationships obtained. Conditions must have been similar to those under the Yuan dynasty.³

The traditions of the eastern churches assert that St. Thomas and the Apostle Bartholomew journeyed to China, but of this no record remains.⁴

³ YULE, COL. SIR HENRY—*Cathay and the Way Thither*, Revised by Henri Cordier, 4 vols., London, 1915. Vol. I, p. 137ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 101 n.2.

The Chaldean breviary of the Malabar church in its office for St. Thomas says:

"By St. Thomas were the Chinese and the Ethiopians converted to the truth;

By St. Thomas hath the Kingdom of Heaven taken unto itself wings and passed even unto China."

The strong missionary spirit of the seventh and eighth centuries in the Nestorian churches sent men to the East, and Christianity must have entered China by the seventh century. What a story of travel could have been told by Alopen of Ta-Ch'in who arrived in China in 635 to bring his message of the Luminous Religion! Whether he came overland or by way of the sea is not known. The only record of his travel and experiences is that found on the Sianfu monument, uncovered in 1625. But the bare outlines of this inscription conjure up a tale the like of which possibly no traveller other than Marco Polo could relate. All we know from the monument is that the great Emperor T'ai Tsung received Alopen with honour and studied the sacred books. We know the splendour of the Court, but we have lost the story of one of the greatest of missionary journeys.⁵

The tragic end of the missionary effort begun by Alopen in China is told in the short travel report of the Monk of Najran. An Arabian author, Mahomed son of Isaac, surnamed Abulfaraj, says:

“In the year 377 (A.D. 987) behind the church in the Christian quarter (of Baghdad) I fell in with a certain Monk of Najran, who seven years before had been sent to China by the Catholicos with five other ecclesiastics, to bring the affairs of Christianity in that country into order. He was a man still young, and

⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 101-124.

of a pleasant countenance, but of few words, opening his mouth only to answer questions. I asked him about his travels and he told me that Christianity had become quite extinct in China. The Christians had perished in various ways; their Church had been destroyed; and but one Christian remained in the land. The monk, finding nobody whom he could aid with his ministry, had come back faster than he went."⁶

In 1162 on the banks of the Orkhon River in Mongolia was born a baby, Temuchin, who was later to be called Jenghiz Khan—founder of a dynasty which not only controlled an Empire, the greatest in extent the world has ever known, but also provided an unimpeded communication between the East and West such as the world never again knew until modern times. The conquest of Cathay—by which name China became known after conquests by the K'itans, Tartar conquerors from the north—was begun by Jenghiz but was not completed until the time of his grandson, Kublai. Meanwhile conquests carried the Mongol hosts westward to Silesia in 1241, south-east to Syria and Persia, southward into Western India, and northward into what is now Siberia. "In Asia and Eastern Europe scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave."⁷ All artificial barriers in this vast expanse of territory were washed away,

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 113.

⁷ YULE-CORDIER, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 9 of Introduction.

communication and travel were made easy, and the roads through Central Asia saw persons of all classes travelling to distant points. We may be certain that at this period there were many more people able to make the long journey than to write an account of it.

The first European travellers who took back word of Cathay had not reached that country itself, but had arrived at the great Khan's camp at Karakorum. Not only was communication carried on by the overland routes, but we find Europeans taking the long sea journey across the Indian Ocean and beyond to the port of Zayton in Southern China. Travel was not confined to those from the West. For Chinese went great distances from their home, and we read of missions sent by Kublai to points as far as Madagascar. To this period belong two men called the world's greatest travellers, Ibn Batuta⁸ and Marco Polo.

For the second time we find the influences of Christianity entering China, to flourish for a time under the patronage of the Khans, particularly Kublai, who exhibited a cosmopolitan taste in religions, and who realized that the by-products of Christianity—a moral regeneration, Western learning and science, more active communication with the West—would enhance his prestige. Marco Polo has described this Khan as a man of

⁸ YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, p. 41.

great curiosity and interest, so the strangers from the West, particularly men highly educated, must have satisfied some of this desire for novelty. But this second entrance of Christianity into China was to be followed by a disappearance as complete as that of the Nestorianism of the seventh and eighth centuries, leaving behind only the records of self-sacrificing and in some cases homesick friars in a strange land. During the Mongol period Christianity flourished, particularly in the large cities, Cambaluc and Zayton, but we have records of its spread in other parts. When the Jesuits came to China in the seventeenth century to bring Christianity for the third time, they found few traces of the religion which had numbered its converts by thousands during the Mongol period.

Many Western travellers who went into the country of the great Khan have left no record, but the first men to bring to Western Europe the knowledge of the great people of Cathay were the two Franciscan monks, John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk. We can learn more of Cathay from the Dominican and Franciscan friars who went thither than from any others with the exception of Marco Polo. These friars travelled to the East in most instances by the northern route across the deserts; in some instances by the southern ocean route.

Missionary zeal was strong, but the way to Cathay was far and filled with perils. We find

instances of monks turning back—those who went with Marco Polo; and there is no record that the men appointed at the request of Archbishop John of Cambaluc ever went to China. Nor was there agreement always between the missionaries already in China; the letter Andrew of Zayton sent home to the Friar Warden of the Convent at Perugia shows that he and Archbishop John did not get along well together. Despite the allowances made to them by the Khan, and the favours shown them, life was apparently not easy.

In Europe the problems of the Papacy were numerous. Above the administrative details of the papal court went on the contest—then at its height—between the Pope and the temporal rulers. Cathay seemed far away and rather unimportant.

During the reign of Jenghiz Khan there was sent from Lyons in April, 1245, an embassy from Innocent IV to call the people and the chief of the Tartars to Christianity. The head of this embassy of two was John of Plano Carpini,⁹ a friar from Perugia, and an immediate disciple of St. Francis. Carpini was *vir gravis et corpulentus* and sixty-five years old, but he seems to have fared better than his companion, Friar Stephen, a Bohemian, who broke down and had to be left behind. At Breslau, Carpini was joined by a Pole, Friar Benedict, and together they went eastward. By

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 156ff.

February, 1246, they had reached the headquarters of Batu on the Volga, and from there they made the three thousand mile journey to Karakorum in three and a half months.¹⁰ Carpini presented the papal letters, written in Mongol, Arabic and Latin, and received a haughty reply. After some months he set out on his homeward journey, and was back in Kiev in June, 1247. In his *Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros Appelamus* he describes the wars of Jenghiz against the Cathayans, and relates what he saw of the Cathayans at the Court of Karakorum.

After he has said that "these Cathayans of whom we have been speaking are heathen men and have a written character of their own," he goes on to give an account of their religion which seems based on meagre information. He does not quote the old Arab proverb touching "the hand of the Chinese," but he is aware of the fact that "their betters as craftsmen in every art practised by man are not to be found in the whole world." "They seem indeed to be kindly and polished folks enough. They have no beard, and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face."¹¹

Mingled with these observations are strange and less dependable stories of magnetic mountains,

¹⁰ GOWEN, HERBERT H.—*Asia, A Short History from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Boston, 1926. p. 84.

¹¹ YULE, Vol. I, p. 157.

of people with no joints in their legs, and other unlikely circumstances.

The narrative of William of Rubruk which tells of his journey to the Tartar chiefs in 1253 has never had justice done to it, says Yule.¹² "The rich detail, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observation and strong good sense, seems to me to form a Book of Travels of much higher claims than any one series of Polo's chapters it has few superiors in the whole library of travel." Rubruk, a Fleming, was charged with a mission from St. Louis, but was instructed to deny all pretension to the character of envoy, and to use his religious vocation as the motive for his journey. At Karakorum he presented his letters and questioned the Chinese at the Court. He identified Cathay as the ancient Land of the Seres because their silk stuffs were called Serica. He thus anticipated Klaproth the critic who traced the etymology of the word Serica.¹³ Rubruk's acquaintance with Chinese physicians at the Khan's court led him to say that "their physicians have a thorough knowledge of herbs and an admirable skill in diagnosis by the pulse." "They do their writing with a brush such as painters paint with and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole

¹² Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 116, 156.

¹³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 158.

word.”¹⁴ Neither Marco Polo nor any other traveller previous to the 16th century made mention of this characteristic of Chinese writing as William here expresses it. William has modestly expressed the hope that he made his journey “like a wise man and not like a fool.” Would that he might have read Yule’s words of praise!

John of Montecorvino, a Franciscan, travelled in Western Asia before going to Cathay.¹⁵ He was sent by Pope Nicholas IV with letters to eastern rulers, including Kublai Khan. The journey took him by way of Tabriz and India, and he did not reach Cambaluc until the last days of Kublai’s reign. After his arrival, reports of his devotion and success led to the creation of the metropolitan See of Cambaluc in 1307, with John as first Archbishop. Seven Franciscans were appointed to be Suffragan Bishops under him, but only three reached China. In 1311 other Bishops were appointed, but did not arrive.

The letters from John, dated January, 1305, and February, 1306, as well as a copy of a letter from him enclosed in a letter from a monk in India, reveal the character of the man just as they describe the growing interest in his Christian

¹⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 161.

William of Rubruk influenced Roger Bacon, who speaks in his *Opus Majus* of *frater Wilhelmus* and of the book, *quem librum diligenter vide et cum ejus auctore contuli*. Gowen p. 85.

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 1-70.

message. One sees his loneliness, his distress at the "incredible blasphemies" spread by a Lombard leech concerning the State of the Papal See, his persecutions at the hands of the Nestorians. From his letters we first learn of the practice of buying children from pagan parents, baptizing them and teaching them religious exercises. In his zeal he taught the boys Latin and Greek "after our manner," and he says the Khan delights to hear them chanting. He rejoiced in the conversion of a Nestorian king "from the family of Prester John" to the true faith, but says that he cannot leave Cambaluc to carry on his work elsewhere. Therefore "I ask for such brethren to come, such I mean as will make it their great business to lead exemplary lives and not to make broad their own phylacteries." In his relations with the Khan, Temus, he anticipates the Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

"And I have a place in the Cham's court and a regular entrance and seat assigned me as legate of our Lord the Pope, and the Cham honours me above all other prelates, whatever be their titles. And although His Majesty the Cham has heard much about the Court of Rome and the State of the Latin World he desires greatly to see envoys arriving from that region."

John of Montecorvino was doubtless the first European to translate into the Tartar "language and character the New Testament and the Psalter."

It is not likely that by this he meant the Chinese language.

Among the six Bishops appointed by the Pope in 1306 was Andrew of Perugia who finally reached Cambaluc where he lived for five years before removing to Zayton.¹⁶ In accordance with the custom regarding religious men at the Court they received an allowance from the Khan. When Andrew removed to Zayton this allowance was continued. Indeed it proved to be sufficient to build a church and a convent large enough for twenty-two friars! The Khan further showed his favour to Andrew by appointing him head of an embassy sent to Pope Benedict XII in 1338.¹⁷ A letter, written by Andrew to the Friar Warden of the Franciscan Convent at Perugia in January, 1326, tells of the consecration of John as Archbishop, but it hints at difficulties between himself and the Archbishop, which were the occasion for Andrew's removal to Zayton. He remarks upon the religious ideas of the Chinese in a shrewd way.

“ 'Tis a fact that in this vast Empire there are people of every nation under heaven and of every sect and all and sundry are allowed to live freely according to their Creed. For they hold this opinion, or rather this erroneous view, that everyone can find salvation in his

¹⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 28, 71ff.

¹⁷ Latourette quotes Pelliot as saying that Andrew the Frank at the head of this embassy was a layman. LATOURETTE, KENNETH S.—*A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York, 1929. p. 39 n.

own religion. Howbeit we are at liberty to preach without let or hindrance. Of the Jews and Saracens there are indeed no converts, but many of the idolators are baptized: though in sooth many of the baptized walk not rightly in the path of Christianity.”¹⁸

Peregrine of Castello arrived in Cambaluc in 1308 “after sundry grievous sufferings and perils.”¹⁹ A letter of doubtful origin but presumably from Peregrine, dated 1318, gives an excellent idea of the missionary work among the foreigners who had come into Cathay under the auspices of the Khan. The writer tells of twenty thousand Alans, a people from the Caucasus, who had been won to Roman Catholicism by Archbishop John from the heresy of one of the eastern churches. There was also a group of Armenians in Cambaluc who hated the Nestorians and were building a church of their own. From Cambaluc Peregrine went to Zayton where he served as Bishop previous to Andrew of Perugia. The large number of foreigners in the Empire is evident from the extent of his work among foreigners in the South.²⁰

Among these religious travellers fate has accredited Friar Odoric of Pordenone, an Italian Franciscan, with exceptional sanctity, and has made him *beatus* or a semi-saint of the Church.²¹

¹⁸ YULE, Vol. III, p. 74.

¹⁹ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 10, 71ff.

²⁰ LATOURETTE, p. 71.

²¹ YULE., Vol. II. This entire volume is given to Odoric.

Yet his story shows the taste of the adventurer and wanderer—little of the desire for preaching or asceticism. Before his wanderings began he had enjoyed a reputation for sanctity and miracles in Friuli, his home. Since his beatification in 1755 the townspeople of Udine have held festivals in his honour, and when the body is exposed on these festival occasions, even to-day, one may look upon the hand which presented an apple to the “Great Cham.”

Accompanied by an Irish friar, James, Odoric started on his journeys by the southern route, spending time along the way in India and in the islands. Three years, between 1322 and 1328, were spent in Northern China before he returned to the West by the caravan route through Central Asia. On his way to the Papal Court at Avignon to make a report of the work in the East and to ask recruits for missions in Cathay he was warned in a dream by St. Francis to “return to his nest.” Back he went to his convent in Udine, where he shortly died, 1331.

His story was written down in poor Latin, by William of Solagna, as Odoric told it at the Franciscan House attached to St. Anthony's at Padua, in May, 1330. Although the story was dictated when he was ill, and was written down by a friar more illiterate than he, it is full of liveliness and vigour. Some of his stories received the doubtful honour of being borrowed *in toto* by

Mandeville. Odoric mentions some things not told of by other European travellers of his age: fishing with cormorants, the long fingernails of the Chinese, footbinding, the division of the Empire into twelve provinces with four chief "viziers." Despite his great reputation for sanctity Odoric finds it necessary to incorporate a plea—"And if he (the reader) finds anything too hard for belief, and wherein he judgeth me to stray from truth, let him remark thereon with a student's charity and not with insolent bitterness and spiritual snarling."

The only ecclesiastical narrative subsequent to the time of Archbishop John is found in the reminiscences of John of Marignolli who spent the years 1342-6 as Legate from the Pope to the Court of Peking.²² The embassy from the Khan had reached the Pope in 1338. Flattered by the letters, the Pope had made one of the Tartar envoys his personal sergent-at-arms and appointed legates to go to Cambaluc. Among the legates was a Franciscan, John of Marignolli, whose account of the embassy has come down to us in an amazing and strange way. Four years after leaving Avignon they reached Cambaluc by the northern route. Several years later Marignolli went through the Empire to Zayton, where he took ship and returned home by way of India, the Euphrates and

²² Ibid., Vol. III, p. 177ff.

Jerusalem. The Khan gave him a letter for the Pope which asked for more missionaries and which expressed esteem for the Christian faith.

When Charles of Bohemia went to Rome in 1354 to be crowned Emperor he met Marignolli and took him to Prague to serve as one of his domestic chaplains. Marignolli was set to writing the Annals of Bohemia. "In those days every legitimate chronicle began from Adam at the latest and it would have been strange if this did not afford latitude for the introduction of any of Adam's posterity."²³ At intervals Marignolli tired of Bohemian affairs and incorporated the story of his travels to China. As a reward for his labours, the Pope made him Bishop of Calabria, but the life in Prague was more attractive to him, and most of his time was spent there.

His story is written in bad Latin and is rambling and scattered. But it has vividness and an amusing quality. With a sense of dramatic values, Marignolli tells how he went before the Chinese monarch in full vestments with a procession, a cross, candles and incense, singing "I believe in one God." Then he gave the Khan not only his benediction and the Papal letter but more tangible benefits as well—war horses and other gifts. He does not confine himself to religious matters, but like Friar Odoric before him, he

²³ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 201.

describes with amazement the wonders of the cities, especially Campsay, or Hangchow. With relish he tells how he had two bells of fine quality set up in the midst of the Saracen quarter of Zayton. The Mohammedans held bells in horror, and they probably suffered daily tortures.

From existing records this mission of John of Marignolli must be considered the last successful attempt of the Medieval Church to reach Cathay. Friars and bishops went from Avignon but were heard of no more. Conditions in Europe as well as in Asia were not conducive to mission activities. In Europe the Black Death had worked havoc among the monastic orders; dissensions arose inside the Franciscan order. The anti-foreign reaction in China which came with the accession of the Mings told heavily on the missionaries, who had ministered largely to the non-Chinese peoples in the Empire and who had been supported by the Khan and by foreign residents in China. Islam regained its hold over Central Asia, Christian missionaries were martyred by the Mohammedans and the journey even to India became almost impossible both to churchmen and merchants.

Trade between Cathay and the West was flourishing in the first half of the fourteenth century. The merchants themselves did not leave many records, but from the letters of the friars much is learned of the wealth and numbers of the traders. John of Montecorvino spoke of his

companion, Master Peter of Lucalongo, as a faithful Christian and a great merchant. Odoric refers to the many merchants then living at Venice who could confirm his accounts of Hangchow. Letters from the Bishops of Zayton tell of the *fondaco* or factory attached to the Franciscan convent for the use of Christian merchants. The Polos went to the East in pursuit of trade, and despite the silence of Marco as to activities of his father and uncle during their years in Cathay, they doubtless continued their trading enterprises.

The best evidence of the commercial intercourse is furnished by the Handbook of Francis Balducci Pegolotti²⁴ which describes all the details relating to commercial ventures in Cathay and to the conduct of a party on the land route thither. There is no reason to believe that Pegolotti was ever in Cathay himself, but his handbook must have been based on the experiences of at least a fair number of merchants who had made the trip, for no single person could have furnished all the advice given! Pegolotti himself was a factor in the service of the Bardi Company of Florence, and after working for them in Antwerp and London he became identified with Eastern trade through his post in Cyprus. His handbook, written about 1340, deals with mercantile matters only, discussing exports and imports, duties, business customs

²⁴ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 137-173.

appropriate to each locality, the value of moneys, weights and measures in each country, as well as the best merchandize to carry. The element of human nature is well considered: "And don't forget that if you treat the custom house officers with respect and make them something of a present in goods and money, as well as their clerks and dragomen, they will behave with great civility and always be ready to appraise your wares below their true value."²⁵

Diplomatic communication in the Middle ages between the sovereigns of the West and Cathay is almost lacking. In one case we have noted a monk, William of Rubruk, carrying a letter from St. Louis, the King of France, to the Khan. The West was becoming selfconscious with the growth of nationalism, but the time had not yet arrived when the State extended its protection half way around the world. The Khans were doubtless of the opinion, and most orthodox it was, that the Pope was the supreme monarch of the West, and as a result embassies from the East were sent to him.

It was said by the Scribe of Abu-Abdullah Mahomed, called Ibn Batuta, whose career coincided with that of Mandeville, that he was "the Traveller of our Age, and he who should call him the Traveller of the whole body of Islam would

²⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 169.

not go beyond the truth.”²⁶ Born in Tangier in 1303, among a race accustomed by the Mecca pilgrimage to extensive travel, this Arab excited even their wonder, so much that by the Sultan’s orders his travels were dictated to the Sultan’s secretary, Mahomed Ibn Juzai in 1355. The first detailed knowledge of the travels was published in Germany in 1808. When the French took Algiers an unabridged manuscript with the autograph of the scribe was found.

Before going to the East, Ibn Batuta had crossed Africa, gone up the Nile to Syene, to Palestine, to Damascus, to Mecca for three years, to Aden and across the Indian Sea. When he reached India he went into the service of Mahomet Tughlak, as a judicial official in Dehli. From here he was sent on an embassy to China. This was to reciprocate an embassy from the Emperor of China, sent to get leave to rebuild a Buddhist temple on the border which had been destroyed by the Sultan’s troops. The embassy under Ibn Batuta was to carry the Sultan’s answer.

The vicissitudes of the journey include shipwreck, marriage of four wives in the Maldives, a pirate attack, and several returns to India. Returning from China, Ibn Batuta went to Arabia and Damascus—where he had left a wife twenty years before, made the Mecca pilgrimage, and

²⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 1-166.

returned to his home in 1349 after a twenty-four years absence. It was not, however, until his return from explorations in Central Africa, where he mistook the Niger for the upper Nile, that his memoirs of seventy-five thousand miles of travel were written.

Yule says that although Ibn Batuta was a man of the world, a soldier, jurist and theologian, he is not always so trustworthy or perspicacious as "the narrow-minded Christian friars" nor can he be compared with Marco Polo. "There seems to be something in the Mahomedan mind that indisposes it for appreciating and relating accurately what is witnessed in nature and geography."²⁷ The account shows the character of the man perfectly—his enjoyment of life, his great curiosity, his extravagance and daring, his immense piety upon occasions. He relates how once when he feared for his life he repeated a verse of Scripture thirty-three hundred times. He took advantage of his patrons, and grew tiresome to them after a time.

Ibn Batuta describes the Moslem trade and travel in China, the making of porcelain, the use of coal, the passport system, the magicians and some cities of the Empire.

Marco Polo is put last in this group, not because chronologically he belongs here, but to

²⁷ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 44.

show how far he surpassed the other travellers of the period. He added more to Europe's knowledge of the world than did any other man except Columbus. For seventeen years he roamed through the Chinese Empire. He tells in his eighty-two chapters about Cathay more about that country than we know of many areas of Europe for the same period. The points he omits are no less strange than the stories he tells—for he has made no mention of the Great Wall of China, the bound feet of the women, the use of tea, the form of writing or the mode of travel.

Yule, the great commentator on Marco Polo, remarks that the chief fascination of the book consists in the difficult questions it raises.²⁸ Yule has such confidence in Polo's veracity that he believes every puzzle can be solved. By the identification of places, the interpretation of strange terms and the illustration of obscure customs, Yule has shown that Polo was not the "Prince of Liars" but an observer of extraordinary merit. Other mysteries which have to be solved were those relating to the writing of the account, the dates of Polo's birth and death, and the occasion of his capture by the Genoese. Ramusio, who wrote an essay on Polo in 1553 was the first to try to gather the facts of Polo's personal history. He

²⁸ YULE, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Third Edition, Revised by Henri Cordier, 2 vols., London, 1921.

it is who tells of the Ulysses-like return, and how the Polos proved their identity at the banquet. From that time to this interest in Marco Polo's travels has increased, and travellers of modern times have taken delight in using his material or verifying his records.

The first journey of the Polos was in 1260. At this time Kublai had just ascended the throne after the death of his brother. Nicolo and Maffeo went on a trading venture north along the Volga, and thence to Bokhara and the Mongol court, known to the West through Plano Carpini (1246) and Rubruk (1253). Kublai was delighted with these Venetians, the first Europeans he had ever met, and sent them back with letters to the Pope requesting one hundred teachers of science and religion. The brothers on their return arrived at Acre in April, 1269, during a period when there was no Pope. After waiting two years for the Cardinals to agree, they again set off for the East, taking with them Marco, the fifteen year old son of Nicolo. Before they left Asia Minor word came that their friend, Archdeacon Tedaldo, Legate in Syria, had been elected Pope. They returned to Acre, gave the new Pope, Gregory X, the Khan's letter and received a reply. Gregory was unable to send the large number of men desired by the Khan; the two Dominicans whom he appointed did not remain long with the Polos.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century

Benedict Goës was the only European to use the route followed by the Polos.²⁹ Leaving Acre in November, 1271, the Polos followed the old road by Baghdad and the Tigris to Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Turning north they crossed Kerman, Khorasan, Balkh and Badakhshan, and followed the upper Oxus to the Pamir plateau. From here they descended to Kashgar, and passing through Yarkand and Khotan crossed the Great Gobi Desert to the northwestern district of China, just outside the Great Wall. They went to meet the Khan at his summer palace at Kai-ping-fu, near the base of the Khingan Mountains, nearly one hundred miles north of the Great Wall at Kalgan.

Kublai seems to have been much attracted by young Marco who, at the time of his arrival, was twenty-one years of age, and after a time began to employ him in his service. It is evident that Marco had shown himself both discreet and able, and had learned the languages and characters in chief use among the Khan's dependencies. A record in the Chinese annals of the Mongol dynasty states that a certain Polo was nominated a second-class commissioner attached to the Privy Council, in 1277.³⁰ During his stay at court Marco had observed the Khan's pleasure in hearing of strange countries, customs and manners, and he

²⁹ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 20 of Introduction.

³⁰ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 21 of Introduction.

took care on his various missions to collect all the curious facts that were likely to interest the Khan. Perhaps it is to this diplomatic behaviour on the part of Marco that we owe his observation of so many and varied details.

His first mission carried him through the provinces of Shansi, Shensi and Szechuan to Yunnan. Though it is apparent that Marco served Kublai on missions as well as in domestic administration, it is impossible to get details regarding his employments. For three years he was governor of Yangchow, and his missions carried him to places as widely separated as Karakorum and Cochin China. The fear of change in fortune which might follow the Khan's death, and perhaps a desire to return to their native city, led the Polos to seek release from the Khan's service. Kublai's great-nephew, Arghun Khan of Persia, had lost his favourite wife in 1286, and to fulfil her dying request had sent ambassadors to the court at Cambaluc to seek a new bride from among her kin, the Mongol tribe of Bayaut. The selection of the bride accomplished, it was the desire of the envoys to return to Persia by sea, and they begged the Khan to allow the experienced Venetians to accompany them. The Khan consented and the nobly fitted out expedition sailed from Zayton in Fukien in 1292. After a difficult voyage of two years, during which the majority of the suite perished,

the Polos delivered their charge. They proceeded on to Tabriz, and finally reached Venice in 1295. Nothing more is known of Marco until he appears a short time later as Captain of a Venetian galley, then as a prisoner of war, dictating his narrative.

During the thirteenth century the jealousy of Venice and Genoa over commerce in the Greek territories and in Asia Minor flared into constant warfare. In the contest of 1298 Marco Polo served as Gentleman-Commander of one of the Venetian galleys. The Genoese won and carried back to Genoa seven thousand prisoners, among them Marco Polo. This imprisonment was an important episode in Polo's experiences, because among the prisoners in Genoa he made the acquaintance of Rusticiano of Pisa, a man of literary gifts who wrote down the narrative of Marco Polo's experiences at Marco's dictation.³¹ Rusticiano was doubtless one of the Pisan prisoners who had remained in the prisons of Genoa since the naval battle fourteen years before. Both men were released from prison by the treaties of the following year. There are several references after this time to Marco in the Books of the Great Council of Venice, and a copy of his will made in January, 1324, still exists.

Marco Polo has gained his place as King of Travellers by his broad experience, the vastness of

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 52 of Introduction.

his journeys, and the romantic nature of his personal history. One can feel the enthusiasm of Yule for his subject when he describes the “real, indisputable, and, in their kind, unique claims to glory.”

“He was the first Traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of Badakhshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian Steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom, the new and brilliant Court that had been established at Cambaluc: the first Traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of Tibet with its sordid devotees.”³²

This rich catalogue of discoveries found in one book, and revealed by one man is ample justification for his high place.

The personal element has been kept out of the book and yet one can see Marco there as a practical man, shrewd, prudent, keen in affairs, interested in a wide variety of details, observant yet sparing of speech. Though he shows great respect for saints—pagan and Christian—he appreciates the luxury and comfort of wealth.

³² Ibid., Vol. I, p. 106 of Introduction.

The writer who would tell of the subject matter of Marco Polo's book finds himself thrown into the same position as Marco, who constantly says to his scribe Rusticiano, "And what shall I tell you?" One is forced to the conclusion that even the insatiable curiosity of the Khan must have found satisfaction in the stories of this Venetian. Matters connected with Kublai Khan, "the most potent man. . . that ever hath existed from the time of our First Father Adam until this day," are recounted with the utmost relish and pride. The Khan's palaces at Chagan-Nor, Chandu and Cambaluc, his feasts, his hunting expeditions, his wealth, his guards, his post system, are all recounted with delightful detail and a dramatic sense of the first order. The descriptions of Cambaluc, Yangchow, Hangchow, Zayton, and other cities show the sophisticated judgment of a world tourist. But when Marco describes Hangchow his enthusiasm has no bounds, and the brilliant capital of the Sung becomes for him the most marvellous city of the world. The wealth, the splendours of the Court and the artistic creations which had so disastrously preoccupied the effeminate Sung rulers made a vivid impression upon him. He declares that even the workmen and their wives lived like kings and queens. His description of the pleasure boats on the lake and the entertainment provided there shows a personal acquaintance.

He describes a few customs, such as use of horoscopes in determining betrothal, journeys and business dealing; but of particular interest is his description given so often of the people south of the Yangtze—"The people are idolaters and burn their dead." This and other references are our first knowledge of the strange aboriginal tribes of the Southwest who have engaged the attention of many travellers of the last fifty years.

Part II

Before the
Opening of
the Treaty
Ports

BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE TREATY PORTS

· · ·

THE Mongol dynasty fell, and for years intercourse between the East and West came to an end. For a time bishops and friars were sent from Avignon, but they were heard of no more. Islam regained its hold over Central Asia and for Europe a dark mist settled over the farther east, to be raised by the Portuguese and Spanish explorers. Most Europeans thought that Cathay had been a romance of the Middle Ages. Only a few realized that Cathay, China and the ancient Sinim were the same.

Then in the sixteenth century, with the discoveries of the new sea routes to the East began commercial contacts with China quite different from those of the isolated travellers of the Mongol period. The Portuguese were the first to arrive, using the old Arab trading ports. The Spaniards and the Dutch soon became known as pirates to the Chinese in the Philippines and

Formosa. The English reached China in 1620, but not until 1637 did the British East India Company attempt to extend its India trade. Religious and dynastic struggles were occupying the continent of Europe during these years, and the conflict, carried to the East, gave to the eyes of the Chinese the picture of warring destructive nations. Japanese adventurers also had ravaged the Chinese coast in the sixteenth century and so helped to create more distrust and contempt for foreigners. Difficulties between the foreign traders and the Chinese officials led finally to the closing of all ports except Canton and Macao.

Until the Russian embassy came into China in the seventeenth century the contacts of this period had been by sea, but with Peter the Great's accession to the throne friendly relations developed between Russia and China, and overland trade developed.

An imperial edict in 1757 prohibited foreign trade at every port other than Canton, and laid down burdensome restrictions regarding trade and residence which in time led European countries, particularly England, to attempt diplomatic negotiation. The embassies of Macartney and Amherst failed in their attempts, and the wars which came afterwards were fought for the recognition of national equality as well as for more extended trading privileges. A new period of relationship was ushered in by the treaties agreed

to by China in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came missionaries. The Jesuits began their work in 1583 and gained great influence, fostered and protected for more than a century by the Manchu dynasty. Their conflict with the Dominicans, known as the Rites Controversy, and the fear entertained by the Manchu Emperor of political aspirations of the Roman Catholic Church brought to an end this period of Christian development. Christianity was proscribed by an edict of the Emperor Yung Cheng in 1724. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, therefore, Christian work was restricted to Chinese living outside the country, though it was indeed carried on at Canton and by the adventurous journeys along the coast and for short distances inland. Protestant missions in China had their beginning at this time.

The Jesuits who came by the ocean routes to the East had taken a place in India, Japan and China such as the Franciscans had held three centuries before. The fathers who had arrived in Peking had decided that the romantic Cathay of the Middle Ages was their China, but the majority of Europeans did not know this, nor did the Jesuits in India know the two lands to be the same. To Benedict Goës it was given to make one of the most daring journeys in the history of

discovery and seeking Cathay by overland travel, to find it.³³

Goës, a Spaniard, had gone to India as a soldier on a Portuguese ship in his twenty-sixth year. There he became a lay brother in the Jesuit order, being too modest to take orders. In 1594 Goës went with a mission to the Court of Akbar at Lahore and later accompanied the Mogul to Kashmir. One day there came to Court an aged Moslem merchant, who told of a kingdom called Xetaia, where foreign merchants lived in the capital Kambalu, and where Jews, Moslems and Christians were to be found. He told of the Emperor's attendance at Christian temples. This aroused great interest and Akbar joined with the Jesuits in sending an exploratory mission which started late in 1602. The success of the journey was due to Goës' knowledge of Persian and his thorough acquaintance with Moslem customs. He disguised himself as an Armenian Christian merchant, calling himself Abdula, servant of the Lord; for if he had been known to be a Spaniard he would probably have been stopped. After a successful journey full of perils from robbers, deserts, and cold, he was kept seventeen months at the frontier city of Suchow in Kansu, and died a few days after the arrival of Chinese Christians sent by Ricci from Peking to

³³ YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, p. 170ff.

meet him. His epitaph might fittingly have been: "Seeking Cathay he found heaven." Unfortunately the Moslems who owed money to Goës destroyed his diary, so that the narrative was put together by Ricci from Goës' notebook and the statement of his faithful companion, Isaac the Armenian.³⁴

It was through the Jesuit missionaries that Europe, by the latter part of the seventeenth century, first really became acquainted with China. Letters, journals and travel accounts of the missionaries were widely read, and their correspondence with the savants of Europe provided material for many books; those of Du Halde, Mendoza and Gaubil, for example. Between 1580 and 1724 Hering estimates there were less than five hundred missionaries sent from Europe, less than an annual average of four individuals.³⁵ However, they were men of undoubted ability, and they received liberal treatment from the Emperors.

One of the most orderly and satisfactory short accounts of a trip through the Chinese Empire is

³⁴ In India at this time there was knowledge of two overland routes to Cathay, one by Bengal and the border of Tibet, possibly through Lhasa. This was later taken by two Jesuits, Grueber and Dorville. Merchants who took the shorter route went from Lahore to Kashmir, thence by Tibet to Kashgar.—YULE, Vol. IV, p. 177.

Sir Aurel Stein later went over this route and he speaks of Goës' trip in relation to various places—STEIN, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, p. 249, n.3.

³⁵ HERING, HOLLIS W.—*A Study of Roman Catholic Missions in China, 1692-1744*. *New China Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 110. Shanghai.

that of Pères Bouvet, Fontaney, Gerbillon, Le Comte and Visdelou from Ningpo to Peking in the months from November, 1687 to February, 1688. They describe the country, the cities, the trees, the vegetation, through which the canal passes. The Father who wrote down the account, in speaking about Hangchow, puts in a cosmopolitan touch: "There are crowds as great as in the most frequented streets of Paris." As they neared Peking they were met with the report of the death of Father Verbiest, and they describe the mourning for him and the high regard in which the Emperor held him.³⁶

Among the first American accounts of China to be presented to the American people is one by David Abeel whose work as a Protestant chaplain in China was to be particularly among the seamen and foreign residents. Abeel concludes that the object of his three years of travel was not merely that of a traveller, but of a "messenger of the Churches" to learn of the conditions of the kingdoms and islands which the Church should occupy. He is so concerned with the perversions of the Jesuits in China that his attitude makes useless his observations on the state of Christianity in China. He goes so far as to hold the Jesuits responsible for the non-conversion of the Empire, because "the purity of their faith did not

³⁶ DU HALDE—*General History of China*, 4 vols., London, 1739. Vol. I, pp. 72-101.

harmonize with their misguided zeal." He asserts that the forms of gross idolatry which they use are "worse than pagan abominations and give a gross and absurd notion of the holy religion."

Abeel gives an accurate and vivid picture of processions in Canton, of the opening of a new temple, of the street life and of the streets in front of the factories. But his opinions regarding their music and their character show an absence of sympathy. He is overwhelmed by the "heathendom of the Chinese."³⁷

A much more vigorous Protestant missionary of the same time was Karl Gutzlaff, a German, whose voyages along the coast of China enabled him to describe the coasting trade and life on a Chinese junk.³⁸ Sent to Batavia by the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1827, he went to Siam, where he came in contact with immigrant Chinese. While there he conceived his plan of translating and distributing Scriptures to the Chinese nation. Although his society refused him permission to go to China, he learned the Fukien dialect and became a naturalized subject of the Empire by adoption into the Kuo family from the Tung-an district of Fukien.

³⁷ ABEEL, DAVID—*Journal of a Residence in China from 1830-33*. London, 1835.

³⁸ GUTZLAFF, CHARLES—*Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832 and 1833*. London, 1834.

Gutzlaff's first journey along the coast, beginning in June, 1831, was in the junk of a Chinese friend bound for Tientsin. By September 9 they were anchored in the Peiho, where five hundred junks from the South arrived annually. His next trip was made as surgeon and interpreter on a vessel of the English East India Company searching for trade. The vessel stopped at Foochow, Shanghai and Weihaiwei. The third voyage, undertaken not without "consultation with others and conflict in my own mind," perhaps due to an opium cargo which the vessel carried, was in a fast sailing vessel, the *Sylph*, which set out for Tientsin in October, 1832. The lateness of the season made the passage difficult and turned them back, and the vessel put into Shanghai. Gutzlaff's appreciation of the strategic position of Shanghai is evident. "Shanghai appears to be the greatest emporium of the Empire. We found there more than a thousand junks. We may call it the gate of Central Asia and especially of the central provinces of China." He also describes the island of Pootoo with its temples and priests. Describing these trips he tells not only of his medical and evangelistic work, but of the possibilities of trade, the appearance of the cities and of the countryside.

Later Gutzlaff served as interpreter for the British Government prior to the treaty of Nanking and was Chinese secretary for the Hongkong

Government. Always, however, he kept up his great zeal for missionary work and was the originator of German missions in South China. Gutzlaff Island, at the mouth of the Yangtze, preserves the memory of his name.

The Portuguese had early discovered the great gain to be made in taking spices to China. It is generally considered that Rafael Perestrello's expedition in 1516 was the first, but Andrew Corsalis writing to Duke Lorenzo de' Medici from Malacca in a letter dated January 6th, 1515, says:

“During this last year some of our Portuguese made a voyage to China. They were not permitted to land; for they say 'tis against their custom to let foreigners enter their dwellings. But they sold their goods at great gain, and they say there is as great profit in taking spices to China as in taking them to Portugal; for 'tis a cold country and they make great use of them. It will be five hundred leagues from Malacca to China, sailing north.”³⁹

Portuguese colonies were established at Chinchew, Foochow and Ningpo, called Liampo. In 1545 imperial orders were given to attack the foreign settlers and in the massacre eight hundred Portuguese perished.

From this period comes the account of Goleotto Perera, a Portuguese “Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that country many

³⁹ YULE,—*Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. I, p. 180 n.2.

years.”⁴⁰ The date is not given by him in his account as found in Hakluyt, but it must have been in the early period of Portuguese relations, for when he was in prison he was many times “taken from the prison at Fukuieo (Foochow) to the pallaces of noble men to be seen of them and their wives because they had never seen any Portugale before,” and “they be curious in novelties above measure.” He pays a high tribute to Chinese justice. “So uprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best governed provinces in all the world.” Speaking of his trial he praised the magistrates: “We poore strangerrrs brought before them might say what we would as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the usuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with us so patiently, that they caused us to wonder, knowing specially how little any advocate or Judge is wont in our Countrey to beare with us.”⁴¹

Perera names the thirteen “shires,” and describes the large population of China: “The multitude of them every where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not have thought to have found anyone at all.” He describes

⁴⁰ HAKLUYT,—*Voyages*, London, 1927, 8 vols. Vol. IV, pp. 163-195.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 175.

the food of the Chinese, their New Year celebrations, and their civility and courtesy in conversation.

Marco Polo's account of the imperial splendour of China's ruler is the standard by which one consciously or unconsciously judges the reception and experiences of the Western embassies to China. To understand the experiences of these embassies it is necessary to remember that from the moment they arrived on Chinese soil they were guests of the Chinese government. In theory they were to be supplied by the Emperor with everything necessary, and therefore it was a reflection upon his generosity should they purchase articles.

Ysbrants Ides was a German sent by Peter the Great to Peking in 1693 with a letter to K'ang Hsi. The letter was not received because the name of Peter was placed before that of K'ang Hsi. The embassy nevertheless afforded Ides an opportunity to describe the long wearisome journey from Moscow across Siberia in summer and winter, and the "first trip across Tartary with wagons." Under Chinese escort from Tsitsihar, with his retinue and Cossack troops, Ides stopped at the Emperor's summer palaces. He describes his audiences with the Emperor, at which he paid his compliment in the European manner. His negotiations were carried on by the aid of the French Jesuit Father Gerbillon, but nothing was accomplished.

During his three and a half months of sight-seeing in Peking, Ides seemed to have been

impressed most by the elephant stables, filled by the tribute elephants from the King of Siam.

“Having then seen them, that was not enough, but that they must shew several Tricks, and, at the command of the Master of the Stable, they roared like a Tiger, so dismally loud that their very Stable seemed to tremble! Others lowed like an Ox, neighed like a Horse, and sung like a Canary Bird; but which was most surprising of all, some of them imitated a Trumpet.”

Jugglers with monkeys and mice, or “vermine” as Ides called them, were amazing.⁴²

It was a strange combination of circumstances which brought the Englishman John Bell to Peking in the embassy of Peter the Great under Count Ismailoff in 1719. Possessed of a “strong inclination to visit the eastern parts of the world,” Bell had gone to Russia five years before, and because of his slight knowledge of physic and surgery had succeeded in getting on a mission to Persia. When he obtained membership in Ismailoff’s embassy he confessed, “Providence afforded me an opportunity beyond my expectations of gratifying my curiosity in the most ample manner.” The diary which he kept on this journey was not published until forty years afterwards.⁴³

An imposing array set out from St. Petersburg

⁴² IDES, E. YSBRANTS—*Three Years Travels from Moscow Over-land to China*—London, 1706.

⁴³ BELL, JOHN—*Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia*. 2 vols., Glasgow, 1763.

with Ismailoff: two secretaries, six gentlemen, a priest, an interpreter, a band of music, valets, footmen, etc.—in all sixty people and twenty-five dragoons. The “etc.” has an amusing interest of its own, for when the embassy is ready to enter Chinese territory the reader finds women suddenly appearing in the story. The Chinese who was sent to escort them asked who the women were, and was told that they belonged to the retinue and were going to China.

“He replied they had women enough in Peking already, and as there never had been an European woman in China, he could not be answerable for introducing the first without a special order from the Emperor. But if his excellency would wait for an answer, he would dispatch a courier to court for that purpose. Since this would require six more weeks the women were sent back to Selinzinsky.”⁴⁴

Thus near to Peking did the first women travellers arrive!

When they came in sight of the wall on November 2, Bell wrote in his diary,

“Everything now appeared to us as if we had arrived in another world. In the cliffs of the rocks you see little scattered cottages with spots of cultivated ground, much resembling those romantick figures of lanships which are painted on the China-ware and other manufactures of this country. These are accounted fanciful by most Europeans, but are really natural.”

⁴⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 307.

He describes conversations with Kang Hsi, now eighty years old, about the Old Testament, glass making, gun powder, and he tells how the Emperor found fault with the open throated coats of the foreigners as ill-adapted to the climate. They took their band of violins, trumpets and kettledrums to the palace, but the Emperor confessed to a preference for his own music.

It was in March, 1721, that the embassy set off for Russia, leaving behind the resident commercial agent Lawrence De Lange. In this one respect, the effort to improve Russian trade, the embassy had been successful.

De Lange's diary is a constant plaint against the exactions and annoyances which his trade suffered. No merchant was permitted to sell to him without first promising a certain percentage to the guard at his gate. Although he was much restricted in his movements, he was able to learn a great deal about the commodities of trade, and the merchants of foreign countries who were doing business in Peking.⁴⁵

After the treaty of 1728, Russia sent religious and scientific missions to live at Peking for terms of ten years. Despite the interest of all Europe in China these missions published nothing on that subject, with the exception of Lawrence De Lange's

⁴⁵ DE LANGE, LAWRENCE—*Journal of the Residence of Mr. De Lange, at the Court of Peking, During the Years 1721 and 1722.* Leyden, 1726.

journals of the two journeys of 1728 and 1736, until Timkowski's account of the mission which set out in 1819.⁴⁶

Timkowski was appointed to accompany the mission to Peking and to bring back the mission which had been in China since 1808. He was commissioned to bring original maps and geographical accounts of China for the Asiatic department of the government, and he sought for the Mongol code of laws in the original, for the Russian government thought it might furnish valuable suggestions for the government of the nomad tribes such as the Kirghis and Kalmucks, who had come under Russian control. The School of Asiatic Languages at Irkutsk had requested that he bring back books for their use.

In December, 1821, they came to Peking and Timkowski remained at the capital until the middle of May. Like the members of preceding missions from Russia, Timkowski found the cold weather very trying, and suffered exceedingly from

⁴⁶ TIMKOWSKI, GEORGE—*Travels of the Russian Mission through Mongolia to China and Residence in Peking in Years 1820-21*, London, 1827.

Klaproth says there had been an account by a Mr. Struve, who had accompanied the embassy of Count Golowkin in 1805 as Latin translator. This Mr. Struve, "poor man," was a "little cracked" but was able to hoax the learned editors of *Ephemerides* of Weimar with his pretended journal, which described among other things a marvellous subterranean fortress.—TIMKOWSKI, Vol. I, p. 19 n.1.

“the effluvia of the coals burnt in the apartment.”
He says,

“The Chinese easily endure cold and damp in their houses. Poor people, even during the severest winter, seldom have a fire, except to dress their scanty meals, and even this, on account of their poverty, does not happen every day. In this country everything must be purchased, even the pitcher of water which you require in the morning.”

During his residence in Peking Timkowski lived in one of the Russian convents. He describes the funeral ceremonies of the dead Emperor, and the mourning regulations during the New Year period. The Manchus with whom he came in contact were of especial interest to him—he describes their clothes, the different outfits for the various seasons, and their habit of pawning the clothes not in immediate use.

Timkowski, like his predecessor Ides, was intrigued by the imperial elephant stables. At this time there were but eighteen old and feeble elephants in the heated but dilapidated stables. They were used chiefly to carry the sacred vessels used by the Emperor in the sacrifices at the Altar of Heaven and the Temple of Agriculture. He gives lists of prices of provisions at Peking during the year. Klaproth, who added notes to the book, estimates the price of necessaries to have been practically the same as in Paris. The journey completed, Timkowski writes that “it is really one

of the most troublesome, fatiguing, and even dangerous to health, that it is possible to make by land.”

The first French ship to carry Frenchmen to China was the *Amphitrite*, a man-of-war of 30 guns sent by Louis XIV in 1698, destined for Ningpo and the northern capital.⁴⁷ The object of the trip was commercial as well as diplomatic. Père Bouvet, returning to China with seven Jesuit missionaries was the man upon whom rested the success of the venture. It is to be remarked that the boat was relieved of payment of the customs at Canton, where it was forced to put in because of the weather. Moreover, the French officers were permitted to offer their respects to the Emperor in any way “creditable to both nations.”

The relations of the visitors with the Cantonese are interestingly described; orders were given the sailors to act decorously toward the Chinese, and “it was expressly forbidden them to look hard at the Chinese women.”

Unfortunately the account does not include the trip of Père Bouvet to the court with gifts from the French King. The journal is concerned primarily with the voyage to and from China, rather than the experiences in China.

A more sprightly account of this trip is the letter written from Canton by Gio Ghirardini, an

⁴⁷ BANNISTER, SAXE—*A Journal of the First French Embassy to China, 1698-1700*. London, 1859.

Italian painter of some reputation, who accompanied the mission. Unfortunately the letter was written before he set out from Canton for Peking with Father Bouvet. The adventure of their nearsighted pilot before Malacca, and the humorous turns given to the incidents on board make this one of the most lively accounts of the early sea voyages. Ghirardini was enchanted by the boat life on the Canton river.

There are three interesting accounts of the Macartney embassy which came from England in 1792—nominally, to carry felicitations to the Emperor Ch'ien Lung on his eightieth birthday; actually to secure better conditions of trade. The authentic account was written by Sir George Staunton, Secretary of the embassy⁴⁸; but John Barrow, the private secretary to the Earl of Macartney wrote his own observations,⁴⁹ and the third account was written by the "bad boy" of the expedition, Aeneas Anderson, valet of the Earl and one of the first travellers to China to understand the money value of indiscreet relations.⁵⁰ His book, published in the year after the return of the embassy, must have been a scoop for author

⁴⁸ STAUNTON, SIR GEORGE—*An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, 3 vols. London, 1798.

⁴⁹ BARROW, JOHN—*Travels in China*. London, 1804.

⁵⁰ ANDERSON, AENEAS—*A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793 and 1794*. London, 1795.

and publisher, and the literary jealousy it occasioned is evident in Barrow's caustic comment upon "the crude notes of one Aeneas Anderson, a livery servant of Lord Macartney, vamped up by a London bookseller as a speculation that could not fail, so greatly excited was public curiosity at the return of the Embassy. I would not be thought to disparage the authority on account of its being that of a livery servant; on the contrary, the notes of the meanest and dullest person, on a country so little travelled over would be deserving attention before they came into the hands of a book-dresser, but what dependence can be placed on the information of an author who states as a fact that he saw tea and rice growing on the banks of the Pei-ho?"⁵¹

While Anderson may not be scholarly or accurate, he has a distinct flair for description, both of the country and of the embassy: "We entered Peking like paupers, we remained in it like prisoners and we quitted it like vagrants." Neither of the other writers has succeeded in giving so lively a picture of the expedition.

The custom which made the embassies dependent upon the Emperor for every need was more trying to the British than to the Russians. Practically the only persons with whom the British came in contact were the officials and

⁵¹ BARROW, p. 579.

eunuchs in Peking, those detailed to travel with them, and a few country people along the way.

The interest aroused in England by the Macartney embassy called for a complete account of the land and its people. One who reads these accounts cannot but be struck by the vast amount of real information they contain, on the system of government, art, architecture, agriculture as observed along the route of travel, the extent of the population, religion and philosophy. No subject seems too difficult for the author or too tiresome for the reader. No better illustration could be cited, than these accounts, to show the important part which travellers' accounts have had in educating Western nations to a knowledge and understanding of China.

The Amherst Mission to China, which arrived from England in 1816, disembarked at Taku and its boat, the *Alceste*, went on a surveying cruise of the gulfs of North China and of the Korean coast. When the embassy came to an abrupt end on the refusal of the Ambassador to go into audience instantly upon his arrival, it was sent back to Canton overland. The route followed differed somewhat from that chosen for the Macartney Mission, in that the party went up the Yangtze to Poyang Lake before proceeding south.

The conditions of this journey are best described in the special edict of the Emperor, which said in part: "When the boats bring up

at any landing place, or a change of boats takes place, let there be a numerous party of police runners appointed and required to clothe themselves in the jackets bearing the badge of their office; let them join with the military to prevent the populace from coming to gaze and thereby cause a crowd and a clamorous noise: let there be a special oversight and restraint kept up to prevent the loss of anything. The populace on each bank of the river are not allowed to laugh and talk with the foreigners, nor are women and girls allowed to show their faces.

“Further, foreign envoys coming to China are by law prohibited from purchasing books or other articles, and are not allowed to land at the places which they pass, nor are they allowed privately to make purchases of any commodities.”⁵²

This was “seeing China” under restrictions indeed!

There are two accounts of the Amherst trip, one the journal of Henry Ellis, the third commissioner of the embassy⁵³, the other that of Clarke Abel, who was surgeon and naturalist. Despite the close surveillance of the soldiers the party collected more than three hundred unknown plants. Unfortunately these were lost when the

⁵² ABEL, CLARKE—*Narrative of a Journey to the Interior of China*. London, 1818. p. 392.

⁵³ ELLIS, HENRY—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China*. London, 1817.

Alceste was wrecked, and afterwards sacked by Malay pirates off the coast of Java.

At this time the belief was generally held in Europe that there was "not an inch of ground left uncultivated" in China. It was a great surprise to Abel to discover vast tracts of land in the province of Chihli entirely uncultivated, and territory in Shantung so destroyed by inundation that farming was impossible. The great amount of territory given over to grave mounds was also a source of surprise. The account of the crops and of the methods of cultivation along the route of the journey was not only a source of interest to the naturalist, but was also evidence that even an Imperial edict could not keep from the travellers information which interested them.

Practically every traveller to China speaks with sympathy and interest of the villagers and farmers. Here their simple manners and courtesy contrasted sharply with the haughtiness of the mandarins and the rudeness of the soldiers with whom the embassy had to deal. The little children bringing handfuls of grasses to Abel as they saw him collecting specimens, and the old countryman explaining in pantomime the use of *sesamum* seeds—how they were first planted in the ground, how they were grown and how they produced seeds which make oil for cooking—are pictures of Chinese simplicity and amiability the reader does not forget.

Part III

*After the
Opening of
the Treaty
Ports*

AFTER THE OPENING OF THE TREATY PORTS

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THE new era in China's foreign relations, which dates from the opening of the treaty ports, brought a great number of Western travellers in the nineteenth century, and an infinitely greater number in the twentieth.

The First Anglo-Chinese War, 1839-1842, was the beginning of a twenty-year struggle to determine the national and commercial relations which were to exist between the East and the West. The Treaty of Nanking and the succeeding treaties opened five ports—Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy and Canton. Edicts of 1844 and 1846 granted toleration to Christianity throughout the Empire and Roman Catholic missionaries began to go into all parts of the country. The second treaty settlement in 1858 opened eleven more ports—Newchwang, Tengchow, Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, Taiwanfu, Tamsui, Swatow, Kiungchow, Nanking and Tientsin. At this time it was

provided that foreigners might "travel for their pleasure or for purposes of trade to all parts of the interior" under passports issued by their consul and countersigned by the Chinese authorities. No passport was required for excursions within one hundred *li* of the port.

After the renewed war in 1860, the right to lease houses in the interior for mission stations opened the Empire to a large group. The Chefoo Convention, 1876, opened Ichang, Wuhu, Wenchow and Pakhoi as treaty ports. Consuls were stationed at Chungking, fourteen hundred miles up the Yangtze, but Chungking was closed to trade until 1890. The Franco-Chinese conventions of 1887 and 1895 opened treaty ports along China's southern borders—Mengtze, Hokow and Szemao in Yunnan and Lungchow in Kwangsi.

Even after these concessions, the way of the foreign traveller was not always easy. Foreigners were often regarded with suspicion and attacks were made on them at times in one or another part of the Empire, notably in 1867, 1870, 1877, 1891, 1900, 1925, 1927. In 1923 a brigand band wrecked an express train near Lincheng in Shantung, shot a British subject and carried off for ransom Chinese nationals and twenty-six foreign subjects. On the other hand most travellers relate stories of unfailing kindness in the past on the part of the Chinese people. A typical travelling incident is related by Pollard,

“The first man with a bicycle to travel through West China was a German-American. He came at the time when anti-foreign riots were rather popular in some parts of China. He was alone, and knew nothing of the language, yet he managed to pass right through the country, causing immense excitement wherever he went, but receiving no harm and doing no harm. When he was in a tight corner and the mob looked ugly he used to take out his mouth-organ and play. This simple playing to the crowd opened his way on almost every occasion. The mouth-organ, persistent smiles and great patience brought him safely through dangers that with some men would have led to serious riots.”⁵⁴

Travel in China before this period was restricted to the most primitive methods—by boat, donkey or camel, by jolting two-wheeled cart, wheelbarrow or sedan chair. The great rivers were the arteries of trade, and the canals, though constructed for irrigation and drainage, served more extensively for transportation than in any other country.

Probably no country of large area and population is so backward in its method of transportation. The railways though few, comprising about seven thousand miles, will carry the traveller out from Canton, from Shanghai to Nanking, northward to Peking, or indirectly to Hankow; also from Tsingtao into the Shantung

⁵⁴ POLLARD, S.—*In Unknown China*. Philadelphia, 1921. p. 125.

peninsula and into the rich coal and iron district of Shansi. A French-built railroad carries the traveller from Hanoi to Yunnanfu. In many portions of the country, particularly the densely populated rice producing areas, there are no roads and few beasts of burden, so that travelling methods have remained as in the centuries past. Steam boats have gone up through the Yangtze Gorges and on to Chungking since the successful attempt of Archibald Little in 1898, and have thus opened Central and Western China. Isolated roads make automobile travel possible for short distances, though on the departure of Borodin in 1927 a group of automobiles crossed Kansu on their way to Urga. Airplane travel has now developed between Shanghai, Nanking and Hankow, and other lines are projected.

Until the East India Company's monopoly ended in 1834 most of the trade was carried in large sailing ships of one thousand to thirteen hundred tons burden which made a single leisurely journey in a year. These boats were afterwards replaced by smaller boats of three to four hundred tons, which gave way in turn to the larger tea clippers, of seven hundred to one thousand tons. With the advent of the steamship, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company in 1845 adopted the overland route by Suez for a fast monthly service from Southampton to Hongkong. By 1850 the trip from London to Shanghai required

seventy-eight days; that from New York to Shanghai ninety-five days. Four years later the time had been reduced to fifty-nine and seventy days respectively.⁵⁵

The Suez Canal makes a sea journey from London possible in five weeks; the overland journey *via* Siberia is made in thirteen days; nineteen days separate New York and Shanghai to-day. In contrast to the accommodations on the sailing boats of two generations ago, where the passengers were regarded as extras, are the palatial accommodations on the present ocean liners. The addition of a tourist class in recent years at greatly reduced rates on the Pacific boats presages an increased tourist trade between America and the Orient.

Since the World War "tourism" has become a world-wide industry, particularly for Americans, and there has been a steady increase of travel across the Pacific. The carefully conducted world cruises of the large steamship companies bring hundreds annually to the chief ports of China, while the more leisurely travellers with their longer stop-over privileges go farther afield.

Floating universities with their faculties and students anchor and observe the port cities. The Upton Close Cultural Expeditions to Pacific Asia, begun in 1926 with eight student pioneers, are the

⁵⁵ MONROE, PAUL—*China: A Nation in Evolution*. New York, 1928. p. 31ff.

vanguard of a new tourist movement to Japan and China. These expeditions claim as their merit that they “visit Asia with effective preparation, under expert guidance and at small cost. If you love to adventure and to learn at the same time—if you have neither the purse nor the mind of the tourist”; thus is the would-be traveller enticed. The three hundred “alumni” of these cultural expeditions have written “several brochures, delivered more than three thousand addresses and written one thousand articles for local papers and magazines”!⁵⁶

College students working their way on the larger boats have contributed some exotic notions about China. A student from the University of Minnesota who came to Canton and Shanghai in 1930 told that a “large number of Sykes act as river police, sailing up and down rivers, picking up bodies of dead men so they won’t clutter up the river and obstruct transportation.” This description of the Sikh policemen is equalled only by the writer’s account of a street brawl in the “forbidden city within Shanghai.” A more thoughtful group of college youths came in 1929-30 under the name of the Pomona College Oriental Expedition.

Mature scholars such as those holding the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowships have made

⁵⁶ 1931 *Upton Close Expeditions: Pacific Era Travels*, Inc., Seattle, Washington.

trips and observations in China. These Fellowships which aim at creating an enlightened international opinion have been held by such men as Lowes Dickinson, Dudley Buxton, and Herbert Adams Gibbons. For some years also American university professors appointed by the Carnegie Foundation have come to lecture in Chinese universities and colleges. Despite the language handicap, China as a rich and practically untouched field of research has attracted Western scholars in every branch of science and art.

Commissions and delegations of every size and description have come to China in the interest of commerce, finance, education, Christian missions, "Rotary" and other causes. Among these might be mentioned the Tariff Commission of 1925-26, the Kemmerer Financial Commission of 1929-30, the Canadian Trade Commission of 1930, the British Economic Mission to the Far East, 1930-31, and the China Educational Commission of 1921 which was headed by Dr. Ernest D. Burton. Reports of such groups as well as the interests of the individual members have aroused considerable interest in China.

Newspaper correspondents are another group of travellers to China, whose special work it has been to send information regarding China to the West. Among those of an earlier day might be mentioned George Wingrove Cooke and

Dr. G. E. Morrison⁵⁷ of the *London Times*. Among those of more recent years have been Thomas F. Millard, Arthur Ransome, who visited Shanghai in 1927 and coined a phrase much used at the time—"the Shanghai mind," Josef W. Hall (Upton Close), Nathaniel Peffer and Hallett Abend.

After the opening of the treaty ports and the privilege given the missionary societies to hold property anywhere in the Empire, a large number of Protestants and Roman Catholics came into China for religious work. The amount of travel and research which this group has accomplished is inestimable. S. Wells Williams and A. Wylie are two who might be mentioned. In Western China there has been formed a West China Border Research Society, largely made up of missionaries. The close connection between missionaries in China and their families and supporting churches at home has deepened the personal interest of many people regarding China. Also their importance to the travellers is seen in almost every account of journeys off the beaten track, where travellers have been largely dependent upon the missionaries at their stations in the interior of China.

From the many excellent accounts of mission travels two journeys have been selected. The

⁵⁷ Morrison's telegram of July 21, 1900, from Peking was the first news to the world from the besieged legations. The Morrison Library, considered the best existing library on China, is now in Tokyo.

journeys of Abbé Huc are separated by eighty years from those of the three English women who went through the Northwest in 1923, yet both of these were pioneer journeys for the Gospel's sake.

If it were necessary to choose only one traveller's account of China in addition to that of Marco Polo, it would be well to choose that of Abbé Huc.⁵⁸ Huc was a French Lazarist who embarked on a mission to convert the Mongol Tartars of Tibet from Buddhism to Christianity, and to discover the nature and extent of the new diocese created in Mongolia. As a preparation for their mission he and his companion, M. Gabet, learned the Tartar language from lamas in the monasteries in the Valley of the Black Waters, six hundred miles from the Great Wall. Huc's account of his route to Lhasa across the Ordos country, through Kansu and Tibet is so accurate and circumstantial that later travellers, notably Pereira, have used it as a guide book. The treaties of 1843 were unknown in the country through which they journeyed.

After their two years in Tibet, full of exciting and dangerous experiences, they were discovered by the Chinese ambassador at the court of Lhasa and were sent to Peking. The six

⁵⁸ HUC—*Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China during the Years 1844-5-6.* 2 vols. Chicago, 1900.

HUC—*The Chinese Empire.* London, 1859.

months trip in 1846 by palanquin and boat through Szechuan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and down to Canton, became for Huc the background for brilliant and vivid pictures of Chinese life and incident. He describes events as varied in character as these: the Yellow River in flood, the eating of watermelon seeds, Chinese New Year customs, the treatment of a Chinese pulse doctor, fish culture, mutual aid societies, military reviews. Florence Ayscough well remarks that "Huc is instinct with life from cover to cover and the most comprehensive book on China which is easily read."⁵⁹ Another traveller, Blakiston says of Huc that one can "get a better idea of China from his books than if he laboriously studied half the other works on the Central Flowery Land."⁶⁰

In the years just before the Taiping Rebellion the Manchu government was rapidly weakening. Huc remarks on this internal moral decay in society and official circles which he attributes to a total absence of religious convictions and influence. But this presupposition has not dampened his powers of observation, his lively interest in all things, or his keen sense of humour.

After twenty-one years in Hwochow, Shansi, three English women, Evangeline and Francesca

⁵⁹ AYSCOUGH, FLORENCE—*Friendly Books on Far Cathay*. Shanghai, 1921. p. 2.

⁶⁰ BLAKISTON, THOMAS W.—*Five Months on the Yangtze*. London, 1862. p. 171.

French and Mildred Cable, in 1923, went into Kansu for three years before continuing their journey across Central Asia to Urumchi, and across the Russian border.⁶¹ Their experiences as itinerant evangelists give insight into the lives and traits of custom-bound and prejudiced inhabitants of a district unoccupied by the Christian Church.

From Sian they went the eighteen stages to Lanchow, on to Pinfan and Liangchow, the last outpost of foreign missions, occupied for forty years by the China Inland Mission. Six days later they reached Kanchow where they found Dr. Kao, a Chinese missionary doctor. Here in the city where Marco Polo had been governor and which he described as having more gods than men, the three women started to train a class of Christian men and women. From Kanchow as a centre they went out, taking advantage of the crowds at fairs, at temple fetes and dances. When their adult pupils were illiterate they taught them to read by the government phonetic script, which can be mastered in twenty days. From Suchow they went out to the farms, to Kinta, the only city between Suchow and Mongolia, and to the Wenshu Miao, temples where the Black Tibetans gathered. With their baggage in a small wooden wheeled Kansu cart, they set out in the fall of 1925 with a

⁶¹ CABLE, MILDRED, AND FRANCESCA FRENCH—*Through the Jade Gate and Central Asia*. London, 1927.

party of eight to visit every walled town and village of Kansu beyond the Great Wall. Five days beyond Kiayükwan they arrived at the Yümen, the Jade Gate, the famed pass into Central Asia. Here they passed deserted towns and villages in process of being absorbed by the Gobi Desert. At Anhsi they followed the trail to the Oasis of Tung Huang, where the roads start for Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia. The Buddhist cave chapels here have been the object of interest for Pelliot and Warner. It was in this very summer that Warner and the Harvard archeologists had been turned back from Tung Huang. After their return to Suchow, the women started across the Gobi, the only Western women to accomplish the journey.

Despite the verdict of Roy Chapman Andrews that adventures and accidents are a sign of poor management, the armchair traveller is more entranced by tales which abound in incident than by accurate, unemotional diaries. Among those who have travelled for adventure's sake one meets such extremes as the irrepressible Richard Halliburton and the restrained Pereira; for the fraternity of the road has always contained a varied membership. In the sixties Blakiston was voyaging up the Yangtze; ten years later Baber, the English consul, was writing of Marco Polo's strange tribes in Szechuan and Yunnan. Geil tells how he journeyed from one end to the other of

the Great Wall, and Harry Franck gives human-interest descriptions of Northern and Southern China.

In a group by themselves belong those few men who have been successful in making the trip from China to India, or from India to China. Their narratives make more vivid the marvel of Benedict Goës, and of the Chinese travellers Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang, who went to India in search of Buddhism. Few changes in travel procedure have occurred in all the centuries. In 1895 Prince Henry of Orleans with two companions went from Yunnan to Assam, and eleven years later E. C. Young crossed the Kachin country, following a route just south of Prince Henry's. R. F. Johnston made a journey from Peking to Mandalay in 1906. In 1911 Major F. M. Bailey crossed Southeastern Tibet skirting the sources of the Irawadi, and reached India. In 1906 Major Clarence Bruce reversed the direction, going from Simla to Peking, making the last part of his journey in the footsteps of Marco Polo. But the passion for this international and cross-country journeying is best exemplified by Brigadier General George Pereira, who from 1921-3 crossed China in three directions—from Peking across North China to Lhasa, from Burma eastward to Shanghai, and from Indo-China northward to Kansu.

After the treaties of Tientsin were ratified,

the Yangtze was certain to attract Western travellers. Jesuit missionaries in disguise had doubtless gone over most of the river, and Huc and Gabet had travelled it under official escort, but the new opportunity was first seized by a group of Englishmen in 1861. The party started from Shanghai in the Squadron of Vice-Admiral Hope on the Yangtze Expedition of 1861 to open the river to foreign trade. From Yochow, where the squadron stopped, the journey was the private enterprise of Lieutenant Colonel H. A. Sarel, Dr. Alfred Barton and Captain Thomas Blakiston. With them also were four Sikhs and three Chinese.⁶²

The Taiping movement, because of its fantastic adaptation of Christianity, was at the time of great interest in the West, but in their way through Taiping territory these men came to a far from favourable opinion of Taiping administration. English interest in Chinese trade, however, was growing apace.

“I am not wrong in saying that to open the interior to European commerce will have more effect on the people of China, and conduce more to friendly relations with whatever government may be in existence, than all our wars and inconsistent treaties. . . Do not wait a moment; push on;

⁶² BLAKISTON, THOMAS W.—*Five Months on the Yangtze*. London, 1862.

treaty or no treaty, Prince Kung or the Taipings, we must have trade."⁶³

The great Yangtze in summer flood, the dangerous passage of the Gorges, the populous cities—all were new. Their chart of the upper Yangtze above Hankow was the first to be made. The charting of the river was of considerable importance. But the unsympathetic and superior attitude towards the Chinese people evinced by these newcomers and by many who followed after them may be held accountable for certain forms of resentment that have found expression many years afterward. Writes Blakiston:

“Sedan chairs will be at once placed at your Excellency’s disposal, means that most uncomfortable hen-coops will not be forthcoming for the “foreign-devil” until he has badgered the official half a dozen times more. A myriad means three hundred and sixty-five, a Celestial is a liar, and the Central Flowery Land a myth.”⁶⁴

On one occasion, deciding to live in a certain Szechuan temple for several days, they

“ferreted out the high priest, explained to him our views on the subject, namely that eight people such as ourselves would come and reside on the morrow, and that in the meantime we requested him to turn out the few refugees who were then there, and to have the place well swept and washed out. . .

⁶³ Ibid., p. 328.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

Having expressed ourselves in the choicest English, we retired with the full conviction that the priest had not understood one word of what we said; but that from our gesticulations and manner he would have a dim comprehension of our wishes and feel convinced that he had better accede to our demands.”⁶⁵

The Royal Geographic Society declares it a most unusual event to discover not only a new people, but a new language and mode of writing. Yet such a discovery was made by E. Colborne Baber who travelled among the Lolos in West China, a people not before visited by any European, even Marco Polo.⁶⁶ Baber was a young Englishman who had studied in Sir Rutherford Alcock’s diplomatic school where he had gained an excellent knowledge of the Chinese language. He accompanied Grosvenor in his journey across Southern China to investigate the death of E. A. Margary, and was subsequently appointed consul at Chungking in West Szechuan. From here in 1877 he made his travels into Western Szechuan and Yunnan by way of a route mentioned by Marco Polo, but not before described.

From Chengtu, Baber visited Mount Omei, the sacred mount famous for its mysterious aureole of Buddha, a phenomenon caused by the sun’s

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 275.

⁶⁶ BABER, E. COLBORNE—*Travels and Researches in Western China*. London, 1882.

rays on the clouds. He describes the fairs of the country and the elaborate abandoned cave dwellings built in the sandstone bluffs along the Min River.

During this trip Baber was often told that the Lolos had books which the medicine men could read, but it was not until he was at Ya-ch'ou on the Lolo frontier, ready to leave their district, that he discovered their writing. One evening he had stopped for lodging at a long wall-girt and towered farm house, which in the absence of the master, a Lolo of rank whose grandfather had submitted to the Chinese, was occupied only by two women. The floor of the room in which Baber was installed was covered to a depth of eighteen inches with bundles of waste manuscript and printed papers.⁶⁷ After the evening meal Baber and his native clerk made an exploration of thousands of documents. Since the Lolos had no printing, those documents were not considered. Among the masses of Chinese letters, accounts and children's copy books, was found a scrap of paper covered with Lolo characters with the sound of each word or syllable indicated in Chinese. This was copied on a superimposed sheet of transparent paper, a wise precaution, for the master upon his return next morning refused to part with the original.

⁶⁷ The conservative Chinese made such collections with the purpose of solemnly burning them from a pious respect for the art of writing.

Later Baber received from a French missionary, an original manuscript of eight pages, obtained from a Lolo chief, but its nature is not known, nor is it known at which end the writing begins or ends. M. Terrien de La Couperie after studying these said that the Lolo writing was undoubtedly phonetic and presented remarkable affinities with the writing of Sumatra.⁶⁸

Another group of people met with in Szechuan were the Hsifan or Mantzu, Western barbarians, who were a race inferior to the Lolos, and who are undoubtedly referred to by Marco Polo, who describes them as an immoral tribe. The Hsifan tribes inhabit the valley of the Yalung and the upper T'ung, and use the Tibetan language.

Harry Franck has in his blood a vagabond

⁶⁸ The following is a transcript of some Lolo writing done for Baber by a Blackbone Sorcerer. Baber, p. 127.

	<i>Lolo</i>	<i>Chinese</i>		<i>Lolo</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
1	✓	一	horse	𠂇	馬
2	𠂇	二	ox	𠂇	牛
3	𠂇	三	sheep	𠂇	羊
4	𠂇	四	fowl	𠂇	鷄
5	𠂇	五	dog	𠂇	犬
6	𠂇	六	pig	𠂇	豕
7	𠂇	七	water	𠂇	水
8	𠂇	八	fire	𠂇	火
9	𠂇	九	red	𠂇	紅
10	𠂇	十			

strain and journeys through China with a human interest in all that he sees.⁶⁹ He writes in the same leisurely strain, and though given to generalizing too much, is always keenly awake. His account of the finding and furnishing of a house in Peking in which to leave his family, of the customs and idiosyncracies of the indispensable amah, "boy," ricshaman, coolie and cook, is adventure sufficient to lure more travellers than have tried the experience. During September, 1921, he went across the Gobi to Urga by car, and to Jehol by way of the Tung Ling or Eastern Tombs. His jaunt into peaceful Shansi, including a visit to the then "model governor," Yen Hsi-shan, brought him to the conclusion that "the stoutest reformer would be likely to lose heart before the unrivalled passive resistance of the Chinese against even their own best welfare."⁷⁰ In the early spring he went into Shantung to climb the sacred Tai Shan, visited the Confucius country and "itinerated" across country by wheelbarrow with an American missionary.

With an American military attache from Peking he went on a two months' journey into the Northwest. He followed the old road through bandit-ridden Honan to Kaifeng where he found the Jews, *Yu-t'ai*. After visiting General Wu

⁶⁹ FRANCK, HARRY A.—*Wandering in North China*. New York, 1923.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Pei-fu at Loyang, he and his companion went through Shensi two hundred and ninety *li* on Feng Yu-hsiang's motor road. Most of their journey was by mule litter or postal mules through the loess country. The two-year old result of "the fish's tail wagging," as the local people called the earthquake, was scarcely changed.

Just beyond Nganting all the people, of both sexes and all ages, had taken to making yarn and were walking about knitting caps, socks and whole suits. "We had once or twice been shocked some days earlier at the sight of a camel-driver calmly twiddling his knitting needles. Some missionary it seemed had started the craze and neglected to explain its proper segregation."

The usual journey to Peking from Lanchow is made by floating down the Yellow River on goatskin rafts to the head of the Suiyuan railroad, but in November the river was already full of ice. With Kansu ponies they started back by the northern route, passing through the Great Wall and following the Yellow River, preferring that to the route through the Ordos country which required camel caravan.

Franck later "wandered" in Southern China.

Marco Polo curiously enough is perhaps the only one of all the travellers in Northern China who has neglected to speak of the Great Wall. Even Samuel Johnson showed enthusiasm about a visit to the Wall. One day when he and Boswell

were talking about travelling into distant countries, Boswell said:

“I really believed I should go and see the wall of China had I not children, of whom it was my duty to take care. ‘Sir, (said he) by doing so, you would do what would be of importance in raising your children to eminence. There would be a lustre reflected upon them from your spirit and curiosity. They would at all times be regarded as the children of a man who had gone to view the wall of China. I am serious, Sir.’”⁷¹

Not until 1909 do we meet with the record of a journey along the wall from the eastern to the western terminal, made by William Edgar Geil.⁷² Geil says that the Chinese have built during the past twenty-two centuries more than a dozen great walls, but his interest lay particularly in the original Ch'in wall and the Ming rehabilitations raised against the Kin Tartars. The Tibetan loop of the Wall with Sining as its centre was not placed on maps previously to Geil's expedition. He did not go beyond Kiayükwan to the ancient wall of Wu Ti, discovered and studied by Sir Aurel Stein. He divides the wall into three enormous “festoons”—the Mountain, the Loess and the Desert Loops.

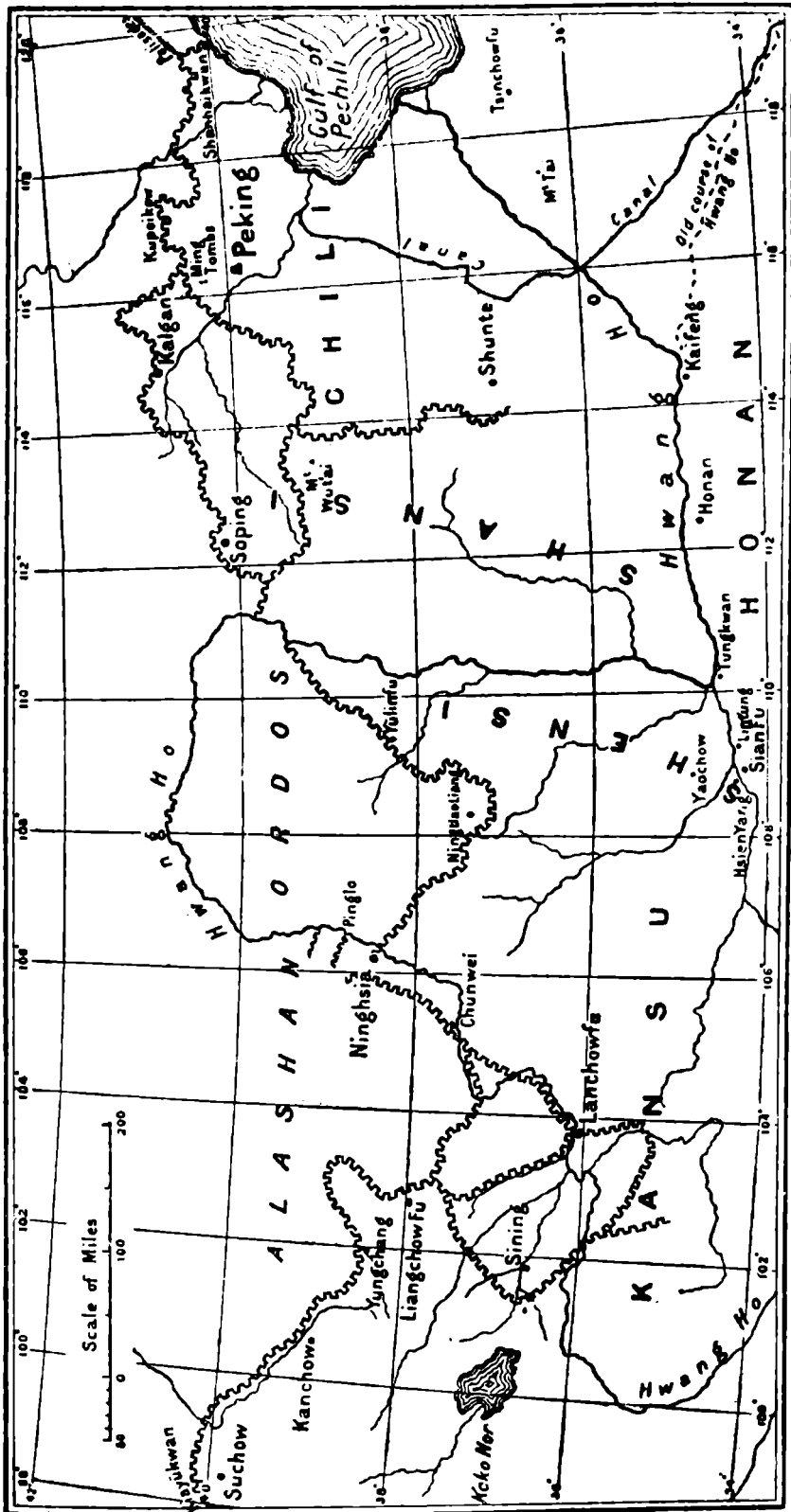
The wall in the first thousand *li* section climbs over mountains and descends into canyons; it is

⁷¹ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*. Scribner, New York, 1917. p. 372.

⁷² GEIL, WILLIAM EDGAR—*The Great Wall of China*. London, 1909.

never on the level, and after leaving the sea at Shanhaikwan it never again descends to sea level. Three Imperial burial reserves lie along the wall—the Eastern Mausolea, the Ming Graveyard with its thirteen tombs and the Western Cemetery. Near the Ming tombs comes the first great double fortification—one section of the wall goes northwest toward Kalgan, the other goes southwest to Nankow Pass, where the celebrated “Language” arch with its hexagonal inscribed gateway is located.

The river loop in the loess country shows how the builders adapted the wall to natural conditions. Finding that the dust drifted against it and sloped up on the desert side, they built a second wall behind it, and in wind-swept stretches a third wall was added. The wall in Shensi and Kansu is said to be a heap of mud. At many places the soil was merely cut down vertically and veneered with brick or stone. At other places the soil was rammed into wooden casings and veneered. In a country where the rain, sweeping off the unwooded slopes like torrents, eats great gullies through the loess, the builders of the wall have taken advantage of the natural drainage. Ninghsia is the first city of importance along the wall, and lies in the oasis watered by the Yellow River, just at the angle where the wall turns to the southwest. It was here that Jenghiz Khan entered the Empire.



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

(FROM GEIL: THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA)

From Ninghsia to Liangchow where the wall turns to the northwest the people call the wall the Eight Hundred Li Wall, not the Ten Thousand Li Wall. At Ta Pa Ying, along the wall, is the best place in China, with the exception of the Chengtu Plain, to study the irrigation system. Between Chunmei and Liangchow are attached two great loops, now mostly grass covered ruins. On one of them is located Lanchow, the city of the two wonders—the Wall, the Yellow River. The other loop has Sining on the great highroad to Tibet as its central point.⁷³

Kanchow originally stood beside the great boundary, and when Marco Polo visited it there were three Nestorian Churches in it.⁷⁴ To-day the foundations of the old city are visible, but the new city is built twenty *li* away on the other side of the Black River. Kansu was a province of skeleton towns and villages which had been abandoned or wasted by war and rebellion. Kiayükwan is known as the end of the Great Wall, though the actual termination is on a precipice fifteen *li* southwest, a mile above sea level, two

⁷³ “In Sining is the most beautiful chapel in Kansu, and the only chapel in China, as far as we know, built entirely by money contributed by explorers and travellers, including the gifts of Roman Catholics.”—Geil, p. 287.

⁷⁴ “In 1355 an Imperial Edict said, ‘The Church of the Cross in Kanchow in the Province of Kansu, has the body of the Empress Sorhahtani, mother of Kublai Khan. We pray you make sacrifice to her (body).’”—Geil, p. 304.

hundred feet above the Big White North River. Here is the end of the Great Wall, a barrier, counting the loops and spurs, of more than twenty-five hundred miles. From Kiayükwan

“many have passed out into the Gobi uplands, escaping from the heavy hand of justice. . . . And in the opposite direction what peoples, principles and passions have entered: Christianity twice, Buddhism three times came eastward, perhaps through this same gate.”⁷⁵

Discussing Ch'in Shih Huang-ti's reasons for building the wall, Geil considers that primarily the Great Emperor intended it to be a materialized Dragon stretched along the entire northern boundary of the empire to protect it from demons and devilized human beings. “This stupendous structure may be considered the incarnation of the supreme religious idea controlling the motives of Ch'in.”⁷⁶

In studying the wall, Geil became interested in the Ch'in Tablet, in the Forest of Monuments, and in the Great Sianfu Mound of Ch'in, the burial place of Huang-ti, which is nineteen miles from Sian. Legend says that the coffin is floating on a quicksilver river under this mound which is one hundred and twenty feet high and covers an area of twenty-five acres. The records of the Han dynasty show that with him was inaugurated the

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 310.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 157.

practice of building imperial tombs, with temples annexed.

Major Clarence Bruce left India in August, 1905, with a companion, Captain W. T. Layard, on an overland journey to China.⁷⁷ His road led through Tibet to Chinese Turkestan where at Kiria he met and followed the route used by Marco Polo. Preparations for the four months' journey to the Chinese border were made at Leh, five miles from the Indus, the starting place for most Central Asiatic expeditions. For two months Bruce's pony and yak caravan crossed the high plateau of Northwest Tibet, and in October crossed the main Kuen Lun Range by the route used by the Russian explorers Kozloff and Roboroffsky.

During their two months in Chinese Turkestan the party followed the barren base of the Kuen Lun Range to Kopa and Cherchen, the Charchan of Marco Polo. Although they followed his old route most of the towns described by him have in fact succumbed to the desert sands, and only the researches of archeologists, such as Stein, will clear up the questions raised by Polo's account. The Lopnor district through which he passed has been the object of researches of Stein, Sven Hedin, Prjevalsky, Richthofen, Piotsoff, and Kozloff.

From Cherchen, Bruce went southeast to

⁷⁷ BRUCE, MAJOR CLARENCE DALRYMPLE—*In the Footsteps of Marco Polo*. London, 1907.

Chakalik, the last administrative district toward China, and crossed the desert to Marco Polo's Sachu, called Tung Huang locally. The desert journey which Polo made in thirty days was made by them in twenty-nine days. It was in passing through this country that they realized the substantial accuracy of Marco Polo's descriptions. Camped one night by the frozen border of the Kara Koshun marshes they recalled Marco Polo's description of the sounds of musical instruments and drums heard by travellers. The vivid sounds were the groaning and booming of the ice, re-echoing over the marshes, as the temperature dropped and the ice froze harder.

Once inside China, Bruce's path lay over the well-known route to Lanchow, and from there went northeast across Kansu, Shensi and Shansi over the loess plateau. For eight years Bruce had been an officer in the British army and the military interest is present in his pages. At Tung Huang he received an impression not afterwards effaced, that with few exceptions the Chinese officials were eager and anxious for the coming of Western ideas and practices. In the growth of military spirit he saw the influence of the Russo-Japanese War.

To him a noticeable feature of the countryside in Kansu were the forts of refuge and defence posts scattered along the main route of travel. These varied in size from small forts a few yards square

to miniature fortresses. Moving off the beaten track in China has its tantalizing side; it is often impossible to learn anything but the merest outline of the history of the towns and the region through which the traveller goes. One of the most interesting places Bruce's party visited was Chingyangfu, an old town on the eastern Kansu border, bearing comparison as a natural defence site with many old castles in Europe. Architecturally unique was a curious stone-lined tunnel running from inside the inner walls of the city down to the water's edge on the east cliff face.

Western Shensi was found to be wild and sparsely settled, and not until the Yellow River was approached were there indications of the wonderful coal and iron basin which, in Shansi, Richthofen describes as one of the most remarkable in the world.

From Taiyuanfu to Chengtingfu they followed the old Kukuan road, which for centuries has been a link in one of the roads from Peking to the interior. In its one hundred and twenty miles it crossed four main mountain ranges. Despite the constant traffic, streams of donkeys and mules with merchandize and coal, the road was utterly neglected. For nine months the party had tramped slowly across Asia, yet during the last five days before it reached the railhead at Chengtingfu, the route led through country almost as wild and as inconvenient to travel as was the

greater part of the entire journey. By rail Bruce reached Peking in May, 1906.

One of the most restrained yet indefatigable of travellers who have gone through China was George Pereira, whose three journeys from 1921 to 1923 took him across the country in three directions; from Peking across China to Lhasa and India, a journey which no European had successfully made since Gabet and Huc; from Burma across China eastward to Shanghai; and from Indo-China to Yunnan and thence northward to Kansu, a trip upon which he died in 1923.⁷⁸ These Odyssey-like journeys were the culmination of twenty-four years of experience in China. Pereira had gone as a soldier to Weihaiwei, had taken part in the relief of the Legations during the Boxer uprising, and had served as military attaché in Peking. His tact, his knowledge of the language and etiquette, his conversational ability, had made him successful in his contacts with the Chinese. As a Brigadier-General in the English army he might have quietly retired; instead, his passion for travel led him at the age of fifty-five to make these journeys. Though ill at times, and always at a disadvantage from lameness due to a riding accident in his youth, he filled his travelling day to the full, rising at about half-past-five in the morning, marching or mapping his route till five

⁷⁸ PEREIRA, BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE AND SIR FRANCIS YOUNG-HUSBAND—*Peking to Lhasa*. Boston, 1926.

in the evening, and then writing his notes till nine o'clock or after. He was methodical in all of his observations and from his survey excellent maps have been compiled by the British War Office. The narrative of his journeys has been compiled from his notes and diaries by Sir Francis Young-husband, and takes the form of a day by day account. The restraint with which Pereira expresses himself is unique for one who had gone to these scarcely trodden places.

His first trip from Peking to Lhasa, begun in January, 1921, and completed on the Indian border November 17, 1922, presented obstacles of no mean kind. North China was suffering from an unprecedented famine; civil war was rife, attended by unpaid soldiers, looting and banditry; border troubles between Tibetans and Chinese prevented intercourse; and the central government of Tibet, though fairly well disposed to travellers from India since 1904, allowed no Europeans to enter Lhasa from China. Pereira travelled alone with his two Chinese "boys," in order to save money and to disarm suspicion. He describes Shansi as administered by the "model governor" Yen Hsi-shan. In Honan he visited Wu Pei-fu, whose soldiers he saw goose-stepping and using the German drill. In Shensi he was mistaken for an opium inspector and though all advertisements were removed, traces of the growth of opium were everywhere apparent. Near Sian he passed

wheelbarrows with sails—"the sail being a piece of cloth about four feet square, sewn on to two pieces of bamboo, and fixed to the front of the wheelbarrow, supported by strings tied on to the handle." Crossing the Tsingling Mountains, the divide between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, he arrived in Szechuan, where in Chengtu he completed the first stages of his journey—eighteen hundred miles—one hundred and three days after leaving Tientsin. With the exception of the first four hundred miles by train to Taiyuan, the journey was made on foot, on horseback, by mules or by chair. During a three months' interlude in Szechuan, Pereira went to Mount Omei; also upon a fruitless expedition in search of the giant panda and the panda bear, which no European had ever shot. The Chengtu plain, one of the most fertile spots in China, was full of bandits, and his soldier escort went unarmed lest the bandits be attracted by the prospect of a weapon. The direct route to Lhasa through Batang to Chamdo could not be taken, so Percira had to go north through Kansu and enter Tibet by way of Tangar. He describes Kansu as "a very conservative province and wisely backward in modern education. There are not the same student troubles as in other provinces and Lanchow is the only place in which students are prominent. Kansu still gets its officials from outside provinces and they carry on in the same old way of squeeze and oppression."

The student unrest in China was the subject of much study on his part. Tangar was the station where he made his final preparations for entering Tibet, and from his diary it is evident that he feared the worst. "Of all countries I have travelled Tibet is the most detestable—one visit is enough." It was Pereira's sight of Amnyi Machen which inspired Joseph Rock's expedition through Kansu and into Tibet in 1927. Throughout the trip he used a map upon which he had written the places and passes described by Huc. On October 14th he completed the thirty-five hundred mile journey which he had set out to accomplish. Two days later he wrote:

"The old man gets very weary each day and is so stiff he has to be helped off his horse on arrival. However, the goal is at last in sight. Only one more stage of fourteen-and-a-half miles to Lhasa. I shall be the only white man living who has been from Peking to Lhasa direct."

The next day, October 17, he arrived at Lhasa, having covered a distance of more than six thousand miles, of which he had walked more than half.

A month later he reached Northern India and went to a nursing home in Calcutta, to be treated for thrombosis and clots of blood in his left leg. But the urge to cross China from west to east forced him to start at the beginning of the new year, 1923, for Burma. Ascending the Irawaddi

he began marching from Bhamo on January 24th over the well-known route to Yunnanfu, which he reached in March. The side trips into the Lolo country were impossible because of the brigandage and the recent raids made by the Lolos into Chinese territory. He went however into the Miao country, out from Sih-men-k'an where missionaries had been labouring since 1905. From Suifu, he voyaged by launch down the Yangtze to Chungking and reached Shanghai, May 13. It is worth noting that he considers the gorge on the border of Lolo-land in Yunnan more magnificent than even the Feng-hsien, or Wind Box, gorge and the Ichang gorge of the Yangtze.

Three months later this insatiable traveller was on the railroad from Hanoi, Indo-China, to Yunnanfu on a trip which was to take him to Lanchow in Northern Kansu. He was accompanied on this journey by Dr. H. Gordon Thompson. July, the rainy season, was a difficult time to travel, and he wore "a circular Chinese bamboo hat like a shield which served as a small umbrella to keep off rain, and a green oilskin native mackintosh." "Yunnan is a picturesque province, but there is a great sameness. It is nearly all red sandstone hills with some pine and shrub. Between these are narrow valleys with rice cultivation, and where these valleys open out are large cities." As the two travellers advanced farther north along the Szechuan-Tibetan border

conditions of travel grew worse. There was intermittent fighting between the Tibetan and Chinese soldiers, and the bandits were so troublesome that the magistrates refused to take any responsibility. Besides this the mountain ranges between Batang and Kanze had high passes which were difficult in the October weather. Under the best circumstances travelling was not easy for Pereira, for he had been in weak physical condition for some time. Just before reaching Kanze he collapsed and died in Kanze, October 20, of gastric ulcer. No traveller in China has laboured under such physical disadvantages as Pereira, and the spirit which forced him onward and brought friendly contacts with those whom he met is an inspiration to any lover of travel.

China has become an increasingly inviting field of research for students of nature and of man and his civilization. Naturalist travellers have carried back material evidence of the richness of China in plant and animal life. Those interested in antiquities have found the same satisfaction, although in this field much of the research has gone on in Sinkiang, outside of China proper. Sir Aurel Stein, Sven Hedin, Pelliot and the American, Langdon Warner, have described their travels and work. As a field for the social sciences China remains almost untouched. The sociologist, Edward A. Ross, the ethnologists, Shirokogoroff and Dudley Buxton, the geographers, Pumpelly,

Richthofen and Ellsworth Huntington, are among those who have done pioneer work.

The period we are considering is given distinction by the accounts of diplomatic travellers. Great is the contrast between the circumstances that brought Michael Borodin to China in the latter part of this period and those that brought Baron Gros and the Earl of Elgin in the early part. A picture of the life under the Hankow government in 1927 is given by Anna Louise Strong which seems centuries removed from the Peking official life of 1900 as described by Sarah Pike Conger, wife of the then American minister. Consuls have travelled during their vacations in pursuit of information for their nations; this group includes Hosie, Baber, Teichman, and Bourne, the last of whom is an authority on aboriginal tribes in the west.

The most recent, and in promise the most important, of new routes to China have been those studied by aviators who indeed are pioneers of a new day in travel-relations of China. In 1924 four United States army biplanes left Seattle for a trip westward around the world. From Tokyo they flew to Shanghai, then south to Hongkong. Van Lear Black, the Baltimore newspaper man, and Count von Hünefeld, German war ace, have flown to China in recent years. The first woman to fly to the Far East was Mrs. Victor Bruce, an English woman, who flew from Hongkong to Amoy

and Shanghai, whence she flew across the Yellow Sea to Seoul in November, 1930. In the early spring of 1931 the French fliers, Burtin and Moench, crossed China in a Paris to Tokyo flight. Later in the same year Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh flew across the Pacific to Japan and to China, and incidentally rendered great service to the Chinese government in flood relief.

Philosophy too finds its travel representatives in China. Count Keyserling and Bertrand Russell visited China far more in the spirit of inquiry and of depreciation of their own culture than is common in most travellers. Western artists have interpreted China with colour and line and form: Katharine Carl, Le Roy Baldrige, Elizabeth Keith, Lucille Douglas, Friedrich Schiff are among this group. Likewise the poet-travellers, Eunice Tietjens and Witter Bynner have captured moods and used the spiritual insight of their craft. These individuals are worthy interpreters of China and through their experience the Western world continues to be kindled in knowledge and imagination no less than was Europe by the tales related by Marco Polo.

Few travellers of any century have more exciting adventures than had Raphael Pumpelly in his sixty years of globe-encircling journeys.⁷⁹ Pumpelly's studies and explorations in China

⁷⁹ PUMPELLY, RAPHAEL—*My Reminiscences*. 2 vols. New York, 1918.

preceded those of Richthofen. He first came to the Far East in the service of the Yedo government which had engaged two Americans to examine the mining resources of the Japanese Empire. The rise of anti-foreignism terminated this plan and Pumpelly was left without employment but with an enthusiasm for geology and adventure. Close at hand was China, where foreigners had just acquired the right to penetrate into the interior, and Pumpelly was inevitably attracted thither. The longing to explore came to him in Shanghai when he saw a Chinese boat arrive laden with an exceptionally fine anthracite. The coal had come from mines along the Siang River in Central China, and to the young geologist it was an inescapable lure. With the exception of missionaries, few travellers had gone far into the interior, and the geology of the Empire was absolutely unknown; for Richthofen had not yet undertaken his monumental work. Pumpelly's journey up the Yangtze was taken at the time of the Taiping Rebellion, but steamers on the river were not interfered with by the Taipings. The journey up the Siang River however was cut short by attempts of soldiers to impress the boat. Pumpelly's trip through the gorges is interesting because of his description of the rock formations and its part in determining the structure not only of China but of Eastern Asia as well. With a rare insight into the difficulties facing the traveller, Pumpelly says,

“I date my real travels in China in so far as travelling means a study of the people from my stay in Peking with the Burlingames where I learned to free myself from the prejudices which every traveller is apt to contract upon the Chinese coast.”⁸⁰

This friendship led to an invitation from the Tsung-li Yamen to Pumpelly to undertake the examination of some of the principal coal mines of North China. The Imperial government had in mind the supply of coal which would be needed for the “Lay flotilla.”⁸¹

The Imperial Commission was composed of Pumpelly, and of one military and two civil mandarins, with an interpreter from the English legation, Mr. Murray. The investigation of the mines which lay within several days' journey of Peking was to be only the beginning of the work, but the work was abandoned with the collapse of the plan for the steam flotilla. Many of the mines studied were very ancient, but because of the lack of machinery for drainage, and the scarcity of timbering, the work had to be carried on in a

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

Anson Burlingame, American Minister to China, was later to head the Chinese Mission to the West. The broadminded policy of Burlingame and Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister, was the beginning of a new era in eastern diplomacy.

⁸¹ In order to suppress piracy and smuggling the Chinese government had agreed in 1862 to the proposal of H. N. Lay, Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, then in England, that Lay should purchase and send out a fleet of gun-boats officered and manned by Europeans. Morse-MacNair, pp. 348-353.

primitive fashion. Great surprise was always occasioned by the fact that Pumpelly under Imperial commission, with authority to demand the presence of all officials on his route, should trouble to make personal examinations, crawling through passages on his hands and knees, and going into places where even the mine owners had never troubled to penetrate.

When Pumpelly learned from S. Wells Williams that under some of the dynasties there had been a census of all the useful resources, vegetable and mineral, of the Empire, with the locality of each item fixed as to distance and compass direction from the nearest town, he determined to find all these references to minerals in the hope of learning more about the geology of the Empire. In lapidary, antiquity and drug shops specimens of minerals were ingeniously made to supply the names for which three Chinese scholars were to find references in several hundred volumes. These references were translated by his missionary friends and during a convalescence from smallpox Pumpelly plotted the results on a map. These results confirmed the hypothesis made during his Yangtze trip: that the mountain system of China and of Asia followed a northeast-southwest course. In the data collected for Pumpelly by Chinese scholars were some notes from an old commentary on one of the books of Confucius, which told of people with red hair and

blue eyes dwelling in Central Asia, and of the burial of many cities by sand. These two notes started the train of thought which led to Pumpelly's expeditions into Central Asia forty years later, in 1903 and 1904.⁸²

After his recovery from smallpox Pumpelly started on an expedition along the Great Wall, in the hope of becoming acquainted with the nature both of the country and of the people. His hope of going on to the Pamirs was destroyed by the Mohammedan Rebellion which was spreading over the north-west, but he did get as far as Dai-Kha-Noor Lake. It is a delight to meet, in the pages of Pumpelly, Samdad-Chiembra, the Lama camel-leer of Abbé Huc. Pumpelly found him in Siwan, a day's journey east of Kalgan, and engaged him as guide through the mountains. He writes that Samdad-Chiembra was "no longer the wayward youth over whose caprices the readers of Huc's charming narratives have often laughed." In November, 1864, Pumpelly was following the old route to Kiakhta taken by the Russian embassies, tea merchants and travellers. He was then leaving China, and was on his way to Europe through Siberia by sled.

Travellers to China have built up but slowly the present knowledge of the abundance of the Chinese flora and fauna. The intensive cultivation of much of China has destroyed the flora, but

⁸² PUMPELLY. Vol. I, p. 433ff.

the mountainous districts of Central and Western China defy agricultural skill, and there a surprisingly varied flora exists. These regions are difficult of access, and only now do they yield their secrets to such searchers as E. Kingdon Ward and Joseph Rock.

The tea and rambler rose, chrysanthemums, azaleas, primulas, rhododendrons, camellias, peonies, clematis and scores of other garden flowers have been derived from plants still to be found in a wild state in Central and Western China. China is the original home of the orange, the lemon, citron, peach, apricot, and the so-called European walnut. All of these fruits were carried from China to the West.

Early knowledge of the flora was based on plants procured from gardens, notably from those around Canton. Trading vessels carried plants to Europe at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Patrons of horticulture and botanical institutions soon lent financial assistance and collectors were sent to investigate and procure specimens. The Chinese parent of the chrysanthemum was cultivated in Dutch gardens as early as 1689.

In the eighteenth century catalogues of the animals and plants of China were published in Sweden based on the discoveries of men who had gone east on boats of the Swedish East India Company. A report was made to the Royal

Swedish Academy of Sciences, and one of the men, Olaf Toreen, was trained by the celebrated Linnaeus. Despite the close surveillance of the mandarins, Clarke Abel of the Amherst Mission collected a great variety of plants and seeds on his way from Peking to Canton. The material to be found in the gardens of China was exhausted by Robert Fortune, who was prevented by the difficulties of travel from searching for the natural wild flora.

Charles Maries, an Englishman collecting for an English firm ascended the Yangtze as far as Ichang in 1879. There, within three days' journey of a rich collection of plants unknown to the botanical world, he determined that Fortune had exhausted the floral researches of China and sailed away to Japan.⁸³

The extraordinary richness of the flora of Central and West China was first shown by the collections of two French Roman Catholic priests, Abbés David and Delaway; of the Russian traveller, N. M. Prjevalsky; and of the Imperial Maritime Customs Officer, Augustine Henry. The western part of China soon became a great collecting field for Ernest Wilson, Captain F. Kingdon Ward, Joseph Rock, and others.

The agricultural activity of the Chinese has received the attention of most travellers, but few

⁸³ WILSON, ERNEST HENRY—*A Naturalist in Western China*. New York, 1913. Vol. II, p. 3.

have described the methods employed. The Swede, Captain Gustavus Eckeberg, gave a good account of the husbandry observed by him in the vicinity of Canton during three different visits there,⁸⁴ but it was not until 1909 that a scientific study of Chinese farming methods was made by F. H. King.

Marco Polo had described animals unknown in the West, particularly the takin which he spoke of as "very wild and fierce." The Swedish catalogue had been compiled from travellers' reports, and from accounts of China such as that of Du Halde. Many of the early collections of animals were secured from Chinese hunters—this was true of the collection of Père Heude made after 1880, and of the Russian traveller, M. M. Berezovski, who collected on the Kansu-Szechuan border from 1892-94.⁸⁵

A collection of the animal life of West China was made for the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoology by Walter R. Zappey in 1907-9. The Hall of Asiatic Life in the Natural History Museum in New York contains the collections of Roy Chapman Andrews made in Fukien, Yunnan and North China. Clifford Pope, a

⁸⁴ OSBECK, PETER—*A Voyage to China and the East Indies*. 2 vols. London, 1771. Vol. II, p. 300ff.

⁸⁵ This collection included the giant panda, the takin, a new black bear and other typical animals of West China. Wilson II, 186.

member of Andrew's expedition, collected reptiles, batrachians and fish.

The nature of the work of these naturalists led them away from the usual traveller's path and made them more dependent upon the people of the country side. From their accounts one learns much of the life and customs of the aborigines of the western border. Wilson, Ward and Rock, particularly, describe these peoples first mentioned by Marco Polo and first studied by Baber.

The Swedes who carried information of Chinese animals and plants were Peter Osbeck, a Swedish rector, who spent four months in Canton in 1751 when Olaf Toreen, chaplain on the boat *Gothic Lion*, was making his collections, and Captain Eckeberg. Osbeck was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, but he doubtless deserves more fame for being one of the first Westerners to buy a blossoming camellia tree only to discover that

“the flowers were taken from another tree, and one calyx was so neatly fixed on the other with nails of bamboo, that I should scarce have found it out, if the flowers had not begun to wither.”⁸⁶

He carried back one of the parent forms of the chrysanthemum, which shortly found its way into English gardens from Sweden. He was not so successful in carrying home a growing tea plant.

⁸⁶ OSBECK, Vol. II, p. 17.

Abeel mentions having had the same experience.

“When the ship began its voyage home, everyone leaped for joy, and my tea-shrub, which stood in a pot fell upon the deck during the firing of the cannons and was thrown overboard without my knowledge, after I had nursed and taken care of it a long while.”

Captain Eckeberg brought to Sweden in 1763 the first living tea shrub taken from China, and presented it to Linnaeus.

Before taking the trip to China, Toreen went to Upsala to study with Linnaeus in order to make proper observations and to learn to prepare specimens for shipment to his instructor. However excellent his training, his scientific spirit falters at times. In describing the Chinese he says.

“The bone above the eyes projects very far and forms a triangle with the chin. Most of them never quite open their eyes, and I am told, that the custom of bearing the children at their backs, with their heads hanging down, occasions as it were a swelling of the eye-lids: for the orbits are the same with them as with other people. Their noses are somewhat flat; their lips middling; and their looks when they hope to gain anything, as sweet as can possibly be. The drooping and weak eyes of the Chinese are occasioned by the rice which is their most usual food.”⁸⁷

Toreen made, nevertheless, many interesting observations and sent a great many rare specimens to Linnaeus.

⁸⁷ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 246.

About two hundred years later Robert Fortune was travelling in China to carry the tea industry into India.⁸⁸ Thanks to his researches, the growth and manufacture of tea is one of the most flourishing industries in the Himalaya country. The first trip in 1843, as Botanical Collector to the Horticultural Society of London, was largely confined to the five treaty ports and the surrounding country. Fortune's next two trips in 1848 and 1853, each extending over several years, were made for the East India Company. He wished to collect tea plants and procure green and black tea makers and implements for the experimental farms in India. The last trip covered much of Chekiang province and the world-famous silk district of Kiangsu. These travels, made only with Chinese boatmen, were in districts to which Westerners had not penetrated. As he purchased seeds and plants he came into intimate touch with the country-folk, whom he considered "the happiest race in the world." His contacts with the people were those of mutual courtesy and consideration, with a fine regard for the people among whom he was travelling. Very often he had to depend upon the Buddhist temples for his lodgings, with many amusing incidents as the result. Even the thieves who stole his trunk from his small boat one night had the consideration to return the

⁸⁸ FORTUNE, ROBERT—*A Residence among the Chinese*. London, 1857.

trunk with clothes and records intact, after removing the silver! He gained the interest of the children and women by paying them for insects and shells which were brought to him—though he never convinced them of the ultimate scientific end of the creatures. Insects and medicines were inextricably connected in their minds.

The natural productions of the country—both real and fancied—were his chief interests. We find him going out after an earthquake in Shanghai to hunt for the hairs which made their appearance at such a time—shed by a “huge subterraneous animal” whose movements shook the earth! Though his search was rewarded only by hairs which grew above the earth, not below, it affords an insight into the ways of this traveller who “ever found it unwise to laugh at what I conceived to be the prejudices of a people simply because I could not understand them.” As a result of Fortune’s collections, the Chinese chestnuts are now naturalized on the Himalayan hills, thousands of tea plants, timber and fruit trees were sent to India, and ornamental shrubs and trees were introduced there and into England. He describes the wax insect, *coccus pela*, which grows on a certain variety of ash, from which “the most valuable Chinese candles are made.” The gorgeous *mow-chok* bamboo, which attains a height of from sixty to eighty feet, and in its best growing season

gains from two to two-and-a-half feet in twenty-four hours, was introduced from Chekiang into India by him.

His account of the cultivation of the mulberry, the feeding and rearing of the silkworm and the reeling of the silk was one of the first to be made by an English eye-witness of the process.

One of the great values of his work is that it gives a picture of the life of the country folk, and of the priests in the widely scattered Buddhist temples.

Ernest Wilson began his travels in Western China in 1899 with the object of collecting botanical specimens and new plants for some English nurserymen.⁸⁹ His last two expeditions were for the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. In describing some of the journeys during his seven years of collecting, he gives a general account of Western China, especially of the natural history, and the manners and customs of the non-Chinese people on the Chino-Tibetan border. On his 1908 expedition with Walter Zappey, he was particularly interested in collecting the fauna, but on the other expeditions he and his Chinese peasant collectors gathered more than sixty-five thousand specimens of plants, comprising five thousand species.

One of his most interesting trips was overland

⁸⁹ WILSON, ERNEST HENRY—*A Naturalist in Western China*. 2 vols. New York, 1913.

fifty-four days from Ichang to Chengtu, by a route never before followed by a foreigner. Wilson says that in his eleven years of travel he found northwest Hupeh the most difficult part of China to explore, the Chino-Tibetan border not excepted. Too wild and savage for extensive agricultural development, and lacking in useful minerals, this part of Hupeh is very sparsely settled. The undisturbed vegetation is a joy to the botanist, but he has to deal with food and accommodation problems because of the small population. Twenty-two days after leaving Ichang, Wilson arrived at the Szechuan border and followed the Great Salt Road, a thoroughfare high along the Taning Ho, blasted from the solid rock. The only recorded travellers who had previously followed the road he used in Eastern Szechuan were Lieutenant-Colonel C. C. Manifold and Captain E. W. S. Mahon, who surveyed for the proposed Hankow-Szechuan railroad route in 1903.

Wilson gives an excellent description of the Chengtu Plain with its marvelous irrigation system, kept in fine repair since its inauguration by a Chinese official named Li-ping, twenty-one hundred years ago. There the large houses and farmsteads with their groves give a wooded appearance to the plain.

From Chengtu, Wilson went by a route across the mountains formerly used by the Roman Catholic missionaries to the border town of

Sungpan Ting in Northwestern Szechuan, to secure seeds of new coniferous trees discovered in 1903-4. Surrounded on all sides by Hsifan, people of Tibetan origin, Sungpan is the farthestmost outpost of Chinese civilization. Originally made a military post by Ch'ien Lung, it is now a trade entrepot to which caravans from the Kokonor region bring wool and medicines to China. Tachienlu, about 250 miles from Chengtu, in the Chino-Tibetan borderland is on the great trade highway to Tibet and was frequently visited by Wilson.⁹⁰ This district is the home of the Chiarung tribes, and its rough countryside is the home of much plant and animal life.

In 1908 Wilson made a trip to the three sacred mountains of Szechuan, Omei, Wa-wu Shan and Wa-shan, and through the triangular shaped district between them, known as the Laolin or wilderness. This wilderness is traversed by miserable paths, and the savage cliffs and jungle clad mountains have attracted only a small population. These three mountains have added many botanical species to the flora of Szechuan. Although Baber and Hosie were the first to go to Mount Omei, it was not until the visit of Dr. Ernst Faber in 1887, and A. E. Pratt, the English naturalist in 1890, that collections of flowers were made there. Wilson's collection was the first to come

⁹⁰ The first Occidental to enter Tachienlu other than Roman Catholic priests was T. T. Cooper in 1868.

from Wa-wu Shan. During four days of botanizing on Wu-shan, a mountain of a series of precipices one above the other with a flat summit, Wilson was able to add two hundred and twenty species to his collections, and he says that in no part of China has he found greater variety of plants and flowering shrubs. Zoologically Wu-shan and the surrounding wilderness are interesting as being one of the places where wild cattle (taken) are found.

Wilson describes the principal food crops and farming in Yunnan, Hupeh and Szechuan, and the preparation of brick tea exported from Tachienlu and Sungpan for the Tibetan trade. He describes the insect white-wax used in the making of candles and the glazing of paper. These insects (*coccus pela*) are bred in the Chien Ch'ang Valley, and the eggs are carried over the mountain roads to the Kiating Prefecture, where the larvae hatch and deposit their wax on the branches.⁹¹

Dr. L. H. Bailey of Cornell University remarks:

“We have had few great agricultural travellers and few books that describe the real and significant rural conditions . . . for the most part authorship

⁹¹ This white wax industry was first known to the West by the writings of Trigault in 1615. William Lockhart of Shanghai sent crude wax to London in 1853 which disclosed the animal remains. It was also noted by Robert Fortune in 1853, Baron Richthofen in 1872, Baber in 1879, and was investigated in 1884 for the Kew authorities by Hosie.—WILSON, Vol. II, p. 19.

of agricultural travel is yet undeveloped. The spirit of scientific inquiry must be taken into this field."

Such an inquiry into the actual agricultural conditions of China was made in 1909 by F. H. King, Professor of Agricultural Physics in the University of Wisconsin and chief of the Division of Soil Management in the United States Department of Agriculture.⁹² Nearly one hundred and fifty years previously the Swedish traveller Osbeck had written that one must not neglect a single item of the Chinese agricultural economy, but he had neither the opportunity nor the scientific preparation to make the observations in which Professor King engaged. Starting in March in South China, around Canton and Wuchow on the Sikiang River, King went north with the spring season studying the intensive methods and customs on the small agricultural plots which supported an entire family. He finds the "crowding of both space and time" to be a characteristic of Chinese farming. Space is saved by the practice of intertillage as well as by rotation of crops according to the season. Time is saved by enormous labour in transplanting and by the use of composts.

The question of fertilization of the soil is of primary importance in a land that has supported

⁹² KING, F. H.—*Farmers of Forty Centuries*. Madison, Wisconsin, 1911.

a dense population for forty centuries. King describes the different methods used to maintain the fertility. The important point regarding the Far Eastern peoples, to which King directs attention, is that effective thinking prevails among the farmers who have fed and are still feeding the dense populations from the products of their limited areas.

“This marvellous heritage of economy, industry and thrift, bred of the stress of centuries, must not be permitted to lose virility through contact with Western wasteful practices, now exalted to seeming virtues through the dazzling brilliancy of mechanical achievements. More and more must labour be dignified in all homes alike, and economy, industry and thrift become inherited impulses compelling and satisfying.”⁹³

In 1922 Captain E. Kingdon Ward’s attempt to go from China direct to India by Hkamti Long, the route of Prince Henry and E. C. Young, failed when he was struck down by fever almost within sight of Assam.⁹⁴ This was not his first expedition, for he had discovered Western China as a field for botanical exploration in 1911 and 1921. In his description of his trip from Likiang in Yunnan to Hkamti Long (Fort Herz) in North Burma he gives

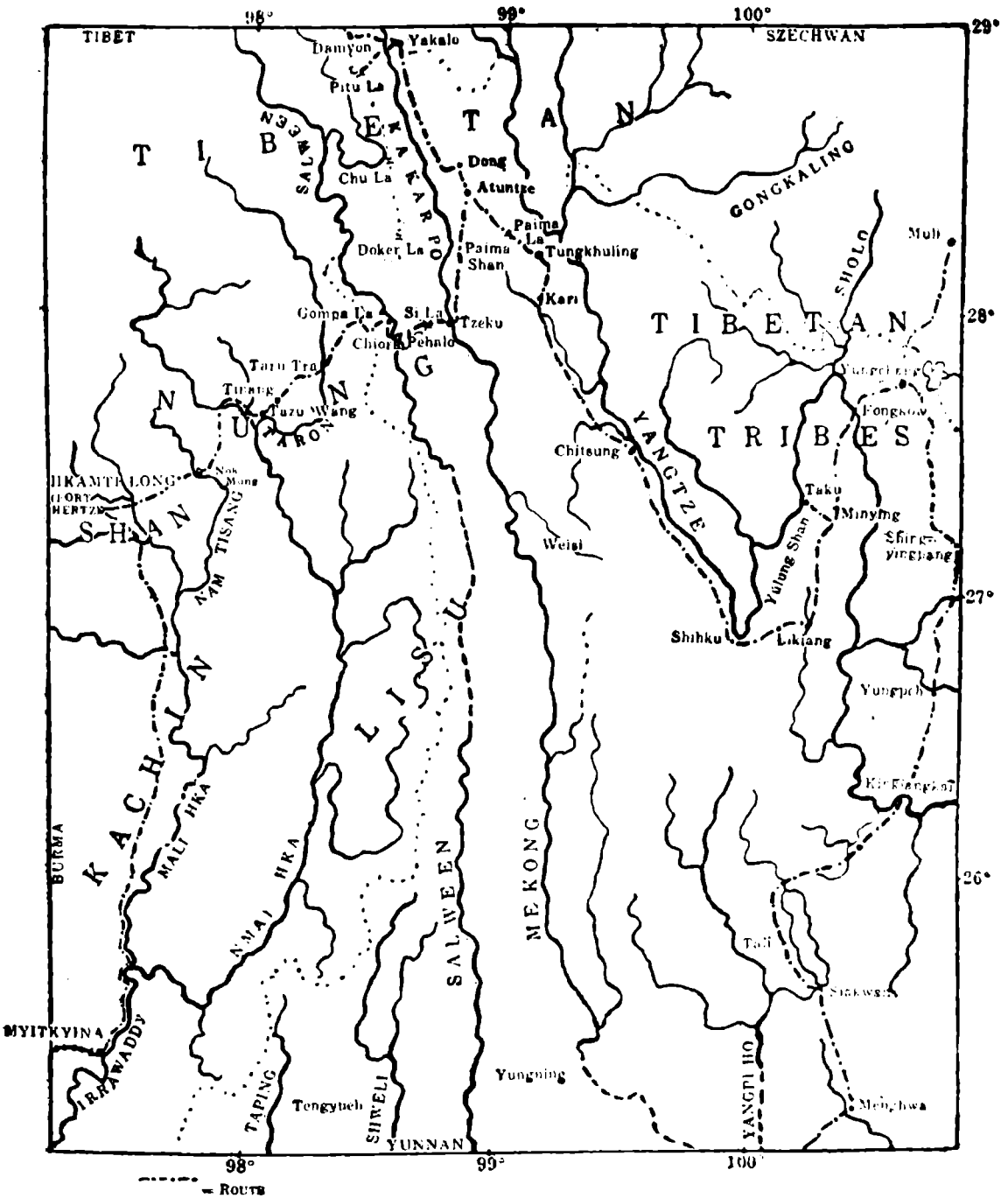
⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁹⁴ WARD, CAPTAIN F. KINGDON—*From China to Hkamti Long*. London, 1924.

“an idea of the rapid changes—physical, climatic and botanical—which take place as you travel westwards from the Yangtze across the narrow strip of earth’s crust where the great rivers of south-east Asia escape from Tibet, and of the jungles which hide the headwaters of the Irawadi.”

Entering Yunnan from the west he followed the route by the Kunlong Ferry to Tali, marching always counter to the main ridges. He reached Yungning after two months of travel, and after a side trip to the Kingdom of Muli set out for the Irawadi by way of Likiang, the meeting place of caravans from Tibet, the Marches, Burma and West China.

While waiting for the end of the rainy season he went north to explore the Salween-Mekong divide, and into Tsakalo, the salt well district of Szechuan. Here he crossed the Mekong to study the flowers and glaciers of the sacred mountain Damyon. His discoveries added proof to the theory that Northwestern Yunnan is drying: all the glaciers on the mountain have disappeared except one, which was cut off from its snow field. Travel westward from the Mekong must begin in October when the rainy season is over, for the passes are closed by snow by the middle of January and the upper Salween is isolated for six months. With a caravan of seven men Ward started from Atuntzu. He crossed the Mekong-Salween divide by the Si La between two snowy mountain ranges,



ROUTE FOLLOWED BY KINGDON WARD
(ADAPTED FROM WARD: FROM CHINA TO HKAMTI LONG)

and came into the Salween valley—a valley full of disease and famine, yet the home of numerous tribes: Shans from the east and west, Lisu of Siamese-Chinese stock, Lutzus, Nungs, Naingvows, Kiutzus. Of the plateau country west of the Salween, Ward says, “fifteen thousand species of plants have been found in these ranges and the surface has scarcely been scratched.”

The Taron valley, claimed by the Chinese, Tibetans and English, brought the first view of Burma. Ward stood on the frontier of China and looked down the wild valley.

“All round us were the ice worn cliffs and valleys. To the north an area of glittering snow peaks kept watch and ward over the sources of the Irawadi. Behind us was the huge bulk of the Gompa La. We were caught in a network of high rocky ranges which gloomed and frowned on us even in the liquid sunshine. A vast convulsion seemed to have lifted the lid off the earth and broken the crust and piled up the ruins in fantastic castles.”

From here he crossed the warm wet jungles to Hkamti Long, which was reached on November 16th. When he went north from Hkamti Long, fever ended his second attempt to march overland from China to India. Ward’s ability to describe the jungles, the mountains and the flowers makes this travel account a book of beauty.

In Western Yunnan where the Yangtze marks its first great loop to the north, lies the Nashī

village of Ngulukö. Here was the headquarters of Joseph F. Rock, leader of the National Geographic Society Yunnan-Szechuan Expeditions of 1923-4 and 1927-30.⁹⁵ Rock was the agricultural explorer who had found among the hills of Burma the trees which produce the specific for leprosy, the chaulmoogra-oil seed. His expeditions in China were to search for agricultural specimens, particularly the blight resisting chestnut. From Yunnan and Szechuan he has sent to the United States many new trees, flowering plants and a remarkable rhododendron collection of four hundred and ninety-three species.⁹⁶

Rock's explorations kept him for long periods among the strange tribes of the west. His helpers came from the Nashi⁹⁷ tribe, a people still in the stone age culture, using flint and eidelweiss flowers to make fire. The weird ceremonies practiced by the priests drive away devils and at the new year season special protection is sought from evils of nature. Women are not permitted to listen to the religious recitals because it is feared the women will commit suicide to taste the happiness of the world of shadows described in the

⁹⁵ ROCK, JOSEPH F.—*Banishing the Devil of Disease among the Nashi*. National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. Vol. 46, pp. 473-499. Nov. 1924.

⁹⁶ In the U. S. National Museum are 60,000 sheets of herbarium specimens and 1,600 birds, the result of his 1923-4 trip. *Ibid.*, 474.

⁹⁷ Called Moso by Chinese; Djong or Djing by Tibetans, meaning rough or rude.

sacred books. These books written in pictograph symbols, possibly of Tibetan origin, can be read only by the priests.

Rock lived among the lamas in the independent States of Muli and Choni and his pictures of their religious ceremonies and buildings are unique. Muli is a Hsifan community ruled over by a king-lama of Manchu origin. This ruler knew little Tibetan and practically no Chinese, but through the interpreter he carried on conversations, asking if the white people had stopped fighting, if he could ride to Berlin and Washington, how long he was to live; and requested Rock to bring him a pair of field glasses with which he might see through mountains. In 1925 when Rock went north into Kansu to explore the Amnyi Machen Range he was held up for two years by the Mohammedan wars at Choni, a small principality under a Tibetan lama prince. Here at the lamasery Rock lived among the monks and made a picture record of the ceremonies of the lama year—the sunning of the great fifty-foot tapestry—Buddha, the demon and skeleton dancers of the Cham-nyon-wa, the Feast of Lights to celebrate the transfiguration of the founder of the Yellow Buddhists, the installation of the presiding lama. The butter festival held in the first month attracted vast crowds. The sculptures, symbolic panels and images, were formed of more than a thousand cattles of yak butter after months of work. These

were destroyed after one night's illumination. The Choni monastery is the only place outside Tibet in which printing blocks for the two Tibetan classics are to be found. Forty-five monks worked nine months to print both classics.⁹⁸

Rock had been excited by General Pereira's description of a mountain peak seen on his Peking to Lhasa trip which he said might possibly be higher than Everest. Rock's expedition to this Amnyi Machen Range on the Tibetan border of Kansu was full of the experiences which have met the geographer and traveller in the west during recent years. Though escorted through Yunnan by forty soldiers, he was twice attacked by bandits. In Szechuan his guard was increased to one hundred and ninety soldiers, and when he reached Kansu he was delayed two years by the war raging between Labrang and the Moslems of Sining. Not until 1927 was he able to make his photographic survey of the Amnyi Machen group which forces the Yellow River to make its large bend just before entering China.⁹⁹

In 1927 Rock practically circumambulated and mapped the Minya Konka Range in Western

⁹⁸ ROCK, JOSEPH F.—*The Land of the Yellow Lama*. National Geographic. Vol. 47, pp. 447-489. April 1925. Rock, Joseph F.—*Life Among the Lamas of Choni*. National Geographic. Vol. 54, pp. 569-619. November 1928.

⁹⁹ ROCK, JOSEPH F.—*Seeking the Mountains of Mystery*. National Geographic. Vol. 52, pp. 131-185. February 1930.

Szechuan. Several peaks of this range had been seen by members of the West China Border Research Society from Mount Omei, and the highest peak had been measured by several French fathers,¹⁰⁰ but Rock was the first to describe the entire district, the Yalung gorges, the Hsifan villages and the peaks, many of them over twenty thousand feet high.¹⁰¹ Rock's photographs make one of the best accounts we have of Western China.

Roy Chapman Andrews believed that the earliest home of primitive man was to be found in Central Asia north of the Himalaya Mountains. This theory formed the basis for the great Central Asiatic expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History. The preparatory work before going into the Gobi desert in 1922 was done in China. The first two expeditions, 1916-17, were reconnaissances to gain general knowledge of the nature of the fauna and conditions to be encountered, and to make a mammalian survey.¹⁰² Andrews, his wife Yvette Borup Andrews, and Edmund Heller collected in Fukien and Yunnan. Entering Yunnan from Indo-China they travelled

¹⁰⁰ EDGAR, J. H.—*The Gangka, a Peak in Eastern Tibet*. Journal of West China Border Research Society, Vol. III, p. 157ff.

¹⁰¹ ROCK, JOSEPH F.—*The Glories of the Minya Konka*. National Geographic, Vol. 58, pp. 385-437. October 1930.

¹⁰² ANDREWS, ROY CHAPMAN AND YVETTE BORUP ANDREWS—*Camps and Trails in China*. New York, 1918.

more than two thousand miles before leaving by way of Burma. Northern Yunnan, despite its dividing mountain ranges, was all one life zone, and it was only in the tropical southern part of the province that the change in plant and animal life occurred. Their year's work resulted in the most extensive mammal collection made in China. Among the insectivores they gathered many primitive forms of ancestral stock which threw light on the evolutionary history of certain living groups. They had specimens of the goat-antelope family, the goral and serow, the muntjac, a little deer scarcely larger than a fox, tree shrews related to the monkey and found only in Asia. On the Nam Ting River they found the jungle fowl, ancestor of the barnyard hen and rooster.¹⁰³

Mrs. Andrews made a collection of moving pictures and coloured photographs of the tribal activities found among the peoples of Yunnan. The native hunting customs which Andrews describes are not found in any other accounts.

The summers of 1918 and 1919 Andrews spent on the Mongolian plains, but in the autumn of 1919 he returned to China to secure big game specimens for the New Hall of Asiatic Life at the

¹⁰³ "According to tradition, the Chinese received their poultry from the West about 1,400 B.C. Poultry figured in Babylonian cylinders between the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. Although domestic fowls were probably introduced into Greece through Persia, there is no direct evidence as to when and how they reached Europe." *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Museum.¹⁰⁴ He went into the Shansi mountains for the argali or mountain goat. These argali, once common in North China, are the ancestors of the American Rocky Mountain big horns who migrated to America by way of the Bering Straits. The record ram, obtained by Andrews' companion Caldwell, had horns fifty-one inches long and twenty inches in circumference. Another link connecting the animals of Asia and America is the wapiti, called *ma-lu* (horse deer) by the Chinese. This animal hunted in Shansi shows a remarkable case of rigid adaptation to changed environment. Originally a forest animal, it now lives on the treeless uplands and in the scrub filled ravines, in which most of the wild life of North China is concentrated. Andrews continued his collection of large mammals in 1921 when he went to the Tsingling Mountains in Shensi for the takin (*Budorcas bedfordia*), one of the rarest animals in the world. The Chinese call this animal the *yeh niu* (wild cow). It is a beautiful golden yellow without a patch of darker colour. Andrews calls it the modern bearer of the golden fleece.

In the early spring of 1920 Andrews received permission to collect specimens in the great walled hunting park at the Tung Ling, the Eastern Tombs. This park, more than a hundred miles

¹⁰⁴ ANDREWS, ROY CHAPMAN — *Across Mongolian Plains*. New York, 1921.

in length, very near to Peking, is the last sanctuary of much of North China's wild life. The present destruction of the forests in the park means the extinction of half-a-dozen species of birds and mammals—flying squirrels, the only wild monkeys in North China, and the sika deer.

The expeditions of 1922, 1923 and 1925 brought together a staff of specialists to work on the theory of the Asiatic dispersal centre.¹⁰⁵ During the first summer it was impossible to get into Mongolia, and the various sections of the expedition worked in China. The Geological Survey of China gave the expedition a locality at Wanhsien in Eastern Szechuan for palaeontological investigation.¹⁰⁶ Scientific work of this nature is difficult because of belief in the “*feng-shui*,” spirits of the earth, wind and water, and because the fossil beds which supply the “dragon bone” medicine are jealously guarded. Walter Granger remained for two winters in a temple in the village of Yenchingkao buying specimens from the Chinese who dug them from limestone pits worked for several generations. His collection consisted of animals from the forest conditions in China during the Pleistocene or Ice Age, and

¹⁰⁵ ANDREWS, ROY CHAPMAN—*On the Trail of Ancient Man*. New York, 1926.

¹⁰⁶ Until Dr. J. G. Andersson began his work with the Chinese Geological Survey, knowledge of palaeontology in China rested almost entirely upon Schlosser who purchased his materials—fragments of bones and teeth—in drug stores. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

included remains of elephants, cowlike animals, deer, tapirs, pigs, rhinoceros and many rodents.

Andrews initiated Clifford Pope into the methods of reptile and fish collecting in China at the Tung Ling, where they got more than a thousand specimens in a week by paying the children three coppers for every specimen brought in. Pope did not go with the expedition to Mongolia, but continued his investigations in Anhwei Province, at the Tung Ting Lake in Hunan, on the island of Hainan, in Shansi, on the border of the Ordos Desert. He has made the largest and most complete collection of reptiles, batrachians and fish that has ever been made in China.

During the summers of 1922 and 1923 the expedition went into Mongolia, where they found the fossil remains of an extinct giant rhinoceros (*Baluchitherium*), the ancestral horned dinosaur (*Protoceratops*), and dinosaur eggs with the delicate fossil embryos. The 1925 expedition discovered evidences of a race from the late Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age, and the fossil skulls of the earliest placental mammal. The trail of primitive man seemed to be leading southward. In the autumn of 1930 the expedition returned to Peking from the Gobi with fossils representing seventy-five different species—the most important collection since 1922.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ China Journal. Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 258. November, 1930.

While this expedition was hunting for early man in the Gobi, the Geological Survey of China was working in a cave at Chou Kou Tien some thirty miles southwest of Peking. There on December 2nd, 1929, Mr. W. C. Pei of the staff of the Cenozoic Laboratory found a fossil skull of "Sinanthropus pekinensis," or the Peking man, the earliest known man. This discovery has attracted the attention of scientists all over the world and was responsible for the visit of Professor G. Elliott Smith of University College, London, who made a report on the discovery and significance of the skull.¹⁰⁸

When the 1911 Revolution turned the eyes of of the world to China the sociological study of China made by Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin was by fortunate coincidence at hand to interpret events.¹⁰⁹ Ross had come to his half year of travel in China with

¹⁰⁸ SMITH, G. ELLIOTT—*The Peking Man*. China Journal, Vol. 13, No. 5. pp. 266-271. November, 1930.

The regulations made by the Chinese government in 1930 concerning scientific expeditions will hamper the work of foreign travellers. Half the specimens secured must be donated to the Chinese government as well as all single specimens of any species. Officials or nominees of the Chinese government shall be allowed to take part in the expeditions, and no surveying instruments may be carried. The work done by the foreign traveller during the last three decades would not have been possible under these conditions.—China Journal, Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 258. November 1930.

¹⁰⁹ ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH—*The Changing Chinese*. London, 1911.

the intellectual equipment gained from a comparative study of societies and with the knowledge of "what naturally follows from isolation, the acute struggle for existence, ancestor worship, patriarchal authority, subjection of women, decline of militancy and the ascendancy of scholars."¹¹⁰ To him China was the European Middle Ages and he saw the renaissance of a quarter of the human family made visible. He believed that normally slow historic movements were telescoped, taking place at amazing speed.

Ross finds the people of China more homogeneous in civilization than in blood. The race mind is of the massive and unswerving type, which has stagnated because possessed by certain fixed but practical beliefs. The Chinese, he writes, have never accepted the principle of efficiency, they do not inquire. The notion of an undistributed public good distinct from private goods has never established itself in the general mind. So the community has been sacrificed to the individual, the public to the local group and posterity to the living. Some examples of this are the complete destruction of forests, with resulting disaster of barren land and violent waterways like China's Sorrow, the Yellow River; the occupation of vast territory by grave mounds; the abstraction of paving blocks for building from

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

the Road of the Golden Ox, for a furlong on each side of the villages; the disregard for public convenience.

The mass poverty, he writes, is due to the crowding of population upon the means of subsistence and the people are condemned to a ceaseless struggle for existence. No natural resource is too trifling to be used: seaweed, kelp, shell fish no bigger than a finger-nail are used for foods; weeds and stalks are used for fuel. The masses live on the edge of subsistence, as evidenced by the use of the copper cash, a coin worth the twentieth of a cent, and by the minute portions peddled for sale. Over population has meant not only privation and drudgery, but a short life span and an enormous child mortality.

The contrasts between the life of North China and that of South China derive not from a difference in the people, but from the demands of the dominant crop.

“The line of cleavage between North China and South China comes where rice culture begins. With rice the water buffalo is the principal farm animal, so there is an end of wheeled vehicles, the narrow, stone-paved road replaces the broad dirt road of North China, the coolie becomes the common carrier.”

Ross believes that the women are China's “greatest undeveloped resource,” and concludes that Christianity has brought inestimable benefits

to them. The upbringing of the girl in the past has been a catering to the male. The forcing of natural feelings and lack of social intercourse has been the cause of numerous suicides, frequent insanity and neurasthenia. Ross estimates that suicide is five to ten times more common among women than among men in China, against three to four times in the West.

“The custom of “crying one’s wrongs” is significant. When a woman simply *cannot stand it* any longer she proclaims her woes to the world. A thousand miles up the Yangtze I saw the wife of a tea-house keeper stand on the bank and yell to the hundreds of grinning sampan people her opinion of the man. Hurrying through a hamlet late at night we came upon a solitary woman ululating her grievances to high heaven. Lights were out and all were asleep, but she stood, lonely and pathetic, in the darkness repeating her cry, and took no notice of us passersby.”¹¹¹

In the early summer of 1910 Ross, with Mr. Arnold, the American consul at Amoy, made a trip from Taiyuanfu twelve hundred miles southwest to Chengtu. The roads over which they passed had been repaired in 1900 when the Empress Dowager fled from Peking. Leaving Sianfu by the road to Fengsiangfu, which was thick with reapers returning to their homes in Kansu, they turned from the old road that leads

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 197.

to Lanchow and Turkestan. For twelve days they went south in sedan chairs over mountain passes to the Road of the Golden Ox, which they followed for forty days, arriving in the Chengtu plain, where more food is coaxed from the soil than in any other spot in the world.

Dudley Buxton came to China in 1922 as an Albert Kahn Travelling Fellow, and in the report of his impressions of his trip, he has written of China as viewed by the ethnologist.¹¹² His interest lay in the geography of the great Northern Uplands, which have developed an inland nation, the strong centre of Empire. The south he calls the home of lost causes and the cradle of new. Economic pressure has led to a continued southward immigration giving the south a great floating population. The mountain valleys and the poor communication in the south have preserved the aboriginal tribes. In the north Buxton found fewer ethnological contrasts. In the south there were wide varieties, and aside from the aboriginal tribes, the differences of type are as wide and fundamental as those which divide the European peoples into three fundamental groups. He studied the peoples of the north on a visit to Kaifeng as X-ray assistant for a surgical unit from the Peking Union Medical College. Buxton, visiting Inner Mongolia from Kalgan, remarks that the

¹¹² BUXTON, L. H. DUDLEY — *The Eastern Road*. London, 1924.

Kalgan Pass and the Great Wall constitute a geographic and climatic divide that he had scarcely thought possible. Here in Inner Mongolia he witnessed what he considers the beginning of a Chinese colonial expansion.

At present there are few accurate observations on the Pekingese, although Peking is a city in which an ethnologist can study the absorption of alien races. To Peking have come, through the centuries, the most learned and ambitious men in China. It has been the great imperial centre, with an ill-balanced proportion of the sexes. The Moslems in Peking, many of whom have been there for centuries, show Turkish, Arabic or Mongol strains. Even now they are sometimes regarded with suspicion and have retained a distinct physical type due to intermarriage within their faith. Eurasian types may also be studied in Peking, and here again one realizes that the Chinese must be considered not one race but many races. Buxton finds the Pekingese tall, with three types of face: the round, the square and the long oval. All of these have qualities in common; especially the yellow or tawny skin, and the Mongolian fold over the inner corner of the eye.

Burton went from Peking in August, by train to Hankow; down the Yangtze to Shanghai; thence to Foochow. From Foochow he went out on mountain trips in search of the Tse-li, a so-called aboriginal tribe, who though linguistically quite

different from the brown skinned hill folk, show no physical differences. From Amoy he went by water to the little town of Tong An, to study the life in a city not touched by the foreign traveller. The journey back to Amoy is thus described:

“In the sampan I could neither stand (for it was not high enough) nor sit (because after a time Chinese methods of sitting are painful to a foreigner). On the launch we managed somehow to pack ourselves, a moist mass of semi-naked humanity. The boy next to me would rest his elbow on my shoulder as I sat on the narrow bench. Umbrellas hung from the roof and dripped on us. What appeared to be the ship’s toothbrush dangled in a prominent position. Rice strainers also hung from the awning and hit anybody who tried to stand up. Poultry in baskets were fastened all round the ship like the shields on a Viking galley. By the intervention of Providence they were not drowned. Still, we arrived at Amoy.”

Ellsworth Huntington travelling in China saw everything with a consciousness of its anthropological and human geographic significance. His weeks in China in 1923 focus attention upon problems of environment and temperament. Huntington first came in contact with the Chinese during his expeditions in Central Asia, 1903-6, when he met with the Chinese officials in Turkestan and was impressed by the active minds of these men.¹¹³

¹¹³ HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH—*The Pulse of Asia*. Boston, 1907.

In 1923 he was particularly concerned with the explanation of the anomalous contrast between the north and the south. He finds that in China the northern and southern parts of the country invert the usual roles.¹¹⁴ Within certain limits in most parts of the world a region in low latitudes is less progressive than a corresponding region in higher latitudes. The reverse of this position in China is seen not only in action, but also in politics, business activity and intellectual enterprise. Neither racial mixture nor foreign contact seems to offer an explanation, but Huntington finds the explanation in the selective influence of famines and economic distress. These forces apparently have selected certain types of people for destruction, preservation or migration, thereby leaving an incompetent residue in many parts and sending competent people to the cities, to Manchuria, South China and other outlying provinces.¹¹⁵

In his journey along the coast of China from Canton to Shanghai and thence north by rail to Peking, Huntington realized that one of the most far-reaching and significant external characteristics was the little use of domestic animals. As one approaches the north domestic animals become more numerous, yet even there they are relatively few. He attributes this not only to the lack of

¹¹⁴ HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH—*The Character of Races*. New York, 1924.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

suitable pasturage, but fundamentally to the fact that more food per (unit) acre can be raised by intensive agriculture than by cattle raising.

Contrasting the people of China and America he concludes:

“The fundamental difference . . . seems to be that in China the proportion of persons who are born with a low degree of innate intelligence is relatively large. Moreover, there seems to be a correspondingly large proportion of people whose innate temperament predisposes them toward thrift, economy, prudence, conservatism and self-centredness. Even among the Chinese of the highest intelligence this temperament prevails more or less. One of the major causes of the high percentage of unintelligent persons and of the wide prevalence of the cautious, conservative temperament seems to be the economic pressure of over population and especially of famine. Constant migrations have sent out wanderers by the tens of millions from the famine centre of North China, and have apparently given to all the land something of the character which is most strongly developed where famines are most severe.”¹¹⁶

A trip to Moscow across Northwestern China destined to become historic was that made by Michael Borodin, Russian adviser, and his party in the late summer of 1927.¹¹⁷ The drift of the

¹¹⁶ HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH—*West of the Pacific*. New York, 1925. p. 222.

¹¹⁷ STRONG, ANNA LOUISE—*China's Millions*. New York, 1928.

Wuhan government into a reactionary dictatorship under the Hunan military clique, necessitated Borodin's departure. He could not go down the Yangtze, for General Chiang Kai Shek was arresting all Russians passing that way. The routes through Peking via Mukden or Kalgan were held by Chang Tso Lin who had Mme. Borodin in jail. The alternative was to circle far to the west, over a route hitherto untravelled, and go through Shensi, Kansu and the deserts of Mongolia to Urga.

The party consisted of Borodin and his private guard of armed soldiers, an escort of two secretaries from the Foreign Office of Wuhan; one of them being Percy Chen, the son of Eugene Chen the Foreign Minister; and two foreign women, Rayna Prohme, correspondent of the Nationalist News Agency, and Anna Louise Strong¹¹⁸ who wrote the account of the trip.

On July 27th five automobiles and five trucks for the journey were loaded on flat cars, and the private train, provided by the Wuhan government, carried them through Hupeh and the plain of Honan to Chengchow, where the party was

¹¹⁸ Anna Louise Strong, an American, came to China for the second time in May 1927 to study the revolt of the organized workers, peasants, students and women in Central China. She describes her life in Hankow, the trip north to Chengchow on the special train with the Military and Political Councils of Hankow to settle the questions of military and political tactics with Feng. In July she went to Changsha, Yungfong and Siangsiang in Hunan, where the peasants revolution had been reddest, and the reaction was most bloody.

entertained by Marshal Feng. The hundred miles from Chengchow to the end of the railroad took four days, so it was not until August 5th that they started on the three thousand kilometre automobile trip. The party was not travelling incognito across hostile country. In Hankow, Borodin had been escorted to the train by members of the Nationalist government; his journey across China was marked by official receptions, banquets and guards of honour.

The trip in automobiles was slow and in many places extremely perilous. The party went through the loess canyons and over the raw countryside, meeting at places with military roads laid out by Feng's soldiers. Passing through the mountains of Shensi they sent ahead several hundred peasants to fill in ruts and level the ridges. The first three days they made thirty-two miles, and when they reached Sianfu after five days they had covered only one hundred and thirty miles. They were pushed over two mountain ridges by coolies, before they reached Pinchow. Their route lay by way of Kinchow Kan to Pingliang, the gateway to Kansu. Here except for a few posters the Revolution seemed scarcely to have entered. At the walled city of Ku-yuan they were welcomed by General Sung Tse Yuan, one of Feng's men who held the pass through the hills of Kansu. Crossing the Yellow River by ferry took twenty-four hours. Their final stop in China,

Ningshia, almost seven hundred miles from the end of the railway, was reached August 24th.

The party spent two weeks in repairing cars and planning the trip over an ancient camel route to Urga, separated from the Kalgan-Urga route by hundreds of miles of desert and mountains. People said that only one car previously had crossed the desert from Ningshia. No one knew the wells, some estimated the time to Urga as six days, others as six weeks. There was a sand mountain to be crossed where the men had to lay strips of matting under the wheels.

Much of the baggage was sent ahead by camel, and the cars carried only the necessities. Careful notes were kept of the route which had been discovered by the Chinese guide. Sometimes the way was so difficult that for an hour or more the four wheels of the cars were not on a level. Sometimes the ground was even and the cars reached a speed of thirty miles an hour. On September 19th the party was welcomed by the revolutionary Red government of Urga, which had rechristened the city with the title Ulan-Bator-Hoto, meaning "City of Red Giants." From Urga to the Trans-Siberian Railroad at the town of Verkhne-Udinsk is six hundred kilometres. Borodin and Chen flew by aeroplane in a few hours and caught the midnight express to Moscow. What a contrast between this journey and those of the early Russian travellers across Siberia!

In marked contrast to the lives of the Revolutionary leaders and the workers among whom Miss Strong lived in the capital of the Wuhan government, is the story of life among diplomatic circles in Peking before and after the Boxer year, as given by Sarah Pike Conger, the wife of the American Minister. Her story of the life in the capital and of her travels through the Empire is given in her diaries and letters home. Thus one finds much spontaneity which would be crowded out of more formal writing.¹¹⁹

She describes the siege of the legations and the opening by the relief expedition of many forbidden places in Peking—such as the Temple of Heaven, the private apartments of the Imperial family. She also describes the elephant stables which seemed so marvellous to Ides years before.

Most unique was the relationship between Mrs. Conger and Manchu and Chinese ladies of rank, the wives of high officials, and Imperial Princesses, when they met with strict formalities laid aside. The reader may imagine inviting eleven court Princesses to tiffin, and finding them accompanied by four hundred and eighty-one servants and a guard of sixty soldiers! Each Princess had her eight eunuchs and several minor officials in attendance the entire time. In 1898 Mrs. Conger was present at the first audience ever

¹¹⁹ CONGER, SARAH PIKE—*Letters from China*. Chicago, 1910.

given by rulers of China to foreign women, when the women were pushed by eunuchs through the palace grounds in a little railway coach. This relationship was resumed in 1902, and from that time dates an increasing friendliness with the Empress Dowager and the court ladies.

Mrs. Conger is feminine in her observations!

“While I am studying the Chinese people, they are studying me with quicker, keener perception than mine. Their almost unerring memory, their quick discernment, and their ready adaptation of “this” and of “that” is a power to them. . . They read your varied expressions of face and tones of voice, and when it is well to understand you they are wise; when it is better to be ignorant they are blank.”¹²⁰

During her years in China, Mrs. Conger took several trips to Southern China, an extended journey up the Yangtze as far as Wuchang, visiting mission schools and colleges, both Chinese and foreign, observing native industries. For many of her opinions she went to the missionaries whom she considered the finest expression of what the West has showed China. It was the missionary ladies in Peking who made possible her friendly intercourse with the Chinese and Manchu ladies in Peking.

To Mrs. Conger we are indebted for some of the first sights into the home life and customs of

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

the high class families, both Manchu and Chinese. Her description of the ancestral hall of Duke Jung and the funeral obsequies of Dowager Princess Su are excellent.

Count Hermann Keyserling started on his journey around the world with the object of finding spiritual renewal from the impact of new stimuli on a mind which had already reached its philosophy of personal perfection.¹²¹ In each country he tried to gain the attitude of soul and mind which gave that country its culture and its development. In China he tried to experience as a Chinese. As he looks back and evaluates the experiences of his journey, he concludes that the soul of a Chinese is most serviceable for rendering an idea concrete; as is that of the American for purposes of objective scientific recognition, that of the Japanese for the aesthetic understanding of nature, and so on.

Keyserling, who came to China just after the Revolution of 1911, arrived with more experience and preparation for his self-imposed task of interpretation than his thirty-two years would seem to warrant. The cosmopolitan European is perfectly exemplified in this Esthonian, educated in Russia, Germany and Vienna, who has lived in Paris among a group of friends, and has kept contact with the outstanding personalities of

¹²¹ KEYSERLING, COUNT HERMANN—*The Travel Diary of a Philosopher*. 2 vols. New York, 1925.

Europe while still farming his ancestral estates. His work as a philosopher was not given wide recognition until 1920 when he opened the School of Wisdom in Darmstadt. His *Travel Diary* shows a man in the quest of self expression, his philosophy a philosophy of personal perfection. The reaction of China upon this inquiring mind constitutes a unique series of traveller's observations.

Always he is seeking to get at the spirit and soul of China. Feeling and flavour count for most. At Hongkong he writes,

“I feel this evening as I look from the Peak upon the expanse of the Chinese Sea as if new forces had been born in me: I perceive delicacies and shades in colour and form which I missed altogether a few days ago. . . I see it already: in China I will have to transform myself into a man of vision; here all appearance seethes with significance. There looms, before my mind's eye, a synthesis of essence and semblance such as I have never met with before.”¹²²

Describing Canton, the city which has been the traveller's introduction to China through many centuries, he cannot refrain from metaphysical reflections:

“In Canton the external side of life is so overwhelming and so importunate that it seems physically impossible to see through it. The official life, as such, is wholly uninteresting, because its forms are

¹²² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 21.

the expression, not of the soul, but of the objective necessities and conveniences of collective life, and thus hardly vary in significance, not only from people to people, but even as between men and animals. Much has been written concerning the strangeness of Chinese institutions: I find them only too similar to European ones; no matter how different they may be *de facto*, they differ hardly at all in meaning. In this vast commercial city, famous for its singularity, I am hardly aware that I am in strange surroundings. What might a Chinese metaphysician learn, conversely, in Berlin or Frankfort? Little would he feel of the spirit, which, of course, is a different one there from here, in the turmoil of the town. He would notice less assiduity and work, and very much more restlessness, and he would probably reach the conclusion that we Europeans are people of a precisely similar kind, only on a lower level of culture."¹²³

Palace life in any country is an absorbing subject. Even before the modern pitiless publicity for royalty, Marco Polo told of events within the palace walls in Peking. Members of various missions to China have been lodged within the palace precincts, but no account of the life of Chinese royalty is more vivid than that of Katharine Carl, the American portrait painter who lived in intimate touch with the Court from the fall of 1903 through the spring of 1904, while she was painting the portrait of the Empress Dowager to be sent to the

¹²³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 26.

St. Louis Exposition.¹²⁴ During this time the court moved from the Summer Palace, sixteen miles from Peking among the Western Hills, to the Winter Palace, inside the Tartar City, and then after the New Year celebrations, to the Sea Palace, where the Autumnal Sacrifices were performed. The first of April found them back again at the Summer Palace, the favourite home of Tzu Hsi. Miss Carl accompanied the Court on its journey from one place to another, and her opportunity to observe the customs, religious rites and ceremonies of the palace was the more effective by her artist's eye, her real pleasure in the life she was living, and her enormous admiration for the Old Buddha. This admiration for the Empress Dowager colours her judgments of this remarkable woman to such an extent that her book becomes an apology for her. That however does not take away from the absorbing interest of the narrative, which describes the celebration of the Emperor Kuang Hsü's birthday, and the more grand celebration of Tzu Hsi's sixty-ninth birthday.

Celebrations and festivals inside the court circle were open to Miss Carl, who describes the royal observance of the sacrifices to Confucius and of the Mid-Autumn Festival. The amusements of the court seemed bound up with ceremony and custom. A boat ride on the lake meant being

¹²⁴ CARL, KATHARINE A.—*With the Empress Dowager*. New York, 1905.

towed in barges, while an army of eunuchs carried along all the paraphernalia for making tea. In winter they were pushed over the ice in sleds. In April all the Court flew kites. The sketches which Miss Carl has made bring these events and surroundings vividly to the reader.

Years of research lie ahead of the art student, the historian, the student of comparative religion and the sinologue, in the treasures which are to be found along the Long Old Road in China, by Sian, to the great Northwest and out into the desert.

“Holy men from India crossing the Roof of the World, the terrible Salt Desert, archaeologists with tapes and transits, Mongol hordes, embassies of Emperors, emeralds from India and stuffs from Cathay, horse dealers, beggars—the splendour, squalor, suffering and accomplishment of travel older than history”—

all have left their record.

“Before history the road had been in use, but no man can say how long ago. And if the potsherds lately found along its track and the jade axe dug in Troy do not mislead us, men traded here with Western peoples when Minos reigned in Cnossus and Priam’s City was yet unborn.”¹²⁵

Where the road branches off into the desert lands of the west are buried cities, among them

¹²⁵ WARNER, LANGDON—*The Long Old Road in China*. New York, 1926. p. 2.

Edzina, ancient Karakorum, where Aurel Stein and Kozloff have excavated. Along this route too lay the great medieval library discovered in the rock chapels at the Tung Huang caves in Kansu, in 1908 by Pelliot. This library consisted of Chinese, Tibetan, Sanscrit, Uighur manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries, among them a *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, which is second in importance only to the great Nestorian Monument at Sianfu, and four other Christian documents.¹²⁶

It was to the Black City of Marco Polo and the rock chapels of Tung Huang that Langdon Warner and his companion Jayne followed the Long Old Road westward in 1923. Warner was hunting specimens for the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University.

They examined the cave chapels of Swei Lien Tung outside Pinchow, first reported by Rockhill, and then went on to Kansu, where they found near Chingchow an unreported cave chapel with Buddhist carvings of the sixth century—the only one known between Tung Huang, two months to the west, and Honanfu, three weeks to the east. From Suchow they went northeast to Edzina for a time along a loop of the earliest wall, which was made up of bundles of branches

¹²⁶ PELLIOT—*Une Bibliothèque Médiévale Retrouvée au Kan-Sou—En La Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*. Annales de la Société de Géographie Commerciale. Hanoi, 1909. MOULE, A. C.—*Christians in China Before the Year 1550*. London, 1930. p. 57ff.

lashed to wooden stakes and covered over by earth. Riding away from Edzina, Jayne froze his feet and was unable to continue the journey to Tung Huang.

At Anhsi the trail to the Tung Huang oasis branched southwest from the modern trade route to Sinkiang. At Tung Huang the chapels of the thousand Buddhas came in sight on the cliff-face, above a little stream. From a distance they were merely a series of rows of holes in the cliff above a feather line of delicate poplars.

“Hardly in the ten days, during which I never left the caves except for food, could I bring myself to the task of critical study. For the holy men of fourteen centuries ago had left their gods in splendour on those walls. Tens of thousands of them, walking in slow procession, seated calm on flowering lotus blossoms, with hands raised to bless mankind, or wrapt in meditation or sunk in thoughtless Nirvana.”¹²⁷

This trip was to have been but the opening of a great study of the caves, but the expedition of 1925 was turned back by the internal disturbances. Since then no further work has been done. Meanwhile the Mongols who come to pray to the modern clay figures pick idly at the scaling paint of the sixth century frescoes.

In 1922 Osvald Sirén studied the architectural features of the cities of North China, and

¹²⁷ WARNER, p. 138.

particularly of Peking, where the beauty of the city gates and walls, and their importance as keys to Chinese history especially occupied him.¹²⁸

He says:

“The Chinese city is pre-eminently an extensive mass of low houses and walls more or less hid under the large curved roofs. . . . With all its apparent monotony and uniformity, an old Chinese city may be quite an intricate place, full of surprises, such as bits of old buildings or other half-ruined monuments tucked away in dirty alleys.”

In many of the old cities the principal street views are dominated by the bell-tower, a monumental building which always occupies the dominant position in the city.

“I have turned to colour printing as the most effective means of conveying to the West all that I have seen, felt and recorded as an artist,” said Elizabeth Keith when writing of her experiences in the East.¹²⁹ And her colour prints made from wood blocks cut in the traditional Japanese manner give a story of the beauty of China which few people could put in words. An artist must find the one inescapable contact between her subject and herself. Coming into China not once, but many times, Elizabeth Keith was crowded with the impression of colour.

¹²⁸ SIREN, OSVALD—*The Walls and Gates of Peking*. New York.

¹²⁹ KEITH, ELIZABETH—*Eastern Windows*. London.

“I could not at first understand what it was I found so disturbing in Peking. I had been prepared for age and beauty and grandeur, but I had not dreamt of such colour. . . My emotions and impressions are as ecstatic as my efforts to put them on paper are mortifying. How can I hope, in the fleeting weeks before me, to catch what I see, even of the carved shop-fronts with their fascinating floating banners, or of the pailos with their departing remnants of colour, or of the temples with their faded orange walls? Such colour! The greatness of the architecture in line and mass is enhanced tenfold because of the amazing colour effects.

“The days have been bitterly cold, bright, sunshiny, and dry. Every building stands out clearly in the light; gateways touched with bright green, red, and blue, and the outer wall grey; or temples with bright yellow tiles and walls of red orange.

“It is not only the beauty of ancient China that is disturbing. It is my longing to express what I feel about that beauty.”¹³⁰

Although stirring national events touched the author as a traveller and nerved her as an artist, her chief concern was to paint, always against time—types and scenes in a life that seemed to be changing even while she worked. Impressionistic bits from her letters which accompany her paintings are as colourful as her brush. Peking, which included a fortnight of sketching in the court of the Lama temple, Hongkong, Canton, Shanghai—all the Mecca of travellers—are seen

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

afresh with her artist eye. Everywhere the colour is of significance to her. She did not need the warning of the Chinese lady to tell something of Soochow besides the beggars and the boat people. From the time of Marco Polo travellers have been writing of Soochow, but few brief paragraphs can tell more than her description of the shops, the streets at night, the silk filatures:

“In the tea-shops every dish and tin has a lovely form. There are large attractive-looking jars and chests that suggest all kinds of treasures. The silver shops and the pewter stores are even better. Here there are metal candelabra and every kind of hanging lantern, vases for temples, cups and plates and forks and spoons of designs that never grow monotonous. The shop that sells actors’ clothes is alone worth coming to Soochow to see.

“It is amusing at the poulterers’ shops to see rows of ducks and nothing but ducks, all glazed and browned, hanging by the heads.

“Most attractive of all are the painted silk banners, that float at the doorway of every shop and store. The gorgeous golden characters on the banners are lovely in the sunshine.”¹³¹

Despite the brilliant pictures made by words, one must turn to Elizabeth Keith’s colour prints truly to see China through her eyes.

Le Roy Baldrige first came to China in 1919 and five years later he came back with his wife, Caroline Singer. The imprint of the East on two

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 59.

different personalities resulted in a volume of sketches by the husband and short essays by the wife. The impressions rendered by words and crayon complement each other and show that no two pairs of eyes can see alike in the East.¹³²

Like Elizabeth Keith, Caroline Singer at first found the colour of Peking "too vivid, motion in too unfamiliar a rhythm, mass too imposing, the content of life too alien for translation into terms intelligible to the Western mind."

Baldrige has caught in his simple sketches the character of the Chinese in a very remarkable way. Much more interesting than the vivid pastels of the Walls of Peking, the Canals of Soochow or the Streets of Nanking, are his intimate, conversational little crayon sketches of the people. There are the figures from the Temple Fair at Peking—the urchins in the wandering troupe of child actors, the spellbinding story teller, the maker of dough figures. Itinerant merchants, children, blind minstrels, "singers in the dark neither pitiful nor beggarly," and the servants, "devoted indispensables who make the foreigners' residence endurable on all occasions and whose inexplicable perfidies furnish endless anecdotes at tea, cocktail party, and dinner." Words cannot portray these as do the lines of Baldrige.

Lucille Douglas has etched the hurry of the

¹³² SINGER, CAROLINE, AND C. LE ROY BALDRIDGE—*Turn to the East*. New York, 1926.

Soochow waterway as well as the brooding peace of Kuling heights to interpret China to her public.

Eunice Tietjens, the poet, has made no attempt to give opinions—she has translated her impressions into the vividness and the restraint of verse. Her word pictures fill a slim book of two scores of poems, the essence of a winter spent in Wusih and travels to the North and South.¹³³

From Wusih she gives her picture of the Dandy:

He swaggers in green silk and his two coats are lined
with fur. Above his velvet shoes his trim, bound
ankles twinkle pleasantly.

His nails are of the longest.

Quite the glass of fashion is Mr. Chu!

In one slim hand—the ultimate punctilio—dangles a
bamboo cage, wherein a small brown bird sits
with a face of perpetual surprise.

Mr. Chu smiles the benevolent smile of one who
satisfies both fashion and a tender heart.

Does not a bird need an airing?¹³⁴

The conflict of the old in China as represented in that poem, with the new spirit, is the problem which has touched so many thoughtful travellers in China. Eunice Tietjens sees the “troubled uncertainty of the returned student.” In the Hanyang Iron Works she finds “to-morrow set in

¹³³ TIETJENS, EUNICE—*Profiles from China*. New York, 1919.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, “The Dandy” p. 40.

yesterday, the west embedded in the east, a graft but not a growth."

"Conditions," you explain as we sit later with a cup of tea, "conditions here are difficult."

Your figure has grown lax, your voice a little weary.

You are fighting, I can see, upheld by that strong graft of western energy.

Yet odds are heavy, and the Orient is in your blood.

Your voice is weary.

"There are no skilled laborers," you say, "Among the owners no cooperation.

It is like—like working in a nightmare, here in China."¹³⁵

An Arab proverb said, "Wisdom in her time has alighted on three things—the brain of the Frank, the tongue of the Arab, and the hand of the Chinese." The hand of the Chinese has been for generations the symbol of exquisite craftsmanship. Eunice Tietjens—and many other travellers to the Orient have shared her experience—reads in it another meaning, a mystery which she cannot completely fathom.

"As you sit so, in the firelight, your hand is the colour of new bronze.

I cannot take my eye from your hand;

In it as in a microcosm, the vast and shadowy Orient is made visible.

Who shall read me your hand?"¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Ibid., "The Iron Works," pp. 41-2.

¹³⁶ Ibid., "The Hand," Proem.

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