

**A Study of Wang Tao's (1828-1897) *Manyou suilu* and
Fusang youji with Reference to Late Qing Chinese
Foreign Travels**

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Declaration

I hereby affirm that all work in this thesis, unless otherwise acknowledged, is my own work and has been composed by me solely. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. A Chinese version of the analysis of Wang Tao's travelogues and short stories in Chapter 4 was published in *Chongdu jingdian: Zhongguo Chuantong xiaoshou yu xiqu de duochong doushi* 重讀經典——中國傳統小說與戲曲的多重透視 (Rereading the classics: Various Perspectives in Research in Traditional Chinese Fiction and Drama) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 433-454. Also, an earlier version of Chapter 6 was published in *Journal of Chinese Studies* 49 (2009), pp. 277-302. The above publications have been approved by my supervisors.

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Abstract

Traditionally, Chinese regarded China as the centre of the world, displaying little interest in foreign lands. Before the 1840s, although there were records of a few brave pilgrims traveling to huge distances, Chinese travel literature was dominated by essays and diaries written about the natural scenery of China. In the late Qing, a period of transformation during which Chinese society was challenged by the West and later Japan, Chinese intellectuals, realizing China's weakness, traveled to these countries in search of remedies for the state. The resulted burgeoning travel literature contains not only firsthand information of the West and Japan at the time, but also details about individual responses to the foreign lands they visited. Despite the relatively small amount of research done on these writings, they are, indeed, the most significant archival materials for the study of the early perceptions of the Chinese of the West in the modern period.

Among these travelers, Wang Tao (1828-1897) is certainly worthy of discussion. Apart from being a reform pioneer, Wang Tao was also being pioneering to be the first intellectual to travel to Europe and Japan. His two travelogues, *Manyou suilu* and *Fusang youji*, however, have only been used as references in biographical research, neglecting the fact that they consist of not only unprecedented journeys of a Chinese intellectual, but also Wang's constant evaluations of home politics, of which he carefully laid out in the form of travelogue. This dissertation aims to explore the two travelogues, and is particularly concerned of their relationship with the historic context, the author's motives of writing and other foreign travel writings of the time. The two travelogues stand out both in subject matters and the subtle ways Wang (re)constructed Europe and Japan. They can be seen as a manifesto of Wang's views on himself, China and the world. While many travelogues of the same period were written in a data or analysis-based style, Wang Tao embodied his observations abroad, his criticism and vision of the future China, his personalities, assumptions and expectations and the spirit of his time with a highly refined language in the two accounts, and had made them intriguing works of literature.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Prologue

With China's current integration into and its increasing influence on the international political and economic stage, discussion of the notion of globalization in the context of China has aroused much attention in the field of social science. Scholars have examined how the traditional Chinese worldview is relevant to the present day, and how China's integration into the modern world can be traced back to at least the nineteenth century. Early in the 1960s, John King Fairbank, for instance, stated that China's traditional foreign policy, namely, the tributary system, "has some indeterminate relevance to the world's China problem of today." Thereafter, many research works have focused on the Chinese worldview and its perceptions of its place and others' place in the world.¹ Recently, scholars have also started considering how the essence of traditional Chinese worldview could contribute to world politics today. The idea of *tianxia* 天下 (all under Heaven) has become a heated topic of discussion in researching an alternative political system to its Western counterparts.² In fact, this debate started in the mid-nineteenth century when Chinese

¹ John King Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Mass, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 1. Other important works include Mark Mancall's *China at the Centre: 300 Years of Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1984), Zhang Yongjin, "China's Entry into International Society: Beyond the Standard of 'Civilization'", *Review of International Studies*, 17.1 (1991), pp. 1-17, and Wang Gungwu, "China and the International Order: Some Historical Perspectives", in Wang Gunwu and Zheng Yongnian eds., *China and the New International Order* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 21-31.

² Zhao Tingyang, *Tianxia tixi: Shijie zhidu zhexue daolun* 天下體系：世界制度哲學導論 (The Tianxia System: An Introduction to A Philosophy of the World Institution) (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), see also Zhao's "Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven'", in *Social Identities*, 12.1 (2006), pp. 29-41, and Chih-yu Shih "Epistemological Perspectives on the Rise of China: System, Civilization, Asia and Tianxia" (a keynote speech presented at The China Postgraduate Conference 2009, 23rd April, 2009).

intellectuals, awakened by the bombardment of Western encroachment, set out to look at China from a global perspective. Their objective to establish China as a power capable of standing on equal footing with others triggered off the modernization of China after the mid-nineteenth century. This on-going process of modernization, in turn, continuously impels China into the international world.

Much research has been devoted to late Qing China, on its reforms, internal upheavals, conflicts with foreign powers, and the 1911 revolution. This dissertation will add to the existing research by investigating the foreign travel experiences of late Qing intellectuals, revealing how they searched for the road of modernization and globalization of China when the country first encountered the modern world. Among them, Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897) is considered to be one of the most outstanding: his contacts with foreigners (both Europeans and Japanese), his erudition in international affairs and his outstanding literary skills make his travelogues neither a report of plain and dry descriptions of foreign countries, nor merely a proposal for reform policies which characterizes many of the foreign travelogues of the time. His travel accounts are refined literary works that are a pleasure to read.

Although this research is essentially about the two travel accounts written by Wang Tao, namely, *Manyou suilu* 漫遊隨錄 (Jottings of My Roamings) and *Fusang youji* 扶桑遊記 (A Travel to Japan), in order to give a dense description, it is necessary to explain the general development of foreign travel writings at that time, a background from which Wang's travels emerged.

Although it may appear Eurocentric to regard 1840, as the start of Chinese contact with the outside world, that year was undoubtedly a pivotal year in China's modern history. It marks the beginning an era of challenge and response, through which China evolved to that way it is like today.³ When reviewing the history of

³ This is one perspective of looking at the development of Chinese history from 1840 onwards. John King Fairbank regarded the challenges from the West as the most important factor in the

foreign contact of China, Wang Gungwu states that

There had been at least a thousand years of (such) overseas contacts earlier on, but the number of Chinese involved was small.....they rarely ventured beyond the littoral ports of Southeast Asia.The Ming rulers from the 14th century onwards reaffirmed that China's destiny should remain continental in orientation.⁴

To that, I will also add that it was how the Chinese looked at themselves and foreign people that had limited the possibilities of, particularly, intellectual interactions overseas. After the Opium War, however, the Qing court had proved incapable of closing China's door. While challenges arose firstly from the West and subsequently from Japan, a state which had been great influenced by China throughout its history, Chinese intellectuals responded to the challenge in many different ways, one of which was traveling to these strong powers in search of a discovery of the origins of their strength. Although there is detailed research on overseas Chinese students like Rong Hong 容闈 (1828-1912) and those studying in Japan who became important figures in the 1911 revolution,⁵ relatively less work has been done on Chinese foreign travelogues of the same period. These travel accounts contain a lot of details about individual responses to the West, especially the conflicts between ideas on

modernization of China. This is known as the challenge and response theory. For more information, see *China: Tradition and Transformation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1989), and *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁴ Wang Gungwu, "Foreword", in *The Chinese Overseas*, ed. Hong Liu (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1-2.

⁵ For research into of Rong Hong, see Qian Gang and Hu Jingcao, *Liu Mei youtong: Zhongguo zuizao de guanpai liuxuesheng 留美幼童：中國最早的官派留學生* (Students to the United States: The Earliest Officially Sponsored Chinese Students Overseas) (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2004). For a biography of Rong Hong, see Zhang Hailin, *Rong Hong pingzhuan 容闈評傳* (A Critical Biography of Rong Hong) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1998). Concerning overseas studies in Japan, by the turn of twentieth century the most significant and popular destination for Chinese overseas students was Japan, the number increasing from 400 in 1902 to 9000 in 1906. See P. Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers 1895-1905* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 2.

politics, economics and culture. Most travellers, who were hoping to find a way to strengthen China, wavered between the culture of home and those of other countries: a paradigm shift took place in their minds. Some, after comparing Europe and China, advocated not only practical reform measures, but also an idea of *Datong* 大同 (the great unity), suggesting how China could interact with, and eventually become part of, the modern world. These travellers were among the first “responses” to the “challenge”. Zhong Shuhe pointed out that before 1840 there were only three accounts about the West; one of them not written in Chinese, the other two written by merchants, recording only basic travel information which had not cast important influence among the Chinese intellectual circles.⁶ From the above, it is clear that 1840 is a convenient start for the discussion of Chinese foreign travel writings.

Besides containing significant material for the study of the early perceptions of the Chinese of the West, these works are also a unique branch of Chinese travel writings.⁷ There have been few theoretical studies of Chinese travel, both in the West and in China. In Chinese academia, in recent years, Gong Pengcheng’s *You de Jingshen wenhua shi* 遊的精神文化史 (A Cultural and Philosophical History of Travel) and Kwok Siu Tong’s 旅遊：跨文化想像 *Lüyou: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*

⁶ Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi* 走向世界：近代知識分子考察西方的歷史 (Going Towards the World: A History of late Qing Intellectuals’ Investigation of the West) (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1985), pp. 35-49.

⁷ Scholars like Chen Pingyuan, Charles A. Laughlin, Feng Guangliang, Liu Zengren, Xu Pengxu, and Liu Boqi all point out the late Qing foreign travel writings are of great importance in analyzing Chinese travel writings and travel theories. In Chen Pingyuan, *Cong Beida dao Taidao: Wen Qing wenxue jiaoshi* 從北大到台大：晚清文學教室 (Five Lectures on Late Qing Literature: From Peking University to National Taiwan University) (Taipei: Ray Field Publication, 2004), pp. 72-75, 87-88. Charles Laughlin, *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 37-74. Feng Guangliang, Liu Zengren and Xu Pengxu, *Zhongguo jin bainian wenxue tishi liubian shi* 中國近百年文學體式流變史 (A History of the Development of Genres in the Last 100 Years in China) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), pp.17, 282-290. Li Boqi, *Zhongguo gudai jiyou wenxue shi* 中國古代紀游文學史 (A Brief History of Ancient Chinese Travel Literature) (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 1989), p. 5.

(Travel: A Cross-Cultural Imagination) are the two most important works, establishing contour lines on theories and traditions of Chinese travel and travel writings. Gong built his major argument on challenging a long established impression: Chinese society was static and the Chinese people were confined to their homelands. He pointed out that instead of being a group of farmers who were attached to their lands, Chinese people had often been travellers, voluntarily and involuntarily. Therefore, *you* (travel) has been one of the indispensable facets of Chinese culture.⁸ He then further analyzed how the Chinese people traveled and what they thought about travel. He set out three models of Chinese traveling which developed during the Warring States Period: first, traveling for freedom as found in the writings of Zhuangzi 莊子, traveling to search and realize one's ideal world as found with Confucius and finally, traveling for self-uplifting as seen in the case of Qu Yuan 屈原.⁹ These traditions became the recurring themes in later travel literature throughout history. Concerning the travel literature in the Qing dynasty, while most writing about travels within China demonstrated similar characteristics as their predecessors, the intellectuals foreign travel writings showed a new trend of travelling for enlightenment and salvation of the nation. The model of Zhuangzi's carefree traveling subsided and the model of Confucius' travels dominated. Most of the Qing travellers had a statecraft agenda in mind and felt that it was their responsibility to compare, contrast and make suggestions.

Kwok Siu Tong approached Chinese traveling by comparing and contrasting Western and Chinese ideas of travel. He developed three notions of travels in China: *lüyou* 旅遊 (tourism), *xingyou* 行遊 (trudge, Kwok's translation) and *shenyou* 神遊 (spiritual journey) and emphasized that there was no clear cut distinction between

⁸ Gong Pengcheng, *You de jingshen wenhua shilun* 遊的精神文化史論 (A Discussion of the Spiritual and Cultural History of Travel) (Shijia zhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001) (Shijia zhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 1-14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 55 and 60.

the three.¹⁰ *Lüyou* and *xingyou* are more relevant to the discussion whereas *shenyou* refers to imaginary journeys. The complexity of the meaning of *xingyou* is revealed in Kwok's attempt to translate it into English.¹¹ What he meant by *xingyou* was in contrast with tourism (*lüyou*) which is primarily for pleasure and entertainment. While tourism, in its modern sense, is opposite to work,¹² *xingyou* contains both elements. With no equivalence of the notion found in modern Western works, Kwok turned to early Chinese works, and quoted Naquin and Yu to suggest that the *xingyou* tradition first started from Confucius who traveled around to learn, to teach, to promote his ideas.

Kwok's discussion of *xingyou* and *lüyou* reveals the complexity meanings of *you* can convey. Naquin and Yu's tracing back to Confucius as the model of travel for Chinese intellectuals also helps to conceptualize what *you* really means to intellectuals: that it was never just for pleasure. This clarifies some of the problems when researching Chinese travel narrative in pre-modern times. For example, when Stephen Bokenkamp reviewed James Hargett's book on Fan Chengda, he questioned whether Fan Chengda's records could be suitably called *youji* since they were official records of Fan's missions.¹³ Researching late Qing foreign travel writings lead to the same problem, as some of them are records written by envoys going to the West and Japan. By adopting the idea of *xingyou* which could be linked to the traditions of Chinese intellectuals, the meaning of *you* is much enriched and broadened. In fact, the idea that *you* is entertainment and purely for pleasure is a modern concept when scholars discuss tourism. This is not entirely true in the Chinese tradition. Gong Pencheng, for example, criticized the lack of historical perspectives in works which

¹⁰ Ibid., "Foreword", pp. 2-3

¹¹ Ibid. He translated the term into "trudge" but was unsatisfied with it.

¹² John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1992), pp. 1-3.

¹³ Stephen R. Bokenkamp, Review of *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)* by James Hargett, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 111. 3 (1991), p. 620.

only adopt Western ideas of tourism when discussing travel writings.¹⁴

Xingyou involves a longer time which enables the traveller to get a broader and deeper contact with the place to which he travels.¹⁵ Because of the greater amount of time spent in the place being visited, he has more time to get a better understanding of the culture of the other, which allows his feelings to go beyond novelty-hunting. A *xingyou* traveller observes and hence, reflects on his impression and understanding of “the other” and oneself. These were exactly what the late Qing travellers experienced consciously or unconsciously when they went overseas.

Xingyou of the late Qing travellers abroad also shared certain elements of the pilgrimage tradition from medieval Europe, when for pilgrims, one and only purpose for travel was to go to the Holy Land.¹⁶ Therefore, the resulting travel literature was mostly concerned only with departure, the way to the Holy Land and what happened in there. Everything that happened during the pilgrimage was worth noticing and thus recording. Once the pilgrimage was over, everything that happened thereafter was insignificant. Therefore, pilgrimage literature seldom mentioned the trip home. The late Qing foreign travelogues have a similar characteristic. In most cases, travellers concentrated on the journey to and at the destination, stopping, or at best, briefly mentioning the return journey. Like the pilgrims, every detail in the place they visited was important and they noted down as much information as possible, and even sought explanations. Some of them understood the significance of the journey just like the pilgrims felt their journey was the most important thing in their life. These travellers also “knew”, although mostly half understood, the countries they visited just like the pilgrims “knew” the Holy Land through texts. Most of them were not ignorant of the places they were going to travel. It is a “returning” to a place they never visited in the flesh. Presuppositions to the West and Japan shaped their

¹⁴ Gong Pencheng, “Xuyan”序言 (Preface), in Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüyou: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, p. 3.

¹⁵ Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüyou: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶ Christian Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth Century England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1976), p. 4.

attitudes. The major difference with pilgrims, however, is that the late Qing travellers would question and challenge their experiences both at home and abroad. It is often expected that the travellers would criticize the situation in China when comparing with the West or Japan, however, they were also critical of what they saw overseas. After the dazzling first impression, they were often skeptical about what was really adaptable and suitable for China. They observed, argued and analyzed, and eventually came up with suggestions or conclusions of some sort. In short, they did not see the West and Japan as a sacred place unlike the pilgrims see Israel.

Xingyou in the context of the late Qing foreign travel writings can also be understood as a metaphor of thought, providing inspirational ideas which was in fact what the late Qing travelling aimed to achieve. Georges Van Den Abbeele pointed out that,

When one thinks of travel, one most often thinks of the interest and excitement that comes from seeing exotic places and cultures. Likewise, the application of the metaphor of travel to thought conjures up the image of an innovative mind that explores new ways of looking at things or which moving beyond a given set of preconceptions or values also undermines those assumptions. Indeed, to call an existing order (whether epistemological, aesthetic, or political) into question by placing oneself “outside” that order, by taking a “critical distance” from it, is implicitly to invoke the metaphor of thought as travel.¹⁷

His focus is on how the metaphor of travel is understood in early modern French philosophy, but the idea can also be borrowed when analyzing travel and travel writings—how, by keeping a “critical distance” from home, can travel stimulate one’s innovations and how these innovations are expressed in writings? During the late Qing, facing the declining nation, travellers invariably felt responsible for the enlightenment and salvation of the whole nation. They traveled to discover and

¹⁷ Georges Van Den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor: from Montaigne to Rousseau*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), p. 1.

understand new technologies, new systems and ultimately new ways of thinking. As for Wang Tao, the metaphor of travel as a new perspective and horizon can be applied to not only his foreign travel writings, but also his life of being a constant traveller. He was transformed by his journeys and the metaphor of travel is a metaphor of his life voyage.

Another prominent theory of travel developed in the West is the idea of the gaze. This theory distinguishes some unique features of the tourist gaze, for example, romantic and collective, historic and modern. John Urry pointed out that the tourist gaze was shaped by certain assumptions, coming from media, daydreaming, fantasies, etc.,

The gaze is constructed through signs and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is timeless romantic Paris. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the “real olde England”.....the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself..... the tourists are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs.¹⁸

What were the assumptions made by Chinese about countries they had traditionally looked down upon but of which they actually had just vague ideas? How did those assumptions affect their gaze? To investigate further those assumptions or how those assumptions developed, Urry said that the tourist gaze is closely related to “non-tourist related social practices”, therefore, emphasizing the importance of the circumstances of societies which directly result in the content and the ways of the gaze. Indeed, Michael Harbsmeier also pointed out that

Travel accounts are clearly socially obligatory performances. Moreover, the description of ‘other places’ in most of such texts are clearly so much concerned with fundamental norms, values and orientations applying at

¹⁸ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, p. 3.

home through strategies of reversal, contrast and comparison.....¹⁹

While social context can be understood through travel writings, the reverse is also true. Only by thoroughly examining the context of “norms, values and orientations” can one decipher the real meanings the travellers intended to reveal. Concerning late Qing foreign travel accounts, I am particularly concerned with how the idea of *huayi zhibian* 華夷之辨 (distinguishing between Chinese and foreigners / barbarians) and the rise of statecraft scholarship shaped the minds of intellectuals, and how those ideas were questioned and developed during their journeys abroad.

Another theoretical concern alongside with the idea of gazing is the discourse of colonialism (and anti-colonialism). Mary Louise Pratt’s classic study examined European travel writings of the eighteenth century when the Europeans started to reach out to the world and found themselves much more “advanced” than the natives. Pratt argued that it was the travels that made the Europeans develop the sense of superiority again and again, and through travels, they were able to prove to themselves and their readers at home that they were superior. Even travelogues written by scientists, which were thought to be objective, were disguised in an objective appearance but in fact, treated the countries being traveled from a superior perspective. Pratt noted that those travelogues which appeared to be “anti-conquest” were in fact full of the discourse of colonialism: power over the native.²⁰ Albeit having a very different cultural and political background, the discourse of colonialism and imperialism can also be found in Chinese travel writings. Emma Teng, for example, has examined the early and mid-Qing travelogues to Taiwan. Focusing on how late Ming and Qing Chinese travellers saw the natives of Taiwan, Teng noted an imperialistic discourse functioning in making Taiwan part of the Qing dynasty both politically and culturally.²¹ Her work serves as an example of the

¹⁹ Michael Harbsmeier, “On Travel Accounts and Cosmological Strategies: Model in Comparative Xenology”, in *Ethnos* 1 (1985), pp. 273-312, here p. 282.

²⁰ Mary Louise Pratt: *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

²¹ Emma Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures*,

attitude of Chinese officials and intellectuals towards the “other” (native Taiwanese) and how this gave rise to an imperialistic discourse. These perceptions had not totally disappeared in the late Qing foreign travelogues despite drastic social, political and even cosmological changes.²²

Although the above theories and concepts were not originally tailored for Chinese travel writings and the late Qing situation, they can be useful in the analysis. In the course of the discussion, I will also borrow other travel theories, such as the “translation” theory when looking at how the unfamiliar was conveyed to readers in familiar terms and images. Anthropological theories, such as Occidentalism, are relevant in the discussion of how Chinese people saw the West. As these ideas are complex and can be understood differently in different contexts, in order to serve the purpose of my research, my strategy is to refer only to the relevant parts of them.

1.2 Literature Review

Whether modern or pre-modern, only a few Chinese travel writings have been studied in great detail by Western scholars. When James Hargett wrote about Chinese travel literature for the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, published in 1985, he pointed out that research of Chinese travel literature was marginalized if not ignored.²³ Kwok Siu Tong considered that this observation is still true even after two decades.²⁴

Hargett’s book on Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193), is one of the first Western works to analyse of the tradition of Chinese travel writings. The book promised to

1683-1895 (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).

²² I use Feuchtwang’s idea of cosmology which can be understood as “a way of acting, thinking and creating world, including distinctive ways of being and thinking what is human, of organising space and calibrating time.” See Stephan Feuchtwang, “Between Civilizations: One Side of A Dialogue”, in *Social Identities* 12.1 (2006): 79-94, here 85.

²³ James Hargett, “Youji wenxue” 遊記文學 (Travel Literature), in *The Indiana Companion to Chinese Traditional Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Pres, 1985-1988), p. 938.

²⁴ Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüyou: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, p. 36.

trace the traditions of Chinese travel diary, and it did more than that. Hargett started his discussion by looking at the harbingers of Chinese travel literature, outlining distinctive features and the development of travel writings. Hargett defined travel literature in three criteria: descriptions of a journey, objective descriptions and subjective personal feelings.²⁵ Based on these three elements, he focused on how Fan Chengda, an important writer of the Song dynasty, wrote about his travels and how his travel diaries significantly affected the later development of travel writings. The book also provided valuable information on the general picture of the Southern Song dynasty from the eyes of Fan when he was on the road. Although, the title of the book is “on the road”, Hargett noted that Fan made a lot of amendments of his travel records probably after his journeys, adding for example, the recitations of many historical sources.²⁶ Indeed, what is seen on the road and what is recorded and revised can be very different. In Wang Tao’s *Jottings of My Roamings*, for example, events were rearranged and personal feelings were altered and complicated. There is not just one voice of Wang Tao speaking, but many. Lauren Pfister noticed some contradictions in the arrangement of events and argued that it was designed in a way in order to frame the author’s message to his audience.²⁷

Richard Strassberg’s *Inscribed Landscape* is the most comprehensive existing work of translation of Chinese travel writings ranging from Ma Dibo 馬第伯 of the Western Han Dynasty to Gong Zicheng 龔自珍 (1792-1841) who died in 1841.²⁸ He

²⁵ James Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)*, (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1898), p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁷ Lauren Pfister, translated by Yun Kaiyong, “Wang Tao yu Liyage du xian yujia youhuan yishi de huiying” 王韜與理雅各對新儒家憂患意識的回應 (Wang Tao and James Legge’s Response to A Sense of Crisis of New Confucius Studies), in *Wang Tao yu jindai shijie* 王韜與近代世界 (Wang Tao and the Modern World), ed. Wang Man Kong and Lam Kai Yin (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing, 2002), p.129. I will further discuss issues related to this point in Chapter 7 and 8.

²⁸ Richard Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

introduces his translation by tracing the development of Chinese travel writings and comparing them with Western modes, stating that traditional Chinese travel literature was “far removed from the historical and intellectual foundations of the West” and elaborating this point by pointing out that Chinese travel writing seem to have been marginalized in the Chinese tradition as it was not even regarded as an independent genre until after the 11th century.²⁹ Besides giving information on a few essays analyzing Chinese people who traveled beyond their empire, Strassberg emphasizes that Chinese intellectuals were in general not interested in foreign lands and foreign travel records. For example, Zheng He’s 鄭和 great voyages to the South Asian islands and Africa were not appreciated in his time and the records were either destroyed or poorly preserved. Zheng’s foreign travels had little cultural influence not only within the field of travel literature, but also other genres.³⁰ This observation provides a base for comparison of Chinese foreign travel writings before and after 1840, in which, foreign travel writings started to be closely related to, or even play a role in, political, social and intellectual trends at home.

Regarding the question of the subject matter of travel literature, Strassberg advocates the notion of “inscribed landscape” by which he means how the natural environment is personalized and acculturized. In other words, a certain natural landscape became significant only because its image was carved in the literary tradition. In this way, the line between the natural and human environments is blurred. James Hargett’s recent research about Mount Emei 峨嵋, investigating how the mountain was described and made sacred by the travel records serves as an example of the “inscribed landscape”.³¹ Concerning the late Qing foreign travel writings, the idea of “inscribed landscape” helps to explain one major difference between travels to the West and Japan: while travellers had little to refer to their traditions during

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 3-4

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 9, and 426.

³¹ James Hargett, *Stairway to Heaven: A Journey to the Summit of Mount Emei* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

journeys to the West, Japan, an offshoot of Chinese culture, is treated different. Wang Tao's *A Travel to Japan*, as I will argue, is written under a framework of his understanding of Sino-Japanese relationship of the past and future.

In the Chinese world of research, most research into travel literature focuses on the most renowned writers, such as Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819), Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568-1610) and Xu Xiake 徐霞客 (1586-1641). While in recent years, a lot of researchers have shown interest in tourism and literature related to tourism, they are mainly concerned with modern ideas of tourism in China.³² The field of traditional Chinese travelogues, especially works of the late Qing, in general, has been overlooked. There are only a few mentions of the subject in journal articles and book chapters, and they seldom show insight either in theoretical orientation or methodology, due to their brevity. Zhou Xian's article is inspiring by pointing out how the late Qing foreign travel writings and translations of Western literature were the two most influential genres in late Qing literature. Both of them are unfamiliar to the Chinese intellectuals. He also outlines a very brief development of the themes in the travel literature: from *bujie* 不解 (bewildered) in the first twenty years of opening to *jiaolü* 焦慮 (anxious) after the humiliating defeat in the Sino Japanese War (1895). He explains the foreign travel writings in the notion of modernity, claiming that by expressing an experience of the fast-changing world, these records represent a transformation of the travellers themselves and how they wanted to transform the world.³³

³² Tan Chee-Beng, Sidney C. H. Cheung, Yang Hui eds., *Tourism, Anthropology and China* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001).

³³ Zhou Xian, "Lüxing zhe de yanguang yu xiandaixing tiyan: cong jindai youji wenxue kan xiandaixing tixian de xingcheng" 旅行者的眼光與現代性體驗——從近代游記文學看現代性體驗的形成 (The Eyes of the Travellers and their Experience of Modernity: Looking at the Experience of Modernity in the Late Qing Travel Literature), *Zhongguo Gudai Jindai Wenxue Yanjiu*, 4 (2001), pp. 146-151.

Among the late Qing travellers, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 (1873-1929) and Shan Shili's 單士厘 (1858-1945) travelogues are studies in the context of travel literature.³⁴ A few other short articles analyzed travel accounts of Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837-1897), Zeng Jize 曾紀澤 (1839-1890) and Wang Zhichun 王之春 (1842-?). These articles either give information on the travellers and their itineraries, or focus on one particular extract of a travelogue of a certain traveller, often the rhetoric of the work.³⁵

The most extensive research work on the topic have been carried out in Chinese, is found in two books written by Zhong Shuhe in the mid 1980s, *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha xifang de lishi* and *Cong dongfang dao xifang: Zuoxiang*

³⁴ Zhuang Yanyu, "Kang Nanhai *Liegou youji yanjiu*" 康南海《列國遊記》研究 (A Study of Kang Nanhai's Travels to Various Countries), Master Dissertation, Taiwan: National Chung Cheng University, 1997. Yin-hwa Chou, "Formal Features of Chinese Reportage and an Analysis of Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 *Memoirs of My Travel in the New World*", in *Modern Chinese Literature*, 1.2 (1985), pp. 201-217. Ellen Widmer, "Foreign Travel through a Woman's Eyes: Shan Shili's *Guimao luxing ji* in Local and Global Perspective", in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 65. 4 (2006), pp. 763-791.

³⁵ For example, Yin Dexiang, "Meiwen haicong xingxiang shuo: Li Shuchang 'Bulaideng ji' de xingxiangxue jiedu" 美文還從形象說——黎庶昌《卜來敦記》的形象學解讀 (Imagery in Belle Letters—An Analysis of Li Shuchang's "A Travel to Brighton" from the Perspective of Imagery)", *Mingzuo xinshang*, 3 (2006), pp. 79-81. Zong Yiyun, "Fang yang zaji yingfeng shi" 放洋雜記應逢時 (Anecdotes of Foreign Travels: Zeitgeist), *Shuwu*, 3 (2006), pp. 55-58. Wang Chuanxia, 'Liang Qichao yu *Xin dalu youji*' 梁啟超與《新大陸遊記》 (Liang Qichao and A Travel to the New Land), *Huaxia wenhua*, 2 (1998), pp. 41-42. Yi Dejian, 'Jueju liuyin yi liuxin: Wang Zhichun yu *Shi E cao*' 絕域留印亦留心——王之春與《使俄草》 (Laying Footprint and Paying Attention Overseas: Wang Zhichun and *An Official Travel to Russia*), *Shuwu*, 3 (2006), pp. 31-33. Chen Xinxiang, "Youwei zhe yi roushi: du Zeng Jize *Shixi riji*" 有為者亦若是——讀曾紀澤《使西日記》 (Like an Aspirant: Reading Zeng Jize's A Diary of Mission to the West), *Shuwu*, 3 (2006), pp. 43-47. You Jingxian, "Yuejie yu youyi: wan Qing lü Mei youji de yuwai xiangxiang yu shuxie celüe" 越界與遊移——晚清旅美遊記的域外想像與書寫策略 (Border Crossing and Moving: A Study of Images of Foreign Countries and Writing Strategies of Travels to America in the late Qing Period), in *Haiwai Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin*, Suzhou University <http://www.zwwhgx.com/article/show.asp?id=873&Page=1> 29.11.2007.

shijie congshu xulunji 從東方到西方：《走向世界叢書》敘論集 (From East to West: A Preface to Going Towards to the World). The two books discussed upon the same materials with similar theoretical orientation.³⁶ Altogether, twenty three travellers are introduced. Despite being narrative rather than analytical, Zhong's work on introduction and compilation has provided great convenience and opportunities for further research into the topic. A large part of the materials used in this dissertation, as will be described in detailed below, has been taken from Zhong's compilation.

From the above, it is fair to say that an examination of the larger tradition and the development of Chinese foreign travel writing remains to be done; furthermore, the study of late Qing foreign travelogues, in particular, is an uncharted field. It must be pointed out here, however, that a few travelogues and extracts of travelogues have already been translated into English. Some important works included J. D. Frodsham's translation of Guo Songtao and his colleagues' diaries during the mission in 1872, Charles Desroyers's translation of Li Gui's journey to the United States, Europe and countries he encountered on his way home; extracts of foreign travelogues published in *Renditions*, and David Arkush and Leo Lee's compilation of a translation of Chinese impressions of the United States (extracts from nine Chinese travellers' accounts in the late Qing period).³⁷

³⁶ Zhong intended to edit and publish sixty travelogues. Half of them were published. The other half can also be found in other sources. The corpus used in this dissertation will be discussed later in this chapter. Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi* 走向世界：近代知識分子考察西方的歷史 (Going Towards the World: A History of late Qing Intellectuals' Investigation of the West) (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1985) and *Cong dongfang dao xifang: Zuoxiang shijie congshu xulunji* 從東方到西方：《走向世界叢書》敘論集 (From East to West: A Preface to Going Towards to the World) (Shanghai : Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989).

³⁷ J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). Charles Desnoyers trans., *A Journey to the East: Li Gui's A New Account of a Trip Around the Globe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004). Eva Hung ed., *Renditions* 53 and 54 (Hong Kong: Centre of Translation Project, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2000). R. David Arkush, Leo Lee eds., *Land Without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: University

The central focus of this dissertation, Wang Tao, nevertheless, has been a heated topic of discussion both among Western and Chinese scholars, although none has emphasized enough his travelogues. In general, biographical research accounts for a large proportion of the research works. Xin Ping's *Wang Tao pingzhuan* 王韜評傳 (A Critical Biography of Wang Tao), Zhang Zhichun's *Wang Tao nianpu* 王韜年譜 (Chronicle of Wang Tao) and Zhang Hailin's *Wang Tao pingzhuan* 王韜評傳 (A Critical Biography of Wang Tao) represent the most comprehensive historiographical research.³⁸ Xin Ping also wrote an article examining details about Wang's gloomy feelings throughout his life, using sobriquets as a way of analyzing aspects of a person's life.³⁹ I will argue, rather that the sobriquets function more in showing people a particular image the owner had hoped for. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from such analysis should only be used as references of one facet of Wang Tao. Zhang Zhichun's work adopted a more traditional way of narrating Wang's life chronologically. Zhang also provides historic details about Wang's literary works, in particular details about when they were first seen or discussed and their publishing dates. Wang Tao has also been described in other ways, for example, Wang Ermin sees Wang Tao's transformation from a Bohemian literatus to a prophet by examining records of his private life.⁴⁰ An early piece of research in English is Henry

of California Press, 1989).

³⁸ Xin Ping 忻平 *Wang Tao pingzhuan* 王韜評傳 (A Critical Biographical Study of Wang Tao) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1990), Zhang Zhichun 張志春 *Wang Tao nianpu* 王韜年譜 (A Chronicle of Wang Tao) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), and Zhang Hailin 張海林, *Wang Tao pingzhuan* 王韜評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing University, 1993). Other books include Kuang Yaping's 匡亞平, *Wang Tao pingzhuan* 王韜評傳 (A Study of Wang Tao's Life Events) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1993).

³⁹ Xin Ping, "Cong Wang Tao de minghao kan qi qizhe kanke de yisheng" 從王韜的名號看其曲折坎坷的一生 (Looking at Wang's Gloomy Life Through his Sobriquets) *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, 3 (1983), pp. 166-167.

⁴⁰ Wang Ermin, "Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing" 王韜生活的一面——風流至性 (A Facet of Wang Tao's Life: Romantic and Emotional), *Journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia*

McAleavy's *Wang T'ao 1828?-1890: The Life and Writings of a Displaced Person*, originally a speech given to the London Society.⁴¹ McAleavy focuses on the first half of Wang's life before he went on his trip to Europe, including few details about his later life. Wang's writings are not mentioned in detail despite the title of the book. Nevertheless, a "displaced person" is an excellent description of Wang Tao when relating it to Wang's travels, a physically displacement and the transformation of him, an intellectual displacement. His travelogues show how the two different levels of displacement related to each other.

Wang's political, social and cultural ideas have generated much research. Earlier PhD theses on the topic include Yao Qihai's *Wang Tao de zhengzhi sixiang* 王韜的政治思想 (The Political Thought of Wang Tao), which examines in details of Wang's ideas of state affairs. However, the thesis never points out whether there were any changes or contradictions within Wang's ideas.⁴² While Yao suggested that Wang's thought had its own system and that his thoughts are in harmony within this own system, Paul Cohen later pointed out that this kind of assumption is not practical.⁴³ More recent articles have looked at various aspects of his thought, such as cosmology, Confucianism, history, education, reform, and national defence.⁴⁴

Known as the "Father of Chinese Journalism", Wang Tao was recognized as the founder of the first Chinese newspaper in its modern sense, *Xunhuan ribao* 循環日報 (Circulation Paper). He was also closely related to *Shenbao* 申報, a newspaper regarded by scholars as most important material in a discussion of Chinese public

Sinica, 24 (1995), pp. 225-262.

⁴¹ Henry McAleavy, *Wang T'ao 1828?-1890: The Life and Writings of a Displaced Person*, London: (London Society, 1953).

⁴² Yao Qihai's *Wang Tao de zhengzhi sixiang* 王韜的政治思想 (The Political Thought of Wang Tao),

⁴³ Paul Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 27.

⁴⁴ See Lam Kai Yin and Wong Man Kong eds., *Wang Tao and the Modern World* (Hong Kong: The Educational Publishing Co., 2002), pp. 117-298.

sphere. Wang's ideas on the function of newspaper in the enlightenment and the modernization of China have been written in details by many scholars.⁴⁵ This dissertation will not repeat those research works, but will focus on how Wang's travelogue, *Jottings of My Roamings*, revealed a newly imagined community of the reading public. Wang's experience in printing press would also inevitably affect the way he framed his works against this imagined reading public.

Other, in fact more important works on Wang Tao are those that can be called all-rounded research, for example Paul Cohen's pioneering study, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Qing China*.⁴⁶ Cohen gives a comprehensive account of Wang's life in the first three chapters, adding valuable information on Wang's thoughts on some Chinese classics, such as *Guan Zi*, and *Han Fei Zi*, thus enriching the previous discussion on Wang's Chinese scholarship. Cohen endeavoured to understand Wang's inner logic and analyse his thoughts as a whole, but concluded that Wang's thoughts were inconsistent and unsystematic. Cohen's main argument lies in how Wang wavered between tradition and modernity. Although on the one hand, Wang had many contacts and encounters with the West and later on Japan, one can still find much traditional thought in his writings. Cohen, nevertheless, regarded him as a "pioneer" by considering his background, putting him into a historical context and comparing him with other intellectuals of his own time and later periods.

Li Chi-fang's PhD dissertation also gave a thorough examination of various aspects of Wang Tao, including, his life, thoughts, editorial works, and his works on Chinese classics, Western learning, translation and literature.⁴⁷ His argument about Wang's disputes with the *Tai ping* rebels is convincing as new documents from the

⁴⁵ Some recent works of high quality on Wang Tao and *Circulation Paper* include four articles collected in Lam Kai Yin and Wong Man Kong eds., *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, pp. 299-374.

⁴⁶ Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Qing China*. (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976).

⁴⁷ Lee Chifang, "Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship and Literary Achievement" (PhD diss, University of Wisconsin, 1973).

Qing court, Wang's friends and the British consulate in Shanghai were used: this contrasts with earlier scholars who often discussed the problem based on fewer documents or their own presuppositions. Compared with other analysis about this topic, Lee's argument is the most thorough one. Natascha Gentz later added to the research by using another document from the British government, stored in Kew Archive, and further argues the reason for the hard line policy adopted by the Qing court was that Wang's relations with the British posed an even bigger threat than anything else.⁴⁸

Wang Tao's relation to Shanghai and Hong Kong has also generated many articles. Wang Tao is often mentioned as a typical example of the Chinese intellectuals living in the treaty port and the crown colony respectively.⁴⁹ While all emphasizing how the environment influenced the literati living there, scholars seldom see the transformation process from the literati's side. How did they, as newcomers or travellers (as most of them did not regard Shanghai or Hong Kong as their home), feel about life in the two cities, having mixed experience of Chinese traditions and Western material and culture? How were they transformed as a result of the change in their living environment and thus their identity?

The above has covered most aspects of the extant academic works on Wang Tao. As we can see, Wang Tao was as an important historical figure and had been involved in many intellectual, political and social circles. He is a pioneer thinker, reformer, scholar, teacher, journalist, translator, and even a typical Chinese literatus. I will argue that apart from all these aspects, Wang Tao should also be considered as a

⁴⁸ Natascha Vittinghoff, "Why did Wang Tao go to Hong Kong? Some Preliminary Observations from the Unpublished Documents in the Public Records Office, London", *Contemporary Historical Review*, 1.3 (1998), pp. 60-62.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Sinn, "Fugitive in paradise: Wang Tao and cultural transformation in late nineteenth-century Hong Kong." *Late Imperial China* 19.1 (1998) pp. 56-81. Catherine Yeh, "The lifestyle of four *Wenren* Late Qing Shanghai." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.2 (1997), pp. 56-81.

traveller and a travel writer.⁵⁰ All the faces described by scholars are in one way or the other related to his experience as a traveller. Had he not traveled to Shanghai in 1848, he would not have been a translator for the London Mission Press and come into contact with Westerners and Western learning which became the core of his later development as a reformer and a journalist. Indeed, as pointed out later in the dissertation, Wang Tao regarded his travels, not other things, as the most memorable events of his life. Wang's two travelogues, *Jottings of My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan*, record his journeys to Europe (mostly about Britain), and Japan, which were the iconic powerful countries of that time. Seldom did intellectuals at Wang's time have such experiences as an individual. In this view alone, Wang's observations, reactions, thoughts and reflections are significant for research of Wang Tao as both an important late Qing intellectual and an example of Chinese views towards foreign powers.

Wang Tao as a traveller and a travel writer has been not under any serious discussions so far. *Jottings of My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan*, although occasionally mentioned in academic works, are rarely at the core of research, at best being discussed briefly in a few Chinese articles.⁵¹ Thus, more comprehensive work

⁵⁰ Charles A Laughlin identified Wang Tao as one of the best travel writers of his time. See *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 44.

⁵¹ For example, Li Jilian and Shao Yin give a brief description of the subject matter Wang Tao covered in his travel writings, namely, city lives, natural scenery in foreign land, cultural and educational facilities and factories. They pointed out that compared to the Chinese ambassadors, Wang was more observant, especially showing concern with cultural and social aspects of the West. See "Wang Tao yu Zhongguo jindai chujing lüyou" 王韜與中國近代出境旅遊 (Wang Tao and Foreign Travels in Late Qing China), in *Journal of Shangqiu Vocational and Technical College* 3.4 (2004), pp. 65-66. Duan Huaiqing's essay of Wang Tao's travels pointed out the cultural shock Wang received when he travelled to the West, and his emotions expressed in *A Travel to Japan*. Quan concluded from analysing the two books, that Wang had changed from an open-minded intellectual to a Bohemian. He saw Wang's travel to Japan as his return to a traditional literatus. See "Cangwang shuijin dongxi jieyi:

needs to be done, especially linking Wang Tao's experience and words with the general context of late Qing foreign travel writing.

1.3 General Outline

The dissertation aims at addressing, first, the general picture of late Qing foreign travel writings and then the foreign travel writings of Wang Tao. Chapter 2 overviews foreign travels in imperial China and focuses on the context which gave a boost to foreign travels in the late Qing. I trace back the traditions of Chinese concepts of travel and look at some important Chinese foreign travel writings throughout history. While a few of those travellers and travelogues have been discussed individually by scholars already, I will outline their generalizations as a preparation for further analysis of their successors—late Qing foreign travelogues. The second half of it analyzes the essential contexts which directly led to the rise of foreign travels. While many generalizations have been made about late Qing socio-political conditions, I am concerned with Chinese perceptions of “foreign” and “the world”. How were these concepts described and illustrated in the periods before and during the mid nineteenth century? Trends of scholarship with relevance to intellectuals' thought and travel writing is another emphasis of the chapter. I will demonstrate how the statecraft scholarship developed and influenced not only intellectual demands for

Wang Tao *Manyou suilu, Fusang youji jieji*” 滄茫誰盡東西界——王韜《漫遊隨錄》、《扶桑遊記》解譯, *Journal of Beijing Chemical Technology*, 4 (2005), pp. 33-39. Other examples include Hou Angshu, Wang Tao de luyou sixiang tanxi” 王韜的旅遊思想探析 (A Study of Wang Tao's Thoughts on Travel), *Ansheng shifan gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao*, 2 (2002), pp, 61-62 and Zhang Bingqing, “Wang Tao *Fusang youji* shiliao jiazhi fawei” 王韜《扶桑遊記》史料價值發微 (A Study of the Historical Value of Wang Tao's *Fusang youji*), *Beijing huagong daxue xuebao*, 4 (2005), pp. 33-39. In general, these essays attempt to find new perspectives in the research of travel literature of Wang Tao. They are, however, seldom provide any framework or theoretical approach in analyzing the subject, and are conceptually weak.

reform but also their attitudes towards foreign and foreign travels.

After discussing this general tradition throughout the centuries in China and the recent but radical changes in the late Qing period, Chapter 3 looks more closely at Chinese foreign travellers to the West and Japan during the late Qing. The word “foreign” in the title of this dissertation refers specifically to the West and later on Japan.⁵² I deliberately delimit the meaning of “foreign” to the West and Japan because they incorporate the most powerful countries as regarded by Chinese intellectuals in the time. They were treated as a different branch of *yi*, not the barbarians Chinese dealt with in the past. It is also specifically relevant to Wang Tao’s travels to Europe and Japan. Travelling to these “superior” countries is what makes the resulting travelogues different from any domestic travels or journeys to the peripheries. In Wang Xiqi’s 王禔 (1855-1913) compendium, there are many travelogues recording Chinese travel experiences to the borders of China. Similar generalizations to those made by Emma Teng about travelogues to Taiwan can be observed, whereas travel writings about the West and Japan appeared to be intriguingly different.

The second delimitation of this dissertation is that the materials used in the dissertation are written in prose, although constantly infused with poetry, like many other genres in Chinese literature. Quite a few collections of poetry, describing the West and Japan by famous figures, such as Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905) and Kang Youwei have generated research works,⁵³ whereas prose, the most

⁵² The terms West and Western used in this dissertation refer to European countries and North America as these were used by the Chinese travellers and intellectuals as referents for these areas and their peoples.

⁵³ For Huang Zunxian, see Wang Lei-heung, “A study of Jen-ching-lu-shih-ts’ao of Huang Tsun-hsien, 1848-1905”, Master Dissertation, The University of Hong Kong, 1979. Wei Zhongyou ed., Huang Zunxian yu Qing mo “shijie geming” 黃遵憲與清末「詩界革命」 (Huang Zunxian and the “Revolution of Poetry” in the Late Qing” (Taipei: Guoli bianyi guan, 1994). For Kang Youwei, see He Peng, *Lun Kang Youwei wenxue* 論康有為文學 (A Discussion of the Literature of Kang Youwei) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Zhongguo yuwen xuehui, 1968). Zhuang Yanyu,

commonly used form of travel writings, remains untouched. In fact, prose written in a more vernacular style of language in these travelogues proves to be a more effective form of expression.

The source of these writings is primarily *Zouxiang shijie congshu* and *Xiao fanghu zhai yudi congchao* 小方壺齋輿地叢抄 (A Compendium of the Small Square Kettle Studio on Geographical Records), a compendium compiled by Wang Xiqi in 1898, containing a huge amount of information of Chinese geographical records, domestic and foreign, from the Qing dynasty.⁵⁴ Most of the travelogues I have used in this compendium are from volume ten, eleven and twelfth which were categorized as “haiwai” 海外 (overseas). Wang Tao’s two travelogues are also compiled in the book: however the edition used in this dissertation is from other sources, introduced in more detail in later chapters, and Wang Xiqi’s version will also be used as reference. A more recent compilation of late Qing foreign travelogues was made by Zhong Shuhe in the mid 1980s. Looking at the title of this collection, Zhong was obviously concerned with the idea that China was “walking towards the

“Kang Nanhai *Liegou youji yanjiu*” 康南海《列國遊記》研究 (A Study of Kang Nanhai’s Travels to Various Countries), Master Dissertation, Taiwan: National Chung Cheng University, 1997.

⁵⁴ Wang Xiqi has been a obscure figure in the field of research. Pang Guangzhe 潘光哲, however, wrote a short biography of him which helps to give more information of the man and his motives of compiling *Xiao fanghu zhai yudi congchao*. *Xiao fanghu*, literally, a small square kettle means paradise overseas, an allusion from *Liezi*. See Yang Bojun annotated, *Liezi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 151. He had a personal interest in travel and geography, and went traveling himself. When he read Xie Qing’s 謝清 *Hai lü* 海錄 (A Record of the Seas) in 1879, he was inspired by the Traveller and expressed his wish to go abroad. See Wang Xiqi, *Beixing riji* 北行日記 (A Dairy of Travelling to the North), p. 118. This is one of his reasons to compile large number of foreign travel writings. His interest in the periphery of the Qing dynasty was much due to the boarder disputes between Qing and Russia. More information sees Pan Guangzhe, “Wang Xiqi zhuan” 王禡祺傳 (A Biography of Wang Xiqi), in Hao Yanping, Wei Xiumei eds., *Jinshi Zhongguo zhi chuantong yu tuibian: Liu Guangjing yuanshi qishiwusui zhushou lunwenji* 近世中國之傳統與蛻變: 劉廣京院士七十五歲祝壽論文集 (The Traditions and Transformation of Modern China: An Anthology for the 75th Birthday of Liu Guangjing.), (Taipei: Institue of Mordern Hisoty, Academia Sinica, 1998), pp. 395-425.

world”, a historical fact which can be traced back to 1840. These travelogues show that the Chinese intellectuals were “walking towards the world” not only physically, but also psychologically and culturally. Zhong selected travelogues about travels in the West and Japan from 1840 to 1911. In fact, this collection is what first inspired this dissertation. A couple more sources, such as *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (A Supplementary of the Complete Library of the Four Branch of Literature) and *Zhongguo jindai shiliao congbian* 中國近代史料叢編 (A Compendium of Modern Chinese History) provide additional records of foreign travels.

What is the texture of this material, the language, the addresser and the intended audience? There are no simple and uniform answers to these research questions. I will address issues of style and audience, concentrating on some of the more famous authors of travelogues. In general, most of such writings are free-flowing in style, repetitious and easy to peruse. Although this large body of materials is, in many ways, composed of very different works, a number of threads can be seen throughout the entire genre. I will argue that these same threads have continued to concern Chinese intellectuals’ interest in knowing more of the world through the Late Qing period, even up to today. Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing were driven to “understand the world” and later on to “become part of the world”. These people were among the first in the Chinese community to advocate the modern idea of cosmopolitanism, urging a harmonious unity between nations and cultures.

“Understanding the world” and “becoming part of the world” are the two major recurring themes in the records of these travellers. As China has a long history of feeling of cultural superiority and also because of its radically distinctive culture, no matter whether the West or Japan, it seemed to require an extra amount of effort at comprehension and explanation. Nevertheless, what “understanding the world”, “becoming part of world”, and even the word “world” were supposed to mean remained vague and they were also vaguely expressed in the travel writings. “Understanding the world” literally means knowing beyond the surface of (powerful)

countries other than China and “becoming part of the world” joining those countries on equal status, but that can hardly account for the complexity and variety of attitudes shown in the travel writings. In short, there was no uniform answer, and it is still a question under discussion in today’s context of increasing regionalization and globalization.

After drawing out the bigger picture of the Late Qing foreign travel accounts in the first part of the dissertation, the focus will turn to Wang Tao who was well known for his knowledge of Chinese classics, Western learning and his views on how China should be modernized, which were all manifested in his travelogues. The reason for my particular interest in Wang Tao and his foreign travelogues will be further explained in Chapter 4. From Chapter 5 to 14, I will analyze *Jottings of My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan* respectively.

As only relevant life events of Wang Tao will be mentioned the main body of the dissertation, Appendix 1, the Chronicles of Wang Tao aims to provide more details of his life. Wang’s autobiography, “Taoyuan laomin zizhuan” 弢園老民自傳 (Autobiography of the Old Man of Taoyuan) is translated and considered a source to round out the picture, helping to understand Wang’s desire of searching for a self identity and his pursuit of life. Appendix 2 is a complete translation of *Jottings of My Roamings*, apart from a few extracts already translated by other scholars. The book is translated not only to reveal its content to English readers, but also to mirror Wang’s style, diction, form and complexity. Concerning the above factors, *Jottings of My Roamings* serves as a better example than *A Travel to Japan*. Notes on the principles of translation are included before the translation.

Chapter 2 The Legacy of Chinese Foreign Travel and its Late Qing

Context

Chinese travel literature was first categorized in *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selection of Refined Literature) as *xinglü* 行旅 (travelling under official orders, such as military service) and *youlan* 遊覽 (touring) during the Six Dynasties before firmly establishing itself as a literary genre in the Tang dynasty.⁵⁵ However, the discourse of travel can be traced back several centuries earlier. The idea of *you* 遊 (travel) was very prominent in the Warring States period and the models of travelling were established during that time.⁵⁶ For instance, Zhuangzi's 莊子 notion of *xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊 (free and easy wandering) pointed out the possibility of spiritual travelling in order to free oneself from worldly worries and material desires.⁵⁷ The concept of travelling for freedom later became a recurring theme in Chinese travel literature, typically with a banished official seeking a retreat into nature, where he would purge himself of his grievances. Arguably, the poems of Qu Yuan 屈原, written when he had been banished from court, are also examples of this notion of release, except that his travels were more to do with his search of truth and purity rather than just to free himself from his ordeal. This is particularly obvious in "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow) in which he sought help from the Heavenly God and Goddesses during his journey to seek the road of truth.⁵⁸

The idea of *you* appealed equally to Confucius. He showed great appreciation when Zeng Dian 曾點, one of his favourite disciples, described his ambition by

⁵⁵ Xiao Tong 蕭統, *Wenxuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 11, 22, 26 and 27.

⁵⁶ Gong Pengcheng, *You de jingshen wenhua shilun*, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁷ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi jijie* 莊子集解 (Various Explanations of the *Zhuangzi*) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1992), pp. 1-7.

⁵⁸ Qu Yuan, "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow), in Hong Xingzu annotated, *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補註 (Supplementary Notes of *The Songs of Chu*), (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), Vol. 1, pp. 1-44, especially pp. 22-25.

describing a picture of a spring time excursion, in which, people, old and young, leisurely enjoying themselves.⁵⁹ In fact, Confucius was a traveller who moved from one place to another preaching his philosophy. Once, he even thought of travelling overseas.⁶⁰ This intention on the one hand can be interpreted as his disappointment with reality and his desire to seek a retreat, on the other hand, he could have been thinking of the possibility of realising his ideals overseas. For Confucius, an intellectual should not always be thinking of his homeland, but instead, should have the ambition to serve all the people under Heaven.⁶¹ Confucius was certainly not the only one travelling frequently at his time. The Warring States period was an era of intellectual travelling as philosophers and politicians, with different agendas, travelled to different states to seek fame, positions, wealth and the acceptance of ideas. Confucius was concerned enough to comment, “when your parents are still alive, do not travel afar.”⁶² Travelling afar to fulfil one’s ambition must have been a common act for Confucius to feel the need to remind people of their filial duty.

Travelling was also seen as a process of learning. Typical examples were disciples following their teachers, such as Confucius and Mozi 墨子, travelling to different states and learning from their masters on the road. In order to seek enlightenment, intellectuals did not mind travelling even in old age. Xunzi 荀子 travelled to the state of Qi 齊 to learn from the Qi scholars when he was fifty.⁶³ A later example was the Grand Historian, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca.145-ca.86 BC), who travelled extensively within China collecting materials for his historic work.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ For an English translation, see D. C. Lau trans., *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), Book XI. 26, p. 110-111.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Book V.7, p. 76 and Book IX.14, p. 98.

⁶¹ The original reads, “士而懷居, 不足以為士矣.” For an English translation, see D.C. Lau trans., *The Analects*, Book XIV. 2, p. 124.

⁶² The original reads, “父母在, 不遠遊, 遊必有方.” Ibid., Book IV. 19, p. 74.

⁶³ Sima Qian, “Meng Zi Xun Qing liezhuan” 孟子荀卿列傳 (Biographies of Mencius and Xun Qing), in *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 2348.

⁶⁴ Sima Qian, “Taishi gong zixu” 太史公自序 (Self Preface of the Grand Historian), in *Shiji*, p. 3293.

Thus, the general impression that because China was an agricultural society, the Chinese were bound to the land, has been refuted by modern scholars who have provided evidence of Chinese people actually travelling and migrating very often, not only in the Warring States period, but throughout history.⁶⁵ Here, I want to stress that the model of intellectual travelling laid down during the Warring States period, resonated in later literature. Travelling as a way of seeking enlightenment, promoting one's ideas and the strong political background of this tradition, continued to be relevant to nineteenth century travellers to the West and Japan.

2.1 Chinese Travellers to Foreign Lands and their Records

Early Chinese Travellers

In Chinese history, the first person recorded to be interested in visiting foreign lands was Emperor Mu 穆, the fifth emperor of the Zhou 周 dynasty. The *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Emperor Mu), written in the format of a historical chronicle, narrated his adventures to the West. Although the story of Emperor Mu had already been briefly mentioned in *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Master Zuo's Explanations of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) and *Guizang* 歸藏 (The Book of Origins), both of which are believed to have been written earlier, *Mu tianzi zhuan* gave a more elaborate version of the journey.⁶⁶ In *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records), Sima Qian also gave an account of Emperor Mu's journey saying that he travelled to visit

⁶⁵ For example, Gong Pengcheng, *You de jingshen wenhua shilun*, pp. 53-65. Susan Naquin and Chunfang Yu, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1992), pp.15-16.

⁶⁶ In *Zuo zhuan*, the story of Emperor Mu was cited by Zi Ge 子革, an official of Chu 楚, as an example of a luxurious ruler. In "The Twelfth Year of Zhaogong's Reign" 昭公十二年, Yuan Yuan annotated, *Zuozhuan* (1815), punctuated by Taiwan Academia Sinica, p. 195. <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/handy1/>. In *Guizang*, the adventure was seen as "inauspicious". Quoted in Li Fang ed., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (The Imperial Readings of An Era of Peace), *juan* 85, in *Guoxue*, <http://www.guoxue.com/wenxian/leishu/0085.htm>. Similar comments were also made by Sima Qian. See "Zhou benji" 周本紀 (The Chronicle of the Zhou Dynasty), *Shij*, p. 135.

Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) and enjoyed his meeting so much that he forgot his homeland. He returned only after hearing of a rebellion.⁶⁷ *Mu tianzi zhuan* was seen as a historical record when it was excavated in the Jin 晉 Dynasty, but many scholars noted its fictional elements and thus questioned the effectiveness of seeing it from a historical approach.⁶⁸ Although Jeannette Mirsky regarded the language of the book as not attractive because it engaged readers “not with a bravery of language or experience, but simply with the fortitude they imply and with the magnitude of the accomplishment”, in many ways, it laid down foundations for the later modes of recording traveling to foreign lands.⁶⁹ First of all, its fantastic descriptions of foreign land contributed to the Chinese impressions of foreign lands: a mixed feeling of mystery, peril and an immortal world as his visit to Xiwangmu represents a human attempt to seek immortality which brought in the idea of pilgrimage.⁷⁰ Secondly, whether fictional or not, its status as a travel record was first

⁶⁷ Sima Qian 司馬遷, “Zhao shijia” 趙世家 (The Family History of Zhao), *Shiji* p. 1779.

⁶⁸ For example, during the Tang dynasty, Liu Zongyuan pointed out the “exceptionally fantastical” nature of the book. In the Ming dynasty, Hu Yinglun regarded chapter 6 of the book, which narrated the funeral of Emperor Mu’s concubine, as the harbinger of fiction. However, it was only during modern time that scholars confirmed that it could not be seen as a reliable historical record. For a brief account of the history of research into the book, see Ma Zhenfang, “Daqi bangbo kaishan zu: Mu tianzi zhuan de xiaoshou pingge ji xiaoshoushi diwei” 大氣磅礴開山祖——《穆天子傳》的小說品格及小說史地位 (An Awesome Harbinger: The Characteristics and Historical Significance of the Biography of Emperor Mu as Fiction), in *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Science)*, 40.1 (2003), pp. 83-87, here, p. 83.

⁶⁹ Jeannette Mirsky, *The Great Chinese Travellers* (London: G. A. & Unwin, 1965), p. 3.

⁷⁰ Although compared to *Shanghai jing*, its descriptions focus more on human activities than fantastic creatures. Hu Yinglun argued that *Mu tianzi zhuan* could not be seen as being as fantastical as *Shanghai jing*. See Hu Yinglun 胡應麟, *Shaoshi shanfang biji congchao* 少室山房筆記叢抄 (A Compendium of My Diaries of in Mount Shaoshi Villa), in *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編 (Supplementary Volume of Collected Compendium) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1989), Vol. 10, p. 407. Gu Jiegang also pointed out that although the author used names from *Shanghai jing*, it “actualized” everything and “does not use (many of Shanghai jing’s) myths”. See Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, *Mu tianzi zhuan ji qi zhuzuo niandai* 穆天子傳及其著作年代 (The Biography of Emperor Mu and its Date of Completion), in *Wenzhixhe*, 1.2, (1951).

pointed out by Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) who described the book as *pairi de youji* 排日的遊記 (a chronicle travelogue).⁷¹ Indeed, the centre of the book was the travel of Emperor Mu and how he was able to show foreign tribes the power and culture of the Zhou dynasty. The format provided the basis for later travel diaries. The display of prosperity and culture to foreigners, and Emperor Mu's rather arrogant and superior attitude, vividly demonstrated the Chinese way of looking at foreigners.

As the peregrination of Emperor Mu is often considered a mythical story, the earliest example of well-known transnational travel in China was the missions made by Zhang Qian 張騫, who was sent by Emperor Wu 武 of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty and travelled in Central Asia for thirteen years. However, Zhang did not leave his own account of his travels. Posterity has got to know his travels from the *Shiji*.⁷²

Sima Qian's narration emphasised the strategic purpose of Zhang Qian's mission against the Huns. The descriptions of Zhang's travel experiences were kept to a minimum, and what concerned the Great Historian was firstly, how Zhang was able to remain loyal to the Han dynasty despite having been captured by the Hun for a decade, and secondly, how he was able to use his knowledge to help the Han army by providing information about other countries to the Emperor. Thirdly, perhaps most important of all, Zhang, through his honest character, was able to show the foreign people the civilized nature of the Chinese people: as a result, foreigners were willing to provide tribute to the Han dynasty.

Ban Chao 班超 and Gan Ying's 甘英 stories also survived only in historical accounts. Ban Chao, a general sent by Emperor Ming 明 of the Eastern Han dynasty to Central Asia for thirty one years, tactfully formed an alliance with other countries against the Huns. His story, recorded by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445), focused on his

⁷¹ Quoted from Ma Zhenfang, "Daqi bangbo kaishan zu: Mu tainzi zhuan de xiaoshou pingge ji xiaoshoushi diwei", p. 84.

⁷² Sima Qian, *The Historical Records*, pp. 3157-3170

outstanding diplomatic and military skills. Gan Ying was one of the officials whom Ban sent further afar to the west sea (the Persian Gulf), a gateway to Da Qin 大秦, which was believed to be the (Eastern) Roman Empire, but returned after hearing a local legend about creatures in the sea that could enchant people to make them either seriously homesick or forget about their family and stay away forever.⁷³ In Fan Ye's narration of their mission, the emphasis, again, was on how the travellers were able to overcome the perils of the long distance journey and finally bring about the respect of the foreign countries for the Han dynasty.⁷⁴ In narrating their journeys, the authors also depicted the foreign landscape as a rough and dangerous place where they faced a lot of hardships. In Zhang Qian's example, Sima Qian stated after Zhang's first mission that only two people (including Zhang) returned, out of more than a hundred people who had embarked on the journey. In Gan Ying's story, the fierce wind across the sea and the seductive creatures were also images of uncertainty and danger.

The image of Zhang Qian later became a staple item of Chinese travelogues, especially when the travellers went to non-Chinese areas. The story itself also became more mythical. In Zhang Hua's 張華 *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Account of Wide Ranging Matters) in the Western Jin Dynasty, Zhang Qian's political mission was transformed into a mythical journey in the course of which Zhang rode on a flying

⁷³ Ban Chao's story was recorded in Fan Ye's *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han Dynasty) (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1987), pp. 1571-1586. Gan Ying's story was recorded in the same book, pp. 2909-2931. Gan Ying was a follower of Ban Chao who went to the border of the Roman Empire. The original reads, “都護班超遣甘英使大秦，抵條支。臨大海欲度，而安息西界船人謂英曰：「海水廣大，往來者逢善風三月乃得度，若遇風，亦有二歲者，故入海人皆齊三歲糧。海中善使人思土戀慕，數有死亡者。」英聞之乃止。” p. 2918. Another slightly different version of the story was recorded in *Jin Shu* 晉書 (The History of the Jin Dynasty) which states that the legend of the sea creatures was to enchant people not to think of their homeland and stay in the sea. 漢時都護班超遣掾甘英使其國，入海，船人曰：「海中有思慕之物，往者莫不悲懷。若漢使不戀父母妻子者，可入。」英不能渡。” p. 2545.

⁷⁴ Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 2910.

raft to the moon.⁷⁵ Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) when travelling in Kuizhou 夔州, a place occupied by ethnic minorities, mentioned Zhang Qian as a self allegory.⁷⁶ Fei Xin 費信, a fellow of Zheng He, recorded Zheng's sea journeys in a book titled *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (An Extraordinary Exhibition of the Star Raft), in which he alluded to Zhang Qian's travels more than a thousand years earlier, despite the dramatic differences between their journeys. In fact, both Zhang Qian and Ban Chao were both alluded to by many late Qing travellers in reference to their own journeys to foreign lands and the political agenda they held. Examples can be found in most records written by the envoys.⁷⁷ Wang Tao, who travelled for his own sake, also described his journeys to Europe as being similar to Zhang Qian's trip to *Alan* 阿蘭 (Alania, an area between the Aral and Caspian Sea), a central Asian country. On

⁷⁵ Zhang Hua, *Bowu zhi*, in *Longxi jingshe congshu*, (China:Chaoyang Zheng shi, 1918), vol. 97, juan 3, p. 3. The original reads, “近世有人居海上, 每年八月見槎來.....乘之, 到天河。” See also *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (The Encyclopaedia of a Fisherman Recluse in Tiaoxi) (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966), in which Hu Zi 胡子 quotes *Jing Chu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 (The Annual Records of *Jing* and *Chu*) as stating that Zhang Qian rode on a raft and passed the moon. p. 71.

⁷⁶ Du Fu, *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡詮 (A Comprehensive Explanation of Du Fu's Poems), annotated by Yang Lun 楊倫, (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1930), p.645. More details can be found in Yeh Chia-ying, *Du Fu "Qiu xing bashou" jishuo* 杜甫秋興八首集說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), p. 110-114.

⁷⁷ For example, Bin Chun's journey, the first Chinese mission to Europe, was likened to Zhang Qian's by Xu Jiyu. See “Xu Jiyu xu” 徐繼畬序 (A Preface by Xu Jiyu), in Bin Chun, *Chengcha biji* 乘槎筆記 (Anecdotes of Riding on a Raft) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 1. See also He Ruzhang, the first Chinese ambassador to Japan, who likened his mission to that of Zhang Qian in a poem written at the start of his journey. See He Ruchang, *Shidong zayong* 使東雜詠 (A Collection of Poems During my Mission in Japan), in *Shidong shulüe* 使東述略 (A Brief Account of my Mission to Japan) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 69. Xu Fucheng, after finishing his diary of his missions to four European countries, identified himself with Zhang Qian. He even defended Zhang against Sima Qian's criticism, claiming that what Zhang (and he) recorded might not seem important to common people but was significant to him. The original read, “太史公譏張騫使西域不能得要領。詎庸知我所謂至要, 人固以為非要; 我所謂非要, 人固以為至要。” See Xu Fucheng, “Xu” 序 (Preface), in *Chushi Ying, Fa, Yi, Bi siguo riji* 出使英、法、義、比四國日記 (A Diary of my Missions to Britain, France, Italy and Belgium) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), p. 2.

another occasion, Wang recorded that he was described by a Japanese intellectual as having a similar physiognomy to Ban Chao, implying their great achievements overseas.⁷⁸

Concerning the first mention of a Chinese relationship with a European civilization, Gan Ying is an essential figure. The late Qing intellectuals, sometimes expressed regret that Gan Ying had not crossed the sea to become the first officially known person to contact the Romans. For example, Kang Youwei, in his European travelogue, complained that Gan Ying was a foolish coward (愚怯) who had let down the mission of Ban Chao. Kang blamed Gan Ying for the blocking of the cultural interactions between East and West.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Gan Ying remained a significant figure as he was the first Chinese to travel as far as the Persian Gulf. Wang Guowei, for instance, wrote a poem about Gan Ying, praising him as a visionary, and claiming that even by thinking how close the two civilizations were at that time was exciting enough.⁸⁰ This showed how keen the late Qing intellectuals were towards cultural exchanges.

The Buddhists Pilgrims

The earliest written travel records to foreign lands were the Buddhists' accounts, the most famous of which were Fa Xian's 法顯 (c.a.337-c.a.442) *Foguo ji* 佛國記

⁷⁸ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 252. They were described as having the chin of a swallow and the forehead of a tiger, which indicated their ability to "eat meat" and "fly". The original reads, "燕頷虎額，飛而食肉。" In Fan Ye, *Hou Han Shu*, p. 1571.

⁷⁹ Kang Youwei, *Ouzhou shiyi guo youji* 歐洲十一國遊記 (A Travel Record of Eleven European Countries) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1980), p. 139. A moderate view was also expressed by Guo Songtao. In *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao jishi xiji* 使西紀程：郭嵩濤集 (A Record of An Envoy's Journey to the West) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), p. 27.

⁸⁰ Wang Guowei, "Yongshi" 詠史 (Historical Poems), No. 12. The original reads, "西域縱橫盡百城，陳張遠略遜甘英。千秋壯觀君知否，黑海東頭望大秦。" See Chan Yongzheng, *Wang Guowei shici quanbian jiaozhu* 王國維詩詞全編校注 (A Complete Annotation of the Poetry of Wang Guowei) (Guangzhou: Sun Yat-sen University Press, 2000), p. 12.

(A Record of Buddhist Countries), Xuanzang's 玄奘(c.a.569-644) *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Account of the Western Lands of the Great Tang) and Yi Jing's 義淨 (635-713) *Da Tang xuyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Lives of Eminent Monks of the Great Tang who Went to the West to seek the Law) and *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago). Nancy Boulton has researched these travelogues and recognized their literary accomplishment.⁸¹ *Foguo ji*, for instance, contains not only detailed geographical data, but also an impressive amount of imagination and fantastical descriptions that Cheng Keui-sheng regarded as one of the features that had made travel records into literature.⁸² By contrast, *Da Tang xiyu ji*, a travel record reported by Xuanzang orally and written by his disciple Bianji 辯機, concentrated more on geographical data, and personal feelings were seldom mentioned. Wu Peiyi concluded that Xuanzang's work provided the foundation for later travellers to non-Chinese lands who came to regard their main objective as the reporting of information without bias.⁸³ Another feature of these travel accounts is their religious orientation, for although there are descriptions of the exotic rituals and stories of Buddhism in India and unusual geographical landscapes in Central Asia, the theme of the writings is always the religious belief. As a result, long passages were devoted to explaining the Buddhist view of the world, stories of the Buddha, and the dreams and omens of the pilgrims.⁸⁴ The Buddhist travellers focused more

⁸¹ Nancy Elizabeth Boulton, suggested that these diaries contained both simple and elaborated poetic language. In "Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre" (PhD Dissertation, Georgetown University 1982), pp. 381-383.

⁸² Cheng Keui-sheng, "Chinese Great Travellers: Their Effect Upon Chinese Geography Knowledge Prior to 1600" (PhD Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1955), p.110.

⁸³ Wu Peiyi states that, "Those (pilgrims) who travelled to foreign lands and had much to report had no choice but to adopt the stance of the historian.....they described the states they had visited and quoted the local lore and myths rather than reporting their own experiences. They behaved as they did because their main concern was credibility, not entertainment or self-expression." In *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 7. See also Li Boqi, *Zhongguo gudai jiyou wenxue shi*, pp. 123-125.

⁸⁴ Nancy Elizabeth Boulton, "Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre", Chapter 4

on their religious thoughts than the travel itself.

Cultural Interactions of the Tang Dynasty

The Tang Dynasty is considered to be one of the most powerful dynasties of Chinese history, partly because of its interactions with other countries. Therefore, the Tang dynasty is also described as the most open dynasty, with the emperors from a mixed blood, non-Chinese family. Emperor Taizong 太宗 promoted equality between the Chinese and *yidi* 夷狄 (“barbarians”). Xiang Da has written about the frequent interactions between the Chinese and foreign people throughout the Tang Dynasty, especially in the capital Chang’an.⁸⁵ Research has also found that Tang art, such as drawings, music and literature were influenced by their foreign counterparts. Tang culture was so prominent that Japan sent students to study in China. However, despite frequent interactions between Chinese and Japanese literati through exchanging poems, Zhang Zhexiong has pointed out that the Chinese were not interested in travelling to Japan, so that the Chinese descriptions of Japan were simple and monotonous as they merely built upon previous Chinese texts of Japan rather than personal experiences.⁸⁶

It was also during the Tang dynasty that travel writing, *youji*, firmly established itself as a literary genre. Liu Zongyuan has been considered as a key figure, not only as the first to use the term *youji*, but also for opening up the development of later travel writings. Li Ao’s 李翱 (772-841) *Nanpei lu* 南轡錄 (Register of Coming South) was the first travel diary written to record a long journey.⁸⁷ Despite the

The Religious Experiences of the Journey to the West, pp. 166-279.

⁸⁵ Xiang Da, *Tang dai Chang’an yu xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Chang’an in the Tang Dynasty and the Civilizations of the West) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1987), pp. 1-26, 41-53 and 89-100.

⁸⁶ Zhang Zhexiong, *Zhongguo gudai wenxue zhong de Riben xingxiang yanjiu* 中國古代文學中的日本形象研究 (A Study of the Image of Japan in Traditional Chinese Literature) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2005), p. 90.

⁸⁷ James Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda*

revolutionary development in *youji* recording travels inside China, one sees little development of travelling to foreign lands. Apart from Buddhist pilgrims, Du Huan 杜環, was the exception. In 751, he followed a Tang general, Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 to fight in today's Kyrgyzstan against the Arabs. When the Tang army lost, he was captured by the Arabs and by chance travelled to the Middle East (known as Dashi 大食 in traditional Chinese texts). After returning to China in 762, he wrote a travelogue, *Jing xing ji* 經行記 (Records of My Foot Traces). Only fragments of the book survived in Du You's 杜佑 (735-812) *Tong dian* 通典 (A Comprehensive Record of Institutions), with some of the earliest Chinese descriptions of Muslim and Syrian customs. Although it is seldom mentioned in scholarly works, Zhong Shuhe considered it to be one of the most important records of foreign travel in the Tang dynasty.⁸⁸

Envoy Reports of the Song Dynasty

The Song dynasty was regarded as an age of revolution in Chinese philosophy, life and literature, including travel writing. Much research had been carried out on famous authors, such as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1085), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1031-1101), Lu You 陸遊 (1125-1210), Fan Chengda and others. Concerning Chinese travellers to foreign lands, however, the most significant records are the envoy dairies written during the Southern Song. In 1126, the Jurchen army, after defeating the Liao, went south to attack the Song capital, Bianjing 汴京 (today's Kaifeng) and the next year captured Emperor Hui 徽 (reign 1100-1125) and Emperor Qin 欽 (reign 1125-1127). Noble families managed to flee south of the Yangtse River and established the Southern Song in 1127. Thereafter until the end of the Song dynasty, the northern part of China was occupied by the Jin 金 dynasty. Relations between the two countries were characterised by frequent wars and peace talks, with the Southern Song often being the weaker party. Envoys from

(1126-1193), pp. 26-30.

⁸⁸ Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, pp. 8-10.

the Southern Song were often sent to negotiate and get information about the enemy. Although, arguably, these envoys were not going to foreign lands as those places had belonged to the Chinese in the past, however, I choose to include them for two reasons. Firstly, China, before the modern period, could only be defined as a cultural term, therefore any places that did not belong to the Chinese would be seen as foreign⁸⁹. Secondly, these envoy diaries were similar to the embassy travel records of the late Qing, as both aimed at discovering more about their enemies and displayed unease with or even despised foreign habits. Thus, the way of narration and the focus of the records were similar to each other.

Herbert Franke wrote about these envoy reports, using them to reveal information about the communications between the Song and the Jurchen, the Mongols and the Koreans.⁹⁰ Although he was more concerned with how these records revealed aspects of the diplomacy of the Song government, he also mentioned how the Song envoys felt about the places they visited. Like normal travellers, they were not familiar with certain eating habits, music and the rules for exchanging presents. Many of them looked down upon foreign habits, for example describing banquet music as being as sad as a funeral dirge, and only felt pleased when they saw a court ceremony similar to the Chinese model.⁹¹ It is significant to point out that although the Southern Song

⁸⁹ Jerome Chen's *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1979), pp. 25-27. Shi Ni, *Guannian yu beiju: wen Qing liu Mei youtong mingyun pouxi* 觀念與悲劇：晚清留美幼童命運剖析 (Concepts and Tragedy: An Analysis of the Fate of Chinese Young Students who studied in the United States in the Late Qing) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2000) p. 8-10. Also see Ge Jianxiong, "Lishi shang de Zhongguo yu Zhongguo jiangyu" 歷史上的中國與中國疆域 (China and Chinese Border in History), in Zheng Peikai and Fan Jiawei eds., *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 (Historical Geography) (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong, 2002), pp. 1-20, here, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Franke Herbert, "Sung Embassies: Some General Observations", in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbours, 10th -14th Centuries*, Morris Rossabi ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 116-148.

⁹¹ See Zhang Shunmin 張舜民, *Huaman lu* 畫墁錄 (A Record of Floor Painting), and Lou Yao 樓鑰, *Beixing rilu* 北行日錄 (A Diary of a Journey to the North), in *Baipu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 (Collections of Hundreds of Compendiums) (Taipei: Yiwen yingshujia, 1965), p. 4b and *xia juan*, p.

was militarily weaker than the foreign powers, the records of the Song envoys managed to express Chinese superiority and regarded these powers as bearers of the tributary system. Thus, Franke came to the conclusion that Song diplomacy was “modelled on patterns inherited from antiquity, and which created a carefully if precariously balanced Chinese world order”,⁹² in other words, the traditional Chinese assumption of superiority remained strong disregarding the actual power of the state.

In terms of literary merit, James Hargett pointed out that these records, often written in diary form, gave brief descriptions of personal feelings and experiences. This is mainly due to the fact that they were aimed at providing politically and militarily useful information for the court. Hargett analysed these accounts with two different language modes: subjective and objective. He concluded that the authors seldom voiced their personal views, and even when they did so restricted themselves to patriotic feelings and criticism of the hardship of the journey. Travelling to a foreign and enemy state was only to acquire information for the recovery of Chinese territory.⁹³

The Vast Empire of the Yuan Dynasty

The Yuan dynasty was the largest empire China ever had. Established by the Mongols, the Yuan dynasty began in 1271, by when the Mongols had already expanded their territory towards Central Asia and the Middle East.⁹⁴ The vast empire

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⁹² Franke Herbert, “Sung Embassies: Some General Observations”, p. 141.

⁹³ James M. Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)*, (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1989), pp. 52-53.

⁹⁴ In 1287, an official mission by Rabban Sauma, a Nestorian, was sent by the Ilkhanate Kingdom to European Countries. Rabban Sauma’s writing about his life and travels only exists in Syriac. He traveled to European countries, including the Vatican, France and England, however he has aroused little intention among either Chinese historians or researchers. A sketchy introduction of Rabban Sauma was written by Zhong Shuhe in *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, pp.35-39. For a more detailed account of the travels of Rabban Sauma and his mission to Europe, see Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Sanandu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West*

enabled travellers to make long journeys in a safer way. There were two distinctive styles of foreign travel writing during the Mongol heyday.

Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1248-1227), also known as Changchunzi 長春子 (Master Ever Young), an alchemist, travelled to join Genghis Khan from 1220 to 1224. The account, written by his disciple, Li Zhichang 李志常, is titled *Changchun zhenren xiyoulu* 長春真人西遊錄 (Record of a Journey to the West of the True Master Changchun) (1228), and records Qiu's travel from Shandong to Afghanistan and how he preached *Dao* (the Way) to Genghis Khan.⁹⁵ Slightly later, after the death of Changchunzi, Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190-1244) published *Xiyou lu* 西遊錄 (Record of a Journey to the West). He was originally an official of the Jin dynasty and became a secretary of Genghis Khan, following his army to Central Asia and India. On returning to Yanjing 燕京 (today's Beijing), many people asked him about the foreign lands, so he was motivated to write down his travels. However, Yelü had his own agenda in writing this travelogue, which was to criticize Changchunzi whom he had observed during his journey with Genghis Khan. Thus, although the first part of the travelogue was full of details of the landscape and customs,⁹⁶ I suspect that the author was doing this to show his knowledge about the foreign places as a proof of him traveling with Genghis Khan and meeting Changchunzi in person, so that he was in a valid position to judge the ability of Changchunzi.

The Ming and the Late Imperial period

The Ming dynasty is often considered as the golden age of Chinese travel literature with renowned travel writers, such as Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559), Wang Shixing 王士性 (1547-1598), Yuan Hongdao and Xu Xiake, just to pick a few

(London: Kodansha International, 1992).

⁹⁵ For an English translation see Arthur Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist: the Journey of the Taoist Chang Chun from China to Hindukush at the Summon of Chingiz Khan* (London: Routledge, 1931).

⁹⁶ Li Boqi emphasised that the significance of *Xiyou lu* was its comprehensive and detailed records of geographical information and its free flowing language. See *Zhongguo gudai jiyou wenxue shi*, pp. 260-261.

examples. For many Ming literati, unlike their predecessors, travel was for the sake of travel itself. They engaged in numerous journeys sometimes just because they had an “obsession of travel” (*youpi* 遊癖). On the other hand, socio-political circumstances, such as the chaotic power struggle at the court, also contributed to this leisurely interest, for intellectuals could turn to travel as a means of escape from the political power struggle. Much research has been carried out on the travel writings of the late Ming.⁹⁷

There were, however, very few foreign travels among either literati or government officials with the exception of Zheng He whose sea journeys were considered the most spectacular ever in Chinese history. Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1435), a eunuch, made seven official sea journeys from 1405 to 1433, reaching the eastern part of Africa. It was the biggest overseas exploration in Chinese imperial history. Unfortunately, the journey was short lived. After Zheng He’s death, the sea mission was stopped immediately and official records of the journeys were largely destroyed. Only fragmented records have survived, such as Ma Huan’s 馬歡 *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (An Extraordinary Exhibition of Seas and Shores) and Fei Xin’s 費信 *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (An Extraordinary Exhibition of the Star Raft).⁹⁸ These two works, although full of detailed information of the Southeast

⁹⁷ For a general research of the literature of the Ming dynasty, see Wu Chengxue and Li Guangmou, *Wan Ming wenxue sichao* 晚明文學思潮 (Trends of Literary Thoughts of the Late Ming Period) (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001) and Zhu Wangshu and Xu Daobin eds., *Mingdai wenxue yu diyu wenhua yanjiu* 明代文學與地域文化研究 (A Study of Literature of the Ming Dynasty and Regional Cultures) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005). For individual Travellers, also see Chow Kai-wing, *Yuan Hung-tao and the Kuang-an School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Julian Ward, *Xu Xieke (1587-1641): the Art of Travel Writing* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001) and Zhou Ningxia, *Xu Xiake lungao* 徐霞客論稿 (Discussions of Xu Xiake) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004).

⁹⁸ More information about written records of Zheng He’s journeys see Xian Da, “Guanyu Sanbao taijian xia xiyang de jizhong ziliao” 關於三寶太監下西洋的幾種資料 (A Few Sources concerning the Eunuch Sanbao’s Journeys to the West Seas), in *Tang dai Chang’an yu xiyu wenming*, pp. 532-564.

Asian countries, especially about their commodities, are not attractive in terms of the language used. The authors tended to list what they perceived to be extraordinary commodities rather than narrating their travels. Zheng He, however, remained a fascinating figure, existing in novels and popular folklore, and in the late Qing, he was re-introduced to the intellectual circle by Liang Qichao who wrote “Zheng He zhuan” 鄭和傳 (A Biography of Zheng He).

During the mid and late Ming periods, a closed door policy was enforced, especially in the coastal areas, foreign travel writings were rare. Gong Yongqing’s 龔用卿 (1500-1563) *Shi Chaoxian lu* 使朝鮮錄 (An Embassy Diary to Korea) and Chen Di’s 陳第 (1540-1617) travel record of Taiwan, *Dongfan ji* 東番記 (Record of the Eastern Savages) were among the few examples, and Chen’s record of Taiwan clearly showed his presumed superiority over the natives by regarding their life as “primitive”.⁹⁹

Concerning the Qing dynasty, Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682), who occupies an unchallenging status in philosophy and history scholarship, was also a great traveller.¹⁰⁰ Gu’s travel started from 1657. In order to stay away from political

⁹⁹ Gong’s travel was mentioned in his biography in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 1286-1288. Also see Luo Ansheng, “Gong Yongqing *Shi Chaoxian lu* de shiliao jiaozhi 龔用卿《使朝鮮錄》的史料價值 (The Historical Significance of Gong Yongqing’s *An Embassy Diary to Korea*)”, in *Dongnan xueshu*, 3 (2002), pp. 165-168. For a detailed discussion of Chen’s account of Taiwan, see Emma Teng’s *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*, pp. 60-68.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Strassberg translated extracts from *Tianxia junguo libing shu* as an example of Qing travel writings. See *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 353-360. Zhao Lisheng wrote “Gu Tinglin xinzhuan” 顧亭林新傳 (A New Biography of Gu Yanwu) (*Gu Tinglin yu Wang Shanshi 顧亭林與王山史*, Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1986) and portrayed Gu as an agent who travelled around to collect secret information in order to restore the Ming dynasty. Chen Pingyuan agreed with Zhao and further advocated the idea of “yiyou weiyin” 以遊為隱 (traveling as a form of reclusion), analyzing how Gu developed his scholarship through his travels. In Chen Pingyuan, *Cong wenren zhi wen dao xuezhe zhi wen: Ming Qing sanwen yanjiu 從文人之文到學者之文——明清散文研究 (From Literati Writings to Scholarly Writings: A Study of Ming and Qing Prose)* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2005), pp. 150-157.

enemies, Gu travelled in northern China for the next twenty five years, doing archaeological field works and scholarly research.

Gu emphasized the importance of practical learning and held that scholarship should be able to contribute to the state. He strongly opposed the subjective and abstract thinking of the late Ming scholars, and had great interest in the study of geography. From the age of twenty seven (1639), Gu worked on two volumes of geographic research, *Tianxia junguo libing shu* 天下郡國利病書 (Strategic Advantages and Disadvantages of Commanderies and Kingdoms in the World) and *Chaoyu zhi* 肇域志 (A Record of Borders). *Tianxia junguo libing shu* was divided into two parts, one giving detailed records of places, the other Gu's comments. Like other works of Gu, this book was intended for practical ends: he explained his motivation for writing, saying that he "was moved by worries of impending upheavals and was ashamed of the incompetence of the Confucian scholars". (感四國之多虞，恥經生之寡術).¹⁰¹ Thus, literary merit was always of secondary concern.¹⁰² Strassberg concluded the features of Gu's travel writings to be their highly impersonal and objective tone, and their similarity to official historiographical narratives.¹⁰³ However, it was more his agenda of travelling that influenced the later intellectuals as their travels aimed to be beneficial to the state. Wang Zhichun, for example, mentioned in the preface of his travel report, regarded Gu as his role model.¹⁰⁴ In the next section, I will further show how Gu's practical learning affected

¹⁰¹ Gu Yanwu, "Tianxia junguo libing shu xu" 天下郡國利病書序 (The Preface), in *Tinglin wenji* 亭林文集 (Collected Works of Gu Yanwu) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), Vol. 6, p. 137.

¹⁰² Gu said that "once identified oneself as a literatus, there is nothing worth appreciating (in this person)" and criticized Han Yu for writing engraved inscriptions to flatter the dead. See "Yu ren shu shiba" 與人書十八 (The Eighteenth Letter), in *Tinglin wenji* 亭林文集 (Collected Works of Gu Yanwu), Vol. 4, p. 100.

¹⁰³ Richard Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, p. 356.

¹⁰⁴ Wang Zhichun, "Fanli" 凡例 (Explanatory Notes), in *Shi E cao* 使俄草 (A Draft of My Mission to Russia) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), p. 7. Also see Xue Fucheng, "Fanli" 凡例 (Explanation Notes), in *Chushi Ying Fa Yi Bi siguo riji* 出使英法義比四國日記 (A Diary of My Missions in Britain, France, Italy and Belgium) (Taiwan: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), p. 3.

the *kaozheng* (the Evidential School) and *jingshi* 經世 (the Statecraft School) scholars who dominated the scholarship of the mid and late Qing respectively and in turn, influenced the way travelogues were written.

Looking at *Xiao fanghu zhai yudi congchao*, it is clear that Chinese people were travelling throughout the Qing dynasty to the borders of the empire, such as the Southeast Asian countries, Tibet and Russia.¹⁰⁵ The West, including Europe and the United States, and even Japan were not yet popular destinations, although there were a few individuals who travelled to Italy to study Christianity. According to Fang Hao, the earliest Chinese students were Zheng Manuo 鄭瑪諾 and Fan Shouyi 樊守義 who went to Rome in 1635 and 1682 respectively. Fan Shouyi wrote a record of his experiences in Italy. Although Fang Hao regarded it as the first travelogue written about Europe and America, it was stored in Rome and was not published in China until 1937, thus could exert no influence on the late Qing travellers or add knowledge to fellow Chinese.¹⁰⁶

From then on until 1861, there were one hundred and six Chinese students in Naples; however as Zhang Xinglang pointed out, when these students returned to China they spent most of their time in meditation and were seldom involved in the development of scholarship and politics.¹⁰⁷ Official visits to Europe were also very rare. During the prime time of the Qing dynasty (the reigns of Kangxi 康熙 1662-1722, Yongzheng 雍正 1722-1735 and Qianlong 乾隆 1735-1795), not even one mission was sent to Europe despite the increasing contact between China and the

¹⁰⁵ Examples can be found in juan 1, 2, 3 and 10. See “Author’s Preface”, in *Xiaofanghu zhai yudi congchao* (Taipei: Guangwen shuiju, 1967), Vol. 1, pp. 3-4 and Index of Vol 1-3 and 13-14.

¹⁰⁶ Fang Hao, “Tongzhi qian Ouzhou liuxue shilu” 同治前歐洲留學史略 (A Brief History of Chinese Students in Europe before the Reign of Emperor Tongzhi), in *Zhongwei wenhua jiaotong shi luncong* 中外文化交通史論叢 (A Discussion of the History of Sino-Foreign Cultural Interaction) (Chongqing: Zhongzhen shuju, 1944), pp. 120-133.

¹⁰⁷ Zhang Xinglang, *Ouzhou dongjian shi* 歐洲東漸史 (A History of Europe’s Eastern Expansion) (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1947), p. 45.

Dutch and later the British.¹⁰⁸ By the eighteenth century, the most well-known traveller to Europe was Xie Qinggao 謝清高 (1765-1821), a native of Guangdong. According to the preface of *Hailu* 海錄 (Records of the Sea), written by Yang Bingqing 楊炳南, after a shipwreck, Xie was saved by a foreign ship which took him to Europe where he stayed for the next fourteen years. Because Xie was illiterate and became blind by the time he returned to China, the travel record was partly written by Yang Bingnan and partly by Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛 (1769-1841) whom Xie met in Macao two years before his death. The interest shown by these intellectuals revealed that by the end of eighteenth century, some intellectuals had already noticed the need to know more about the world by first hand experience rather than relying on old texts. This can be seen as the start of the rise in the study of geography of the late Qing.¹⁰⁹

Hailu was divided into ninety five entries, each dealing with one country. The content is more concerned with foreign people's livelihood and talked about customs and traditions, such as Western costumes and goods, and described the character of foreign people as "short-sighted and profit-driven"(急功尚利).¹¹⁰ Although Jeannette Mirsky pointed out that it contained only a "paucity of information",¹¹¹ it did serve as an important first hand record of Europe as it was quoted by the two most important geographical works in the late Qing, Wei Yuan's 魏源 (1794-1857) *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries) (first edition completed at the end of 1842) and Xu Jiyu's 徐繼畲 (1795-1873) *Yinghuan zhilüe* 瀛環志略 (A Brief Account of the Oceans around China) (1848).

¹⁰⁸ For the relations between the Qing government and the Dutch, see John E Wills Jr., "Ching relations with the Dutch 1622-1690", in John King Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order*, pp. 225-256.

¹⁰⁹ Zhong Shuhe, *Zuoxiang shijie: Jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, pp. 44-46. For the text of *Hailu*, see Appendix 1 of, in Bin Chun, *Chengcha biji* 乘槎筆記 (Sketchy Notes of a Ride on a Raft) Zhong Shuhe ed. (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 1-45.

¹¹⁰ Yang Bingnan and Xie Qinggao, *Hailu* (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubabshe, 1981), pp. 40-41.

¹¹¹ Jeanette Mirsky, *The Great Chinese Travellers*, p. 271.

Chinese Perceptions of Foreigners

Chinese perception of the world has long been a heated topic of discussion and much research has already been done.¹¹² Here, I do not intend to repeat all that has been said, but to draw attention to what is particularly relevant in the context of late Qing.

Firstly, although there were debates whether the Chinese world order actually existed in reality, it is clear that Chinese texts presented a view of regarding China as the centre of the world and the most civilized country.¹¹³ Non-Chinese people, being ignorant of Chinese civilization, were regarded as uncivilized and requiring the teaching of China. Therefore, the Chinese had to demonstrate benevolence and other virtues in order to civilise them. The *siyi* 四夷 (barbarians from four directions), in turn, if being civilized, could show their respect to the Chinese emperor by paying tribute.

Words to describe the non-Chinese peoples and lands, such as *shengfan* 生番 (raw savage, referring to tribal peoples not yet aware of Chinese civilization), *shufan* 熟番, (cooked savage, tribal people who had been subordinated to Chinese civilization) *jiufu* 九服 (literally meaning nine obedient tribes), *shufang* 殊方 (abnormal places), *yiyu* 異域 (extraordinary realm) and *sihuang* 四荒 (bleak

¹¹² For English sources, see John King Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional Chinese Foreign Relations* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), Michael Harbsmeier, “On Travel Accounts and Cosmological Strategies: Some Models in Comparative Xenology”, in *Enthos*, 50 (1985), pp. 273-312. For Chinese sources, see Ge Jianxiong, “Lishi shang de Zhongguo yu Zhongguo jiangyu” and Ge Zhaoguang, “Gudai Zhongguo ditu zhong de tianxiaguan” 古代中國地圖中的天下觀 (Looking at Chinese View of the World from Ancient Maps), in Zheng Peikai and Fan Jiawei eds., *Lishi dili*, pp. 1-20, and 21-34.

¹¹³ In fact, the Chinese had a good reason to believe this, as China had been economically and culturally unchallenged by her neighbour for a long time until the late Qing. See John S. Gregory, *The West and China since 1500* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2003), pp. 4-28. Even in the late Qing period, Jerome Chen quoted a comment of Sir Robert Hart (1835-1911), a British diplomat sent to China in 1863, about Chinese self sufficiency in the beginning of the 20th century. See Jerome Chen, *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), p. 27

surroundings), imply their barbarous, subordinate, abnormal, and barren natures. This is the idea of a tributary system. Similarly, words like, *yi* 夷, *di* 狄, *yong* 戎 and *man* 蠻, used as names of the periphery people also have intrinsic negative meanings, defaming these periphery people as being as uncivilized as animals.¹¹⁴ While Lydia Liu pointed out that the translation of *yi* as barbarian was a political device used by the British government, the term was not as neutral as Liu and some Chinese sources had suggested.¹¹⁵ *Huayi zhibian* appears not only in early Chinese texts, such as *Yugong* 禹貢 (Tribute of Yu), but also in Qing government documents and intellectual writing.¹¹⁶ The Sinic-centered thought existed, at least in the minds

¹¹⁴ Also see John King Fairbank, “A Preliminary Framework”, *The Chinese World Order*, p. 9.

¹¹⁵ Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 31 and “Legislating the Universal: The Circulation of International Law in the Nineteenth Century”, in Lydia Liu ed., *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 133-134. For Chinese official sources in the Qing, a typical example could be found in Liang Ting Nan’s 梁廷柎 *Yue haiguan zhi* 粵海關志 (A Record of Canton Customs and Excise) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), in which he expressed astonishment at the British dissatisfaction against the use of *man* and *yi*, as they were only names what implied so suggestion of humiliating the British. The original read, “府議以蠻、夷二字，係外國統稱，在南曰蠻，在西曰夷，猶內地民人曰漢人，只係稱呼，並無輕侮之意。” p. 555. Later, during the peace talks in Nanjing 1841, a Chinese diplomat, Zhang Xi 張喜 also refuted the negative meanings of *yi* by quoting Confucius, saying that the sage kings Xun 舜 and Wen 文 were *yi* from the east and west. He found it hard to see why the British found it humiliating. Zhongguo shi xuehui ed., *Yapian zhanzheng* 鴉片戰爭 (The Opium War) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), Vol. 5, p. 389.

¹¹⁶ *Yu Gong* is believed to have been written around 475 to 221 BC. The book described the relations of China and other nations as concentric squares, with China in the middle, symbolizing its superiority above the barbarians. For Qing writings, typical examples can be found in imperial edicts. For example, Qianlong 乾隆 saw the diplomatic mission of Lord George Macartney in 1793 as an example of Britain paying tribute to China. See Qianlong’s edict for the British emperor. In Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’an guan ed., *Yingshi Majiayini fanghua dang’an shiliu huibian* 英使馬戛爾尼訪華檔案史料匯編 (A Historiography of George Macartney’s Mission to China) (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1996), pp. 165-166. The Jiaqing Emperor 嘉慶 also had a similar view: “The Heavenly Kingdom received subordination from China and the foreigners, and the *yi* and the Chinese were obedient. How can your small foreign country (Britain) correspond equally to China?” (天朝臣服中

of Chinese people, even if it was not used in reality.

Secondly, as shown earlier, Chinese intellectuals were not completely ignorant of the outside world, although real experiences and accurate knowledge were lacking.¹¹⁷ Evidence could be found not only in written records, but also maps. Just as texts were written inevitably with the influence of the author, so maps were produced to reveal only the cartographers' perception of the world.¹¹⁸ Most Chinese maps, as Richard Smith pointed out were "primarily based on cultural data" rather than precise measurement. In the Ming dynasty, foreign countries were already included in the Chinese world map. Smith then elaborated further on the features of the outward looking and yet introspective nature of the Chinese maps. He meant that the Chinese emperor's domestic concern included the welfare of all people (*tianxia*

外, 夷夏咸賓, 蕞爾小國, 何得與中國並論。) See "Renzong ri huangdi hilu" 仁宗睿皇帝實錄 (The Real Record of the Jiaqing Emperor), Vol. 30, juan 202, in *Qing shilu* 清實錄 (The Real Record of the Qing Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), p. 687. Even after a second defeat by the British in 1860, conservative officials still upheld the notion of *huayi zhibian*. For example, Yang Tingqi 楊廷熙 claimed that whether useful or not, Chinese should not use those technologies as long as they were foreign. Li Ciming 李慈銘 (1830-1894) also considered that learning from the West would weaken the moral standard of the Chinese. See Zhongguo shi xuehui ed., *Yangwu yundong* 洋務運動 (The Self-Strengthening Movement) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1961), Vol. 2, p.47. Li Ciming, *Yuemantang guoshi riji* 越縵堂國事日記 (A Diary of State Affairs of the Yueman Studio) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1978), Vol. 8, p. 81. More analysis of the notion of *huayi zhibian* and how it affected the discovery of the West among the late Qing intellectuals will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

¹¹⁷ I will discuss how the Qing intellectuals started finding out more about the West and Japan after 1840 in the next section of this chapter.

¹¹⁸ Scholars have discussed how maps can be seen as a cultural system built on social values and norms, and therefore they are "rooted in social theory rather than in scientific positivism". See J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map", in James S. Duncan eds., *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 231-238, here, pp. 232. Also see Denise Wood, *The Power of Maps* (New York: The Guildford Press, 1992), p. 1. For a discussion of traditional Chinese maps, see Cordell D. K. Yee, "Reinterpreting Traditional Chinese Geographical Maps", in J. B. Harley and David Woodward ed., *The History of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Vol. 2, Book 2 (London: The University of Chicago press, 1994), pp. 35-70.

天下). In that sense the concepts of a “world map” and a “map of China” were overlapped.¹¹⁹

This view of universal kingship was prominent from as early as the time of *Yugong* to the late Qing, with disregard to the military power of the Chinese empires. As revealed in the envoy reports of the Southern Song, Chinese assumptions of superiority remained strong. Indeed, as Benjamin Schwartz concluded, the outstanding characteristic of the Chinese assumption of superiority was its persistence, and its strength and persistence came from its linkage with Confucian values.¹²⁰ This helps to explain why there was so much opposition to the adoption of Western values. Joanna Waley Cohen pointed out while traditional China was actively engaged in seeking foreign goods and ideas, the hostile attitude towards foreign ideology or influence was aimed at maintaining the orthodoxy of Chinese values.¹²¹ This was true when looking at the late Qing intellectuals’ view of modernization. Therefore, the notion of “Chinese learning for foundation and Western learning for practical use” (中學為體，西學為用) can be seen as an attempt to solve the dilemma of finding a balance between Chinese values and Western learning, with the core always being the Chinese values.

As a result of the deep-rooted view of Chinese superiority, although the Chinese were aware of the existence of other countries (even if they were civilized) in texts and maps, they were not prepared to abandon the Sino-centred thought. In fact, the

¹¹⁹ Richard J. Smith, “Mapping China’s World: Cultural Cartography in Late Imperial Times”, in Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998), pp. 52-109.

¹²⁰ Benjamin I. Schwartz, “The Chinese Perception of World Order: Past and Present”, in John King Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order*, p. 276. He pointed out that thinking of oneself as the centre of the world was not unique to China: however, other nations, after interacting with their neighbours, gradually changed their attitudes. The Chinese view, however, was concretely rooted even up to the Communist period. In illustrating its persistence, Schwartz used the coming of Buddhism and the Manchus, a foreign ruler, to demonstrate the deep-rooted Chinese world order. See pp. 279-281.

¹²¹ Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

notion was sometimes further confirmed by texts suggesting Chinese superiority over the barbarians and maps showing tiny foreign lands as satellites around China. The notion of *datong* 大同 (The Great Unity) and the metaphor of the modern world as resembling the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, which were particularly important notions of change among the late Qing intellectuals, represented a major change from traditional views. I will analyze how the idea was presented in travel writings of the late Qing in the next chapter.

2.2 The Context of Late Qing Travellers to Foreign Lands

The Need to Discover the Modern World

In spite of the interactions with foreigners that went on throughout Chinese history, the Chinese people never lost the idea of China being the centre of civilization. Scholars have examined how Buddhism, a religion from India, known to the Chinese in the Eastern Han dynasty, was sinicised to the extent that its Indian origin was almost forgotten.¹²²

Officially, Chinese first got to know about the modern world from Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) who drew the Ming emperor Wanli 萬曆 a map of the world in 1584. The *Shanghai yudi quantu* 山海輿地全圖 (A Complete Map of Mountains and Seas), drawn according to Jesuit scientific methods, was bitterly attacked by Chinese officials who regarded the displacement of China as disrespectful.¹²³ By that time, the Chinese knew there were other civilized countries both from previous written records and Zheng He's seven sea expeditions, but the assumption of Chinese

¹²² Ge Zhaoguang, "Gudai Zhongguo ditu zhong de tianxia guannian", in Zheng Peikai and Fan Jiawei eds., *Lishi dili*, pp. 25-26. Benjamin I. Schwartz, "The Chinese Perception of World Order: Past and Present", in John K. Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order*, p. 280.

¹²³ Xiong Yuezhi, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 (The Dissemination of Western Studies in the East and the Society of the Late Qing) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1995), p. 27-73. Also Richard J. Smith, "Mapping China's World: Cultural Cartography in Late Imperial Times", in Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society*, p. 73

superiority was persistent enough to resist any thought of China not being the centre of the world. Matteo Ricci, in order to carry out his mission to enter Chinese intellectual circles, had to make adjustments to his map. In 1602, he presented Emperor Wanli with the revised *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (A Complete Map of the Myriads of Countries of the World), adjusting the Prime Meridian and making China the centre of the world. This time, it was well received by intellectuals, and the Emperor even printed it on his screen.¹²⁴ Matteo Ricci later explained that the purpose of presenting world maps was to make the Chinese more modest and therefore more willing to establish equal relations with other countries. However, the fact that he had to make adjustments to his map in order to get accepted meant the Chinese refused to accept his idea of the world. Although Ge Zhaoguang claimed that these two world maps represented the turning point of Chinese knowledge of the world, other scholars recognized the relatively small influence on either Chinese cartography or geographical texts.¹²⁵ Richard Smith gave the example of Liang Zhou's 梁軻 *Qiankun wanguo quantu gujin renwu shiji* 乾坤萬國全圖古今人物事蹟 (A Complete Map of the Myriads of Countries of the World and the History of the Peoples) (1593?-1605?), which he claimed to have been inspired by Matteo Ricci, presented a traditional idea of China being the central civilization. It was also a combination of reality and myths: American countries were drawn among countries described in the *Shanhai jing*.¹²⁶ Thus Matteo Ricci's maps had neither motivated the

¹²⁴ For more information, see Ge Zhaoguang, "Gudai Zhongguo ditu zhong de tianxia guannian", in Zheng Peikai and Fan Jiawei eds., *Lishi dili*, pp. 29-30.

¹²⁵ Richard J. Smith, "Mapping China's World: Cultural Cartography in Late Imperial Times", in Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society*, pp.71-77. See also Cordell D. K. Yee, "Traditional Chinese cartography and the Myth of Westernization", in J. B. Harley and David Woodward ed., *The History of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Vol. 2, Book 2, p. 176-177. Moreover, although Xiong Yuezhi regarded Matteo Ricci as the first person to open Chinese people's eyes, his analysis on how Ricci had to adopt the Chinese perception and distort the world map showed that the reality of how the world looked was not effectively revealed. See *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui*, pp. 31-32.

¹²⁶ For a reproduction of the map, see Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society*, p. 74.

Chinese to discover the world nor changed the belief in the tributary system.

However, Matteo Ricci's effort did mark the beginning of the inflow of Western studies to China. Thereafter, several Jesuits went to China and became influential in the court, such as Giulio Aleni (1582-1649), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). Aleni, for instance, finished a geographical work, *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (A Record of Places Beyond the Tributary States) in 1623.¹²⁷ Johann Adam Schall von Bell was an important figure in Chinese astronomy because he was able to show the weaknesses of the traditional Chinese method by using Western scientific calculations.¹²⁸ Ferdinand Verbiest was famous for his help in the manufacture of cannon.¹²⁹

Although the Jesuits were able to win the trust of Chinese emperors, including Emperor Kangxi, Western science and technology did not cause great changes among Chinese intellectuals. For example, Nicolaus Copernicus' (1473-1543) heliocentric cosmology, which had greatly changed the Western view of the world and boosted the development of science, did not gain significant attention among Chinese scholars.¹³⁰ While Xiong Yuezhi saw a gradual increase in Western studies coming into Chinese court and intellectual circles, progress was in fact very slow.¹³¹ Apart from the persistence of the idea of *huayi zhibian* that had prevented Chinese intellectuals from accepting Western ideas wholeheartedly, there was simply no need to discover more about other countries. For example, even Gu Yanwu, who traveled

¹²⁷ *Zhifang waiji* was still an important source for knowledge of Southeast Asia in the late Qing. Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi*, for instance, quoted much information from it in describing Chinese relations with the Southeast Asian countries. See Xiong Yuezhi, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui*, p. 46-48. Later intellectuals, like Wang Tao, however, were able to see the record as a historical fact that no longer existed. See Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 70.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38, 44-45. Also, Zhao Erxun, *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (A Draft of the History of Qing) (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1987), pp. 10019-10024.

¹²⁹ Zhao Erxun, *Qing shi gao*, p. 10024.

¹³⁰ Li Hanwu, *Wei Yuan zhuan* 魏源傳 (A Biography of Wei Yuan) (Changsha: Hunnan University Press, 1988), p. 124. Also see Xiong Yuezhi, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui*, pp. 42.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 28-61.

extensively and emphasized the function of geographical works, paid little attention to places outside China. Although he was aware of the existence of the Portuguese, he simply imagined Portugal as being one of China's tributary states, located "south of Java" and their habits being "buying and eating small children" without further research.¹³²

During the most successful period of the Qing dynasty, scholarship was dominated by evidential studies, which involved scholars working on the philology of the *Classics*, regarding the revelation of the original face of the *Classics* by seeking concrete definitions of words as the only way to understand them. There was fruitful research in Chinese phonology, etymology and bibliography, but this inward development had spared little attention to discover other parts of the world. John Wills pointed out even those Chinese officials who needed to deal with foreign people showed no interest in knowing more about them and kept their contacts to a minimum.¹³³ The mission of Lord George Macartney and Lord William Amherst (1773-1857) in 1816 also aroused little motivation within the court for change. By the late Qing, as Wei Yuan pointed out, Chinese intellectuals had only a vague and outdated knowledge of the outside world.¹³⁴ Jane Kate Leonard noted the lack of knowledge at court of the south eastern coast where foreigners settled, as it had given up control of the coastal areas for political and administrative reasons. The breakdown of communication between the court and the coastal local government, however, lead to the defeat in the first Opium War in 1839.¹³⁵

¹³² Gu Yanwu, "Fujian beilu" 福建備錄 (Supplement of Fujian province), in *Tianxia jinguo libing shu*, p. 33-34, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* Vol. 595-597 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), p. 259.

¹³³ John E Wills Jr., "Ch'ing relations with the Dutch 1622-1690", in John K. Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order*, pp. 225-256.

¹³⁴ Wei Yuan, "Sheng wu ji xu" 聖武記敘 (Preface to *Record of the Sacred Military Force*), *Sheng wu ji* 聖武記 (Record of the Sacred Military Force) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1974), pp. 1-2

¹³⁵ Jane Kate Leonard, *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 54-78. Leonard also saw Wei's primary motive of writing *Haiguo tuzhi* as being to inform the court of the present situation of Southeast Asia (instead of the West) in order to rebuild this communication line. Wang Gungwu, however, was correct to point out

The trend of scholarship, however, had started changing at the turn of the 19th century. (It will be further discussed in the next sub-section) Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792-1841) was regarded by scholars as the first pioneer to be aware of the need to change. Although not sure which way China should change, he felt change was inevitable.¹³⁶ I will discuss Gong in terms of the development of the school of *jinwen jing xuepai* 今文經學派 (the New Text School) and the statecraft school (經世派) below. The first person who saw an urgent need to know more about the world, especially the Europeans, was Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785-1850), the Commissioner appointed in 1839 to end the opium trade. Lin saw this need mainly due to his personal experience when he had to deal with the British in Guangzhou (Canton). Although considered by Chinese historians to be “the first Chinese who opened his eyes to the world”, Lin had little knowledge of the West when he first arrived in Guangzhou.¹³⁷ He was astonished by the hideous physical appearance of the foreigners and considered their customs to be truly barbarian.¹³⁸ On two occasions in his memoranda, he noted that the British soldiers could not bend their legs because of their tight stockings.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, he initiated a translation of Hugh Murray’s

that this aspect was largely omitted by both scholars of late Qing and modern China because the situation changed so quickly that China could not possibly regain control over the coast and Southeast Asia. See his foreword to Leonard’s book, p. xvi-xvii.

¹³⁶ Gong Zizhen expressed grave concern over the deterioration of the social situation at his time. He said, “From the capital to all over China, I reckon that the rich are becoming the poor and the poor are starving.” (自京師始，概乎四方，大抵富戶變貧戶，貧戶變餓者。) In Gong Zizhen, “Xiyu zhi xingsheng yi” 西域置行省議 (A Memorandum of Establishing Provincial Rule in the West of China), in *Gong Zizhen quanji* 龔自珍全集 (Complete Works of Gong Zizhen) (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p. 106. Chiang Ying Ho regarded Gong as the first intellectual to be aware of the need to change and had longlasting effects on later generations. See Chiang Ying Ho, *Jindai wenxue de shijie hua: cong Gong Zizhen dao Wang Guowei* 近代文學的世界化—從龔自珍到王國維 (The Globalization of late Qing Literature) (Taipei: Taiwan shudian, 1998), pp. 21-42.

¹³⁷ Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo jindai shi* 中國近代史 (The Modern History of China) (Beijing: Remin chubanshe, 1953), p. 21.

¹³⁸ Lin Zexu, *Lin Zexu riji* 林則徐日記 (The Diary of Lin Zexu), in *Yapian zhanzheng*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

¹³⁹ Lin Zexu, in “Zougao” 奏稿 (Memoranda), in *Lin Zexu ji* 林則徐集 (Works of Lin Zexu)

(1779-1864) *The Encyclopedia of Geography* (1836) which was called *Sizhou zhi* 四洲志 (A Gazetteer of the Four Continents). After being banished from the court in 1841, Lin passed on the work to his assistant, Wei Yuan.

During the Opium War, Wei Yuan had experienced the strength of Britain and wished to know more about this enemy. Using an affidavit of a British soldier, Wei wrote *Yingjili xiaoji* 英吉利小記 (A Brief Record of England). In August 1841, Wei started completing Lin's work by adding more information from various other sources. Xiong Yuezhi, analyzing the citations of Wei's work, pointed out that Wei used an enormous amount of Western works.¹⁴⁰ Wong Wang-chi further regarded the book as a combination of various works of translation.¹⁴¹ In fact, Wei was fully aware of this characteristic of his book as he aimed to "let the Westerners speak about the West" (以西洋人談西洋).¹⁴² *Haiguo tuzhi* was written primarily in response to China's defeat in 1839. The first version was finished by the end of 1842, just over one year after the Nanking Treaty (1841), mirroring the urgency felt by the author. For Wei, the first step to defeat the enemy was to know them thoroughly (*xi yiqing* 悉夷情).¹⁴³ Only after that could the Chinese learn from the foreigners selectively and eventually be able to defeat them.¹⁴⁴ While Wei noticed the military superiority of the West, he did not neglect other factors that made the West strong, for example he introduced the British parliamentary system and the constitution of

(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), p. 676 and 861.

¹⁴⁰ Xiong Yuezhi, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui*, pp. 257-266.

¹⁴¹ Wong Wang-chi, "Why Should We Learn from the Barbarians? On the Relationship of between Translation and the Traditional Chinese View on Foreigners", in *Journal of Chinese Studies*, 47 (2007), p. 231.

¹⁴² Wei Yuan, "Yuanxu" 原序 (The Original Preface), in *Haiguo tuzhi*, p.1.

¹⁴³ Wei Yuan, "Chouhai pian san, yizhan" 籌海篇三·議戰 (Planning for Sea Defence 3: A Discussion of Fighting), in *Haiguo tuzhi*, Vol. 2, p. 26. Earlier in his book *Shengwu ji*, he had emphasized the importance of translating foreign books in order to know the foreigners better. The ultimate goal was to control these foreigners. p. 946.

¹⁴⁴ Wei Yuan, "Yuanxu", in *Haiguo tuzhi*, p.1.

the United States, praising their *gong* 公 (fairness).¹⁴⁵

Wei Yuan was also brave enough to break the rigid line between the Chinese and the “barbarians”, the *huayi zhibian*. While most of the court officials regretted the defeat of China and resented foreigners, Wei Yuan praised the Westerners for their broad and deep knowledge. He stated that it was inappropriate to call them *yi* (in this context translated as barbarians), instead they were remarkable people of the world and distinctive friends from other countries.¹⁴⁶ He was also the first one to voice out the idea of *Datong* in its modern sense. Although he quoted the term from the *Classics*, advocating the notion of a family under Heaven (*tianxia yijia* 天下一家), he obviously used the term in its most recent context, suggesting a trend that would transfer from the West to the East and eventually make them as one entity.¹⁴⁷ While recognizing Wei Yuan’s achievement in showing to his fellow Chinese a new and modern world, it has to be pointed out that the book did not attract much attention in the first twenty years after the Opium War (1839).

Another noteworthy Chinese gazetteer of the world, *Yinghuan zhiliue* was written by Xu Jiyu in 1848. Xu, after achieving the title of *jinshi* 進士 (the highest title acquired from the civil service examination), took up official positions around the Southeastern coast from 1840, including Guangdong and Fujian. There, he had some direct contact with Westerners and personally experienced the Opium War, becoming aware of how little the Chinese knew about the world. He started working on his scholarly research, first titled *Yinghuan kaolue* 瀛環考略 (A Brief Evidential Research of the World around China) and finished its final version, *Yinghuan zhiliue* in 1848 after getting more information from the Westerners he met. Like Wei Yuan, Xu felt that China should know more about the world, especially the West, before waging war against them. As a response to the Western invasion, Xu devoted the longest section to introducing Europe and America, specifically Britain, France and

¹⁴⁵ Wei Yuan, *Haiguo tuzhi*, juan 4 and 5.

¹⁴⁶ Wei Yuan, *Haiguo tuzhi*, Vol. 76, p. 1888-1889.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the United States. He also noted the democratic governments of Britain and the United States, and was brave enough to praise George Washington (1732-1799) for his unselfishness.¹⁴⁸ Being able to break away from the prejudice of seeing Westerners as barbarians, Xu went further to praise their intelligence and said that Britain, France and Germany were where the *wangqi* 王氣 (the atmosphere of a king) of Europe resided. It was not surprising that his radical ideas were bitterly attacked and his work was not widely spread until the late 1860s.¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, *Haiguo tuzhi* and *Yinghuan zhilüe* were the earliest intellectual responses to the changing era of the late Qing, and they had significantly inspired later travellers. Bin Chun 斌椿 (1803-?), the first Qing official abroad, was leader of the one of the four roving diplomatic missions from 1866 to 1873. On his way to Europe, he used to check information against Xu's book.¹⁵⁰ Wang Tao regarded himself as Wei Yuan's successor and wrote a preface to show his recognition of the significance of *Yinghuan zhilüe* in his understanding of the modern world.¹⁵¹ Liang Qichao, one of the leading reformists and intellectuals from the 1890s onwards, paid homage to Xu's work, claiming that it was only after reading *Yinghuan zhilüe* that he

¹⁴⁸ Xu Jiuyu, *Yinghuan zhilüe* (Taipei: Taipei Shangweu yinshuju, 1986), pp. 695-696. For a discussion of the Chinese image of George Washington, see K. Scott Wong, "The Transformation of Culture: Three Chinese Views of America", in *American Quarterly*, 48.2 (1996), pp. 201-232, here p. 208-212.

¹⁴⁹ For more details see Fang Wen, *Qing Xu Song'an xiansheng Jiyu nianpu* 清徐松龕先生繼畚年譜 (A Biographical Chronicle of Xu Jiuyu of the Qing Dynasty) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1982), pp. 328-329.

¹⁵⁰ Bin Chun, *Chengcha biji* 乘槎筆記 (Anecdotes of Riding on a Raft) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 1, 10, 11, 12 and 17. However, after Bin arrived at France, he did not resort to Xu's work again. This silent rhetoric reflects the limitations of Xu's works. Similarly, Guo Songtao, the first Chinese ambassador to Britain, also checked Xu's information against what he observed. See Guo Songtao, *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji* 使西紀程 (A Record of an Envoy's Voyage to the West) (Shengyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), p. 20, 22, 37. See also Xue Fucheng, *Chushi Ying, Fa, Yi, Bi siguo riji*, p. 59.

¹⁵¹ Wang Tao, "Yinghuan zhilüe ba" 瀛環志略跋 (A Preface to *Yinghuan zhilüe*), in *Taoyuan weilu weibian*, Vol. 9, pp. 26-27, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 629-630.

had realized the existence of the five continents.¹⁵² Of these works' significance in travel literature, Meng Hua pointed out that they were among the first to transmit the idea of "the other" and "other places" among Chinese people, ushering them towards the pursuit of a whole new world in texts.¹⁵³

The limitation of these books, however, lies in the fact that none of them contained sufficient knowledge of the West. The authors had not had the chance to see what the West looked like and how the Western systems were run. Therefore, a more drastic and vigorous response began only when the Chinese, especially the intellectuals, went abroad, and had enjoyed direct experience with the reality of the West. Not only was their information far more accurate, a completely different environment and system also encouraged them to respond and reflect in a deeper sense. Therefore, I see the travellers' records as far more valuable sources in understanding the changing Chinese perceptions of the world. It was also under this circumstance that the late Qing foreign travelogues inevitably bore a strong political agenda.

The need to discover Japan came later than the West. While occasionally there were voices calling for the need to know more about China's immediate neighbour, Japan, the dramatic change in Chinese attitude only came after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5). China and Japan had a long history of cultural interactions. The earliest reference to the Japanese peoples, named *wo* 倭 (dwarf), was in *Shanhai jing*, which placed them to the north of Yan 燕 (around Hebei province).¹⁵⁴ The first official record of a Chinese person going to Japan was in *Shiji*, which recorded the

¹⁵² Liang Qichao, "Sishi zishu" 四十自述 (A Memoir in my Forties), in *Yinbing shi wenji* 飲冰室文集 (Works of the Drinking Ice Studio) (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p. 74.

¹⁵³ Meng Hua, "Bijiao wenxue xingxiang xue lunwen fanyi yanjiu zhaji" 比較文學形象學論文翻譯研究札記 (Notes of A Translation of Research Papers of Imagology in the Studies of Comparative Literature), in *Bijiao wenxue xingxiang xue* 比較文學形象學 (Imagology in Comparative Literature) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2001), p. 16.

¹⁵⁴ Richard E. Strassberg ed. and trans., *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 203.

journey of Xu Fu 徐福, an alchemist, who went with three hundred boys and girls to the immortal lands of Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈 and Yingzhou 瀛洲 (believed to be Japan) in order to find drugs that could lengthen human life for Qinshi huangdi 秦始皇帝.¹⁵⁵ Thereafter, the three spiritual mountains came to represent the icon of Japan in Chinese texts and were also commonly found in late Qing travelogues of Japan. Because of this legend, later historians always described Japan as an immortal land, for example, Fan Ye described the Kingdom of Dwarves as an “immortal land with gentlemen” (有君子、不死之國). He further suggested that people there were the descendants of Xu Fu and the three hundred children.¹⁵⁶ Images of Japan in Chinese texts were complex according to Zhang Zhexiong because conflicting images were present in different texts even from around the same period.¹⁵⁷ Apart from being portrayed as an immortal land, after frequent interactions during the Tang dynasty, Japanese culture also arouse interest among Chinese poets who regarded Japan as an offshoot of Chinese culture. Japanese were seen as similar to Chinese in their appearance and civilized as they were able to learn from Chinese culture. Their jewellery, fans, and blades also looked very exquisite, and were frequently mentioned and praised in literary works.¹⁵⁸ Generally, however, apart from religious and commercial purpose, Chinese people did not show much interest in finding out more about the geography and customs of Japan. Therefore, over a long period of time, information about Japan was only copied from book to book and not revised.¹⁵⁹ Chen Lunjiong 陳倫炯 (fl. 1703-1730), for example, in his *Haiguo jianwen lu* 海國見聞錄 (A Record of What I Saw and Heard about the Maritime Countries) (1730) thought that Japan was made up of Nagasaki, Satsuma and

¹⁵⁵ Sima Qian, “Qin shi Huang benji” 秦始皇本紀 (The Biography of Qin shi Huang), in *Shiji*, pp. 247-249. Xu Fu was recorded as Xu Shi 市 in this biography.

¹⁵⁶ Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 2807.

¹⁵⁷ Zhang Zhexiong, *Zhongguo gudai wenxue zhong de Riben xingxiang yanjiu*, pp. 10-74.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-89, and 344-373.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-10.

Tsushima only.¹⁶⁰ Even Wei Yuan had not included Japan in his *Haiguo tuzhi* (1842).¹⁶¹ It was, therefore, not surprising that Huang Zunxian criticized Chinese intellectuals for being too narrow-minded and self-contained as their only interest was in studies of the past; as a result, although Japan was so near to China, Chinese knew very little about its current situation. He used the three spiritual mountains as a metaphor to describe the vague and mythical impressions Chinese people had of Japan.¹⁶² Although Huang was not the first intellectual to see the need to discover the modern Japan, he was the first to compile a Chinese version of modern Japanese history, *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (A History of Japan).

There is no need to repeat the significance of Huang's work here as many research works have done.¹⁶³ The dramatic change in the interactions between China and Japan came after the two countries set up formal diplomatic relations in 1877. Japan's ambitions in Korea, Taiwan and the Liuqiu Islands worried intellectuals such as Guo Songtao 郭嵩濤 (1818-1891), Wang Tao and Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894). Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894) even foresaw the possibility of war

¹⁶⁰ Chen Jionglun, *Haiguo wenjian lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987). For more information of Chinese knowledge about Japan, see Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, pp. 108-115 and Wang Xiaoqi, *Jindai Zhong Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi* 近代中日文化交流史 (A History of Cultural Exchange between China and Japan during the Modern Period), pp. 19-36.

¹⁶¹ In the third edition of *Haiguo tuzhi* (1852), Wei Yuan, based on the information in Xu Jiyu's *Yinghuan zhilüe*, added a chapter of Japan. However, with limited knowledge about Japan, he still described Japan as being formed by the three islands mentioned by Chen Jionglun.

¹⁶² Huang Zunxian, "Preface", in *Riben guozhi*, in *Huang Zunxian quanji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), Vol 2, pp. 818-819.

¹⁶³ For Chinese studies, see Sheng Banghe, *Huang Zunxian shixue yanjiu* 黃遵憲史學研究 (A Study of Historical Studies of Huang Zunxian) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1987). Wang Xiaoqi, *Jindai Zhongguo yu Riben: hudong yu yingxiang* 近代中國與日本——互動與影響 (Modern China and Japan: Interactions and Influence) (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2005), pp. 218-247. For more recent research see Zhongguo shixue hui and Zhongguo shehui kexue jindai shi yanjiusuo eds., *Huang Zunxian yanjiu xinlun* 黃遵憲研究新論 (New Discussions of the Research into Huang Zunxian) (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007).

which finally exploded in 1894.¹⁶⁴ From then on, not only did intellectuals want to know more about Japan, they also wanted to learn from Japan. Wang Xiaoqiu pointed out that *Riben guozhi* had great influence on Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao and became a blueprint for the 1898 Reform.¹⁶⁵ A drastic increase in the students studying in Japan also showed a reverse in knowledge flow which Wang Tao had acutely sensed after his travel to Japan in 1879.¹⁶⁶

The Scholarship of the Qing dynasty

The rise of interest in geo-political studies and foreign travel was also related to the development of scholarship in the Qing dynasty. The idea of traveling and doing geographical studies for its own sake had developed by the late Ming. After the downfall of the Ming, however, scholars, such as Gu Yanwu strongly criticized the subjectiveness and emptiness of the Ming scholarship, and argued that scholarship had to be related to practical use.¹⁶⁷ Gu himself, for example, used geographical studies for the purpose of drawing up state policies. *Tianxia junguo libing shu*, introduced above, was written to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of different regional policies. This accorded with his notion of practical learning (*shixue* 實學), of which scholarship had to be helpful to current state affairs. Wang Guowei described the spirit of this scholarship as *jingshi* 經世 (to regulate the world) and their learning as *zhiyong* 致用 (having practical functions).¹⁶⁸ This was exactly

¹⁶⁴ Xue Fucheng, “Preface”, in in *Riben guozhi*, in *Huang Zunxian quanji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), Vol. 2, p. 817-818. Xue saw the possibility of war between the two countries because of territory conflicts.

¹⁶⁵ Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhongguo yu Riben: hudong yu yingxiang*, p. 243.

¹⁶⁶ See Wang Tao, “The Preface”, in *Fusang Youji*, p. 171.

¹⁶⁷ See Gu Yanwu, “Yu youren lunxue shu” 與友人論學書 (A Letter to a Friend to Discuss Scholarship), in *Tinglin wenji*, Vol. 3, pp. 43-44.

¹⁶⁸ Wang Guowei, “Shen Yi’an xiansheng qishi shou xu” 沈乙庵先生七十壽序 (A Preface to Master Shen Zengzhi for his Seventieth Birthday), in *Wang Guantang quanqi* 王觀堂全集 (Complete Works of Wang Guowei) (Taipei: Taiwan wenhua chuban gongsi, 1968), p. 1146. Also see Hou Weilu, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史 (A Complete History of Chinese Philosophy) (Beijing:

what the late Qing scholars had been echoing with their predecessors. Gu Yanwu and his contemporaries also emphasized the importance of studying the *Classics* in order to use the wisdom of the past to cope with present situations. Instead of interpreting the Classics arbitrarily as the Ming scholars had done, they advocated studying the Classics from a textual approach. Carefully revealing the original meaning of the texts, they believed, was the sole way to understand the *Classics*. Gu's *Yinxue wushu* 音學五書 (Five Books of the Studies of Phonetics) and extracts of *Rizhi lu* 日知錄 (A Journal of Knowledge Learnt Every Day) were examples of this kind of scholarly work.

The advocacy on textual studies quickly developed into a trend of returning to the Han Learning 漢學, in contrast with the Song Learning 宋學 which focused on the elaboration of abstract ideas of *yili* 義理 (moral philosophy). However, scholars at the beginning of the Qing dynasty only used the skills in textual studies as a vehicle to gain a complete understanding of the *Classics*, while the Qian-Jia (Qianlong and Jiaqing era, generally known as the prime time of the evidential school) scholars, such as Jiang Yong 江永 (1681-1762), saw these skills as meaningful in themselves.¹⁶⁹ This gradually led to the development of *kaozheng xue* 考證學 (evidential scholarship school), of which the centre of scholarship was philology, sometimes even as narrow as to search for the original pronunciation, meaning and usage of a particular word. This phenomenon was bitterly attacked by later scholars. Gong Zizhen, a leading scholar of the *jinwen jing*, criticized the Qian-Jia scholarship for putting too much emphasis on philology and upsetting the delicate balance between moral philosophy (also known as *zundexing* 尊德性) and philology (also known as *daowenxue* 道問學) teachings found in the *Classics*.¹⁷⁰

Renmin chubanshe, 1958), Vol. 5, pp. 217-220.

¹⁶⁹ For more information, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 31-32.

¹⁷⁰ Gong Zizhen, "Jiang Ziping suozhu shu xu" 江子屏所著書序 (A Preface to Books of Jiang Ziping) in *Gong Zizhen quanqi*, p. 193.

Xia Jiong 夏炯, brother of Xia Xie 夏燮 (1799-1875), accused the evidential school of destroying the coherence and meaning of the *Classics*.¹⁷¹ Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘 (1857-1928) even likened the emptiness of evidential scholarship to the “pure conversation” (清談) of the Wei and Jin Dynasties.¹⁷²

In fact, even during the heyday of evidential studies, there were already voices of dissatisfaction. Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724-1777) stressed the importance of *yili* although he was remembered only for his contribution to philological studies.¹⁷³ Dai’s student, Duan Yucan 段玉裁 (1735-1815), a towering figure in etymology, criticized the lack of Song studies and the misunderstanding of Han learning which resulted in the emptiness of Confucian studies.¹⁷⁴ Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) argued for the use of both Han and Song learning, suggesting that they were not necessarily exclusive to each other, that Song learning was a way to understand abstract notions while Han learning could help with real meanings and coherence of sentences.¹⁷⁵ During the mid 18th century, the Tongcheng School 桐城派 of ancient prose writing (古文) also advocated the synthesis of *yili*, *kaoju* 考據 (textual studies) and *wenzhang* 文章 (literature), emphasizing not only evidential studies, but also long neglected moral philosophy and literary merit.¹⁷⁶ Despite these voices, the atmosphere of scholarship was overwhelmed with philology until, as Benjamin

¹⁷¹ For more information see Chen Dengyuan, *Zhongguo wenhua shi* 中國文化史 (A Cultural History of China) (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966), p. 250.

¹⁷² For more information about Gu’s ideas, see Cheng Dengyuan, *Zhongguo wenhua shi*, Vol 4, p. 251.

¹⁷³ For a discussion of Dai Zhen’s moral philosophy, see Yu Yingshi, *Lun Dai Zhen and Zhang Xuecheng* 論戴震與章學誠 (A Study of Dai Zhen and Zhang Xuecheng) (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1976), pp. 103, 118-119. See also Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, pp. 17-22

¹⁷⁴ Yu Yingshi, *Lun Dai Zhen and Zhang Xuecheng*, pp. 114-115. Qian Mu, *Jin sanbai nian xueshu shi* 近三百年學術史 (A History of Scholarship of the Recent Three Hundred Years) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1976), p. 366.

¹⁷⁵ Ji Yun, *Ji Xiaolan shiwen ji* 紀曉嵐詩文集 (Collected Essays and Poems of Ji Xiaolan) (Hong Kong: Guangzhi shuju, 1961), p. 35.

¹⁷⁶ See Wang Zhenyuan *Tongcheng pai* 桐城派 (The Tongcheng School) (Taipei: Quanyutang chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 1991), p. 82.

Elman pointed out, as late as the 1830s when Confucian studies could no longer remain silent about the socio-political changes.¹⁷⁷ New trends of Confucian studies, therefore, arose with the return of Song Learning.

Liang Qichao described the development of the Qing scholarship as an anachronistic revival in a reverse sequence (倒捲復古).¹⁷⁸ Indeed, while scholars at the beginning of the Qing attacked Song Learning and started the trend of returning to Han Learning, the evidential scholars further challenged Song Learning by focusing on the scholarship of the Eastern Han. Therefore, the evidential scholarship focused mainly on the *guwen jing* 古文經 (old school text), a school prominent in the Eastern Han dynasty. In response to the challenge of the evidential school, scholars by the turn of the 19th century started a new trend of *jinwen jing* 今文經 (new school text) studies, specifically, the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (The Explanations of the Spring and Autumn Annals by Master Gongyang) which was prominent in the Western Han. The spirit of returning to the past can always be seen as an effort to change the present situation. Therefore, although on the surface, the trend of scholarship was going in a backward direction, the content was always new and pragmatic.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, pp. 234-237.

¹⁷⁸ Liang Qichao, *Lun Zhongguo xueshu sixiang bianqian zhi dashi* 論中國學術思想變遷之大勢 (Basic Trends of Change in Chinese Thought) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), p. 133. Earlier, Wei Yuan had expressed a similar idea. See Wei Yuan, "Liang Han jingshi jingu wen jiafa kao xu" 兩漢經師今古文家法考序 (A Preface to A Study of the Han Dynasties the New and Old Text Masters' Research Method), in *Wei Yuan ji* 魏源集 (Works of Wei Yuan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), p. 152.

¹⁷⁹ This had been the same driving force for the development of the evidential school although it was strongly attacked by the new text school scholars. Therefore, Elman regarded the rise of the new text school as a direct result of the development of the evidential school. For example, Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi* could be seen as a continuation of the evidential scholarship. See Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, pp. 23, 25-26, 29, 234, 241, 245-246. Xu Jiyu's work can also be seen as an extension of the evidential scholarship. See Cordell D. K. Yee, "Taking the World's Measure: Chinese Maps between Observation

The studies of *jinwen jing* started with Zhuang Cunyu 莊存與 (1719-1788) and Liu Fenglu 劉逢祿 (1776-1829).¹⁸⁰ This scholarship, unlike the *guwen jing*, focused on the *weiyang dayi* 微言大義 (great truth conveyed by subtle words) of the *Classics*. The correct way to study the *Classics* was to give up philological studies and interpret the *Classics* directly, particularly with the aim of understanding the motive of writing the *Classics*. For these *jinwen* scholars, the purpose of studying the *Classics* was to borrow examples from the past in order to change the present (以復古為革新). Thus, instead of explaining the meanings of words in the *Classics*, this school emphasized the use of the *Classics* in practical scenario. Wei Yuan, a leading scholar of this school, regarded this as the true spirit of the Han Learning.¹⁸¹ Based on this mentality, the trend of scholarship turned (or returned) to more practical concerns.

While Wang Guowei saw these *jinwen jing* scholars as having a similar inspiration of serving the world with the scholars at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, and Chen Yiu Nam even juxtaposed Wei Yuan's criticism of the Evidential School with Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) criticism of the Ming philosophy,¹⁸² it is more important to emphasise that this scholarship had developed

and Text", in J. B. Harley and David Woodward ed., *The History of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Vol. 2, Book 2, p. 107.

¹⁸⁰ For research into the works of Zhuang and Liu, see Tang Zhijun, *Zhang Cunyu nianpu* 莊存與年譜 (A Chronicle of Zhang Cunyu) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2000), Zhang Guangqing, *Wujin Liu Fenglu nianpu* 武進劉逢祿年譜 (A Chronicle of Liu Fenlu from Wujin) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1997) and Yao Caigang, *Zhongji xinyang yu duoyun jiazhi de tongrong: Liu Shuxian xin ruxue sixiang yanjiu* 終極信仰與多元價值的通融：劉述先新儒學思想研究 (A Synthesis of Ultimate Belief and Diverse Values: A Study of the Neo Confucianism of Liu Shuxian) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003). For a brief introduction of Zhuang and Liu's contribution in forming the reform ideologies of the New Text School, see Anne Cheng, "Nationalism, Citizenship, and the Old Text/New Text Controversy in Late Nineteenth Century China", in Joshua A. Fogel and Peter G. Zarrow eds., *Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890-1920* (London: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 65-66.

¹⁸¹ Wei Yuan, *Wei Yuan ji*, pp. 237-238.

¹⁸² Wang Guowei, "Shen Yi'an xiansheng qishi shou xu", in *Wang Guantang quanqi*, p. 1147. Chan

into a discourse of statecraft concept, with Wei Yuan, being its essential initiator and Kang Youwei being the ultimate result of its development. As the essence of this school was to cope with the present situation, their interpretation of the *Classics* was merely a tool for them to justify their reform needs. For example, Gong Zizheng borrowed the idea of change from the *Classics* and claimed that changes were not only necessary for the present, but had constantly been used by the sages in the past. Thus, there was no reason to object to making changes.¹⁸³ Wei Yuan used the idea of *dao* 道 (the truth) and *qi* 器 (the tool) from *Yijing* 易經 (The Book of Changes) to justify the necessity of learning Western technology which had been seen as *qiji yinqiao* 奇技淫巧 (strange and superfluous skills).¹⁸⁴ For Gong and Wei, the *Classics* were still the origin of all scholarship. Later, as intellectuals discovered more and more the need to have a broader curriculum, such as knowledge in modern military strategies and technology which could not be learnt through the *Classics*, the *Classics* gradually lost their lofty status and became just one subject among all the others.¹⁸⁵ During this process, a well-known example of using the *Classics* for his own ends was Kang Youwei's *Kongzi gaizhi kao* 孔子改制考 (A Study of Confucius' Ideas of Political Change), *Xinxue weijing kao* 新學偽經考 (A Study of New Studies and Forgery *Classics*) and *Datong shu* 大同書 (The Book of Great Unity), all of which had little to do with study of the *Classics*, but merely used them as a disguise to convey and justify his own ideas.¹⁸⁶

Yiu Nam, "A Study of Wei Yuan (1794-1857): His Classical Scholarship and its Application", (PhD Thesis, The University of Hong Kong, 1978), pp. 39-40

¹⁸³ Gong Zizhen, "Shang daxueshi shu" 上大學士書 (A Letter to the Prime Scholar), in *Gong Zizhen quanqi*, p. 319.

¹⁸⁴ For a detailed discussion, see Chen Yiu Nam, "A Study of Wei Yuan (1794-1857): His Classical Scholarship and its Application", pp. 92-105.

¹⁸⁵ Anne Cheng called this development "the work of de-sacralizing the authority of the *Classics*". In Anne Cheng, "Nationalism, Citizenship, and the Old Text/ New Text Controversy in Late Nineteenth Century China", p. 78. See also Chiang Ying Ho, *Jindai wenxue de shijie hua: cong Gong Zizhen dao Wang Guowei*, pp. 139-140.

¹⁸⁶ For more information see He Peng, *Lun Kang Youwei wenxue*. See also Anne Cheng, "Nationalism,

Because of this belief in the practical function of the *Classics* and the emphasis on the studies of current affairs, the scholarship of late Qing, as Wang Guowei concluded, was “new”.¹⁸⁷ It was new not only because it surpassed the limitation of the evidential scholarship, but more importantly, because it broadened Confucian studies, seeking an inclusion of the geo-political studies of the current world, especially China’s border problems and most urgently, the West.¹⁸⁸ Gong Zizhen had already seen the importance of understanding more about the Chinese borders. He wrote “Xiyu zhi xingsheng yi” 西域置行省議 (A Memorandum of Establishing Provincial Rule in Xinjiang), a memorandum suggesting policies to reinforce Chinese control over the remote and potentially rebellious Xinjiang 新疆.¹⁸⁹ Wei Yuan’s *Haiguo tuzhi* was another example of research work aimed at informing Chinese officials of the coastal situation faced by China after the Opium War. In addition, Wei’s *Yuanshi xinbian* 元史新編 (Newly Edited History of the Yuan Dynasty) (1853) could be seen not just as historical research, but also as an effort to investigate the Sino-Russian relationship through history in order to shed light on the current situation in which Wei saw the impending crisis.

Foreign travel writings of late Qing had the same mentality as these statecraft writings. Whether traveling for the state or themselves, late Qing travellers to the West and later on Japan were always concerned with the practical function of their writings: how could their experience in the West help their homeland? Apart from the embassy diaries which were written to bring information to the court, Wang Tao, an independent traveller, also closely related what he saw and felt during his journeys to the present situation of China, and sought to use his written accounts practically. Another significance of the new development in the classical scholarship was that it enabled scholars to reassess Confucianism. Although Confucianism had shown great

Citizenship, and the Old Text/ New Text Controversy in Late Nineteenth Century China”, pp. 69-72.

¹⁸⁷ Wang Guowei, “Shen Yi’an xiansheng qishi shou xu”, in *Wang Guantang quanqi*, p. 1147.

¹⁸⁸ Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotong shi* 中西交通史 (A History of Sino-Western Interactions) (Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua chubanshiye weiyuan hui, 1953), Vol. 1, pp. 3-9.

¹⁸⁹ Gong Zizhen, *Gong Zizhen quanji*, p. 106.

elasticity through Chinese history by developing different strands and absorbing new ideas, such as Buddhism, late Qing intellectuals continuously questioned its capability of coping with Western invasions and the modernization of China. This questioning attitude was apparently being highlighted in the foreign travelogues, in which travellers inevitably compared and contrasted the Chinese traditions with what they observed in the West and Japan, and some started re-examining their own culture with regard to the modernization of China.

As for development in literature, although signs of changes already appeared during the dominance of the evidential school and later on in the Tongcheng School,¹⁹⁰ the dramatic change only came in the late Qing alongside the drastic social changes. Late Qing literature, in general, was strongly influenced by the changes initiated by Western encroachment after the 1840s. The increasing sense of crisis among intellectuals was fully conveyed in their writings and literary criticism, in which intellectuals called for a literature that was well-connected with the current situation and provided a remedy to the problems. Wei Yuan's lines of describing changes of his poems demonstrated such advocacy. He said, "Once I passed over the Southern Mountain, my poems changed" (自過嶺南詩一變), "My prose only became deep and forceful after I went abroad." (文非海外不沈雄).¹⁹¹ The Southern Mountain, indicating Guangzhou, was a reference to Wei's experiences in the south around the time of the Opium War (1839). What he meant was that after these stunning experiences during the war, his poems automatically changed towards having greater statecraft content, although he did not point that out directly. As for his experiences abroad, he referred to his journeys to Hong Kong and Macau in 1847.¹⁹² Wei was amazed by the changes of Hong Kong from a fishing village to an important city after its cession to Britain. In Macau, he came into contact with

¹⁹⁰ See Theodore Hutters, "From Writing to Literature: The Development of Late Qing Theories of Prose", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 47.1 (1987), pp. 51-96.

¹⁹¹ Wei Yuan, "Chu Yue guizhou jiyou" 楚粵歸舟紀遊 (Record of My Return from Chu and Yue by a Boat), 1 and 3, in *Weiyuan ji*, p. 814.

¹⁹² For the poems written during his journey, see Wei Yuan, *Wei Yuan ji*, p. 739 and 740.

foreigners who, for the comfort of Wei, also expressed great respect for Chinese culture. From these limited but invaluable experiences, Wei realized how his prose writings had changed into a more deepening and forceful style.

Later writers, such as Xue Fucheng and Li Shuchang, both from the Tongcheng School, found it more and more difficult to stick to the rules laid down by Fang Bao and Yao Nai. Fang Bao emphasised elegant and terse language. He forbade the use of any styles other than *guwen* 古文 (the ancient prose style).¹⁹³ This largely limited the narrative styles of the Tongcheng School writers. By the late Qing, especially for travellers to foreign countries, it was impossible to follow the language used in the Tang and Song dynasties. New words, such as loan words, were coming into China through Japan or from the travellers' own translations. When introducing their extraordinary experiences in foreign countries, writers had to break through the limits set by the Tongcheng School.

Traditional regulated poetry was also considered insufficient to recount the travellers' exotic experiences, therefore, most of them had to resort to a more free-flowing style of poetry, or added long footnotes as explanations. Lin Zhen's 林鍼 (1824-?) *Xihai jiyou cao* 西海紀遊草 (A Draft of My Journey to the Western Seas) (1849) was written in *pianwen* 駢文, a style of prose using strictly parallel sentences. However it was accompanied with footnotes several times longer than the prose.¹⁹⁴ Travel writings were among the first literary writings to show the insufficiency of traditional literary forms and writers had to adopt new devices to convey their messages.

¹⁹³ Fang Bao laid down strict rules on what kind of language style could be used in writing prose essays. He excluded works in the style of the *Analects*, parallel prose writings, rhapsodies of the Han dynasty, poems and historical works of the Southern and Northern dynasties. He confined the styles of prose to just a few canonical works, such as *Zuo zhuan*, *Shiji* and the eight prose masters of the Tang and the Song dynasties. See Wang Zhenyuan *Tongcheng pai*, pp. 40-42. See also Yao Nai, "Fu Lao Jiefei shu" 復魯絜非書 (A Letter to Lu Jiefei) for Yao's literary criticism. In *Xibao xuan quanji* 惜抱軒全集 (Complete Works of the Xibao Hall) (Shanghai: Jiaojing shanfang, 190?) Vol. 6, pp. 10a-12a.

¹⁹⁴ Lin Zhen, *Xihai jiyou cao* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985).

In this chapter, I have briefly discussed the Chinese travellers to foreign lands prior to the 1840s and the development in the late Qing which contributed to an impetus of foreign travels. In general, before the late Qing period,¹⁹⁵ foreign travel writings were not as prominent as travel accounts recording travels inside China, both in quantity and quality, especially among intellectuals. The Chinese were not keen on taking distant travel, even the great traveller, Xu Xiake went on his journey only after he was encouraged by his mother.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, it is not astonishing to see that the accounts of short excursions exceed accounts of distant travel by a great number. Another reason for the Chinese to show little interest in travelling afar beyond the boundaries of the Chinese empire related to the traditional thinking which regarded foreigners as being inferior and foreign lands as unworthy of discovery.

In the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned the tradition of Chinese intellectual travel rooted in the Warring States period. This tradition echoed among the late Qing travellers to Europe, the United States and, later Japan in which they were traveling not because of personal interest, like the Ming literati who traveled for the sake of travel, but on a mission, both official and self designated, to observe and learn from those strong countries to which China had bent down. Like the great thinkers of the Warring States period and patriots like Qu Yuan, they traveled in search of ways to build a better world, thus they always had their fellow people in mind. As a result, travel was only a means but not the ends. However, the late Qing travellers were different in some other ways. Gong Pengcheng suggested that although the pre-Qin travellers regarded travel as vehicle of personal pursuit, the emphasis of their travel was “the actualization of oneself” rather than “understanding the world”. For

¹⁹⁵ The late Qing period normally refers to the period from after the Opium War (1839) to the downfall of the Qing government (1911). Most historians believe that the Opium War marks the beginning of the modern China, although the Jesuits started introducing Western learning from the 16th century onwards. Immanuel Hsu discusses this in *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁹⁶ Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639) recounted Xu Xiake’s mother encouraging Xu to travel “in all direction” as this is “a male’s business”. In *Xu Xiake youji* 徐霞客遊記 (The Travel Diaries of Xu Xiake) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 1235-1236.

example, he pointed out when reading Qu Yuan's works of his travels, that one could know how Qu Yuan felt but have little idea of the landscapes to which he traveled. He further suggested that the "objective side" (客觀面) of travel was not yet opened.¹⁹⁷ The Buddhist pilgrim records, like the *Da Tang xiyu ji*, as Wu Peiyi suggested, laid down the pattern, and perhaps, more importantly the mentality of foreign travel writing—objectively reporting information to take back home. Envoy reports of the Southern Song dynasty were typical examples of this pattern. Late Qing travellers combined both the subjectivity and the objectivity of the early traditions. Stating that the late Qing foreign travelogues had their predecessors does not mean that there is nothing new in them. Even though similar in some characteristics, the late Qing foreign travelogues had their own specific context which was never the same as what the Chinese had previously experienced, thus having a different characteristic.¹⁹⁸

Chapter 3 A Survey of the Late Qing Foreign Travel Writings

3.1 Introduction

It is significant that Chinese travelled to the West and Japan when the Qing court

¹⁹⁷ Gong Pengcheng, *You de wenhua jinshen shi*, pp. 243, 256-257.

¹⁹⁸ The late Qing period is described as "a period of change that had not been experienced for more than three thousand years" (三千餘年一大變局), a phrase first used by Li Hongzhang in "Fuyi zhizhao lunchuan weike caiche zhe" 復議製造輪船未可裁撤折 (A Memorandum of a Further Discussion of Not Stopping the Manufacturing of Steam Ships), in Wu Yulun 吳汝綸 ed., *Li Wenzhong gong quanji, Li Wenzhong gong zaogao* 李文忠公全集·李文忠公奏稿 (Complete Works of Li Hongzhang. The Memorandum of Li Hongzhang) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962), Vol. 19, pp. 763-679.

was in its waning decades. The decline of the Chinese empire had a huge influence on the shaping of the agendas of its travellers. The first Opium War (1839) forced the court to abandon its closed door policy. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, there was increasing Western and Japanese encroachment in China and the court was unable to defend its sovereignty. Chinese intellectuals had increasingly complicated feelings towards these foreign powers. On the one hand they hated these foreign powers for invading their country, on the other hand, they could not help feeling astonished by their might. Although the traditional idea of *huayi zhibian* was still prominent in intellectual circles, some eventually felt the need to leave their comfort zone, crossing borders to (re)discover the world. While most of these travellers were on official missions, there were also many individual travellers, as travelling and studying abroad became increasingly available. This chapter will survey the characteristics and the general development of these travel writings.

A few recurring themes can be seen in these travel accounts. First is the mixed feeling travellers had when they travelled to the West and Japan. After 1840, the earliest extant Chinese foreign travel writing is Lin Zhen's *Haixi jiyou cao* of 1848, followed by Bin Chun's mission to Europe in 1866. By that time, although Chinese intellectuals did not have much knowledge and experience of the West, they were not as totally ignorant of the West and Westerners as the court officials of the 1830s had been.¹⁹⁹ Their expectations of the West were certainly one of the factors affecting the image of the West in their writings.²⁰⁰ On one hand, they felt they understood the strength of the West, namely its military superiority. However, as the period progressed, after the continuous failures of reform in China, travellers could not deny that the West, and later on Japan, were also civilized and even superior in other

¹⁹⁹ Before the first Opium War (1839), court officials had little idea about foreigners. Lin Zexu, regarded as the first Chinese who opened his eyes to see the modern world, thought that the British soldiers could not move as their legs would become stiff once they landed from their warships. This was reported in his memorandum to Emperor Daoguang. See Lin Zexu, *Lin Zexu ji*, Vol. 2, p. 861.

²⁰⁰ For example, Xu Jiyu's account was widely read by the late Qing travellers, some even brought the book with them and checked its information against reality in the course of their journey.

aspects. This reflected not solely a discovery of the modern world, but also a (re)discovery and evaluation of Chinese traditions and policies. Changes in attitudes and conflicts of feelings of admiration and contempt towards the West can be observed in each and every of these accounts. Even for travellers in the late 1890s, who had been much more exposed to the West than their predecessors, journeys to Europe and the United States were still profoundly eye opening. These journeys were also a rediscovery for the travellers themselves. They evaluated the new and dynamic relations between China and other countries, and between Chinese, and other peoples. In short, these journeys were jolting and disconcerting for most.

Chinese travellers' feelings towards Japan were even more complex as the two countries were closely linked culturally and historically. Japan was often seen as an offshoot of Chinese culture by both Chinese and Japanese. Although Japanese travellers found the image of the real China distorted from their imagination, Chinese travellers felt the same unease.²⁰¹ The supposed closeness ironically also created a feeling of strangeness. After defeating China in 1894, Japan became the giant of Asia. Chinese travellers to Japan began travelling with more specific objectives, for example, to study education, military and political systems. The titles of the accounts of this period reflect the purpose of the journeys, such as Yao Xiguang's 姚錫光 *Dongying xuexiao juyao* 東瀛學校舉要 (A Brief Outline of Schools in Japan) (1898), Zhang Dayong's 張大鏞 *Riben wuxue pingdui jilue* 日本武學兵隊紀略 (A Brief Account of Japanese Army Military Academies) (1898), Liu Xuexun's 劉學洵 *Youli Riben kaocha shangwu riji* 遊歷日本考察商務日記 (A Diary of Investigations into Japan's Commerce) (1898), Huang Jing's 黃璟 *Youli Riben kaocha nongwu riji* 遊歷日本考察農務日記 (A Diary of Investigations of Japan's Agriculture) (1902) and Pan Xuezu's 潘學祖 *Kaocha Dongying nonggong ji* 考察東瀛農工記 (Records of a Study of Japanese Agriculture and Industry).²⁰²

²⁰¹ For more information about Meiji Japanese travellers' perceptions of late Qing China, see Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China 1862-1945*, pp. 13-128.

²⁰² See also Wang Baoping, "Congshu xu" 叢書序 (Preface to the Compendium), in Wang Baoping

This practical agenda in travelling leads to the second point, that although travelogues are not bound to give political advice, late Qing travellers, official and non-official, all felt the need to travel and write on behalf of their country. Observations and analysis of the governance of the country being visited are often followed by an evaluation of domestic governance. Although comparison is one of the staple items of travelling,²⁰³ in this case, it is the focus and the significance of the whole journey. Travellers considered carefully what they wanted to present, either to the court or to general readers, about the foreign country and what kind of comparisons they wanted to make. Most of these writings can be described as statecraft travelogues, following the general demand of statecraft scholarship.²⁰⁴ Apart from the drawing up of policy, these travellers were also keen on geographical studies. As mentioned in the previous chapter, geo-political studies were popular among the New Text scholars and became increasingly important when intellectuals realized the way to defend China lay in how well they understood their enemies. It is not difficult to find official travel reports containing detailed information on weather, landscape, travel information and army distribution, sometimes even with maps. For example Li Shuchang included a study of Western coins and European landscapes in his account.²⁰⁵ Fu Yunlong 傅雲龍 (1840-1901) drew a scroll of eighty six illustrations about Japan's military, social and technological development alongside his travel diary of Japan.²⁰⁶ Shan Shili described in detail the history of Christianity

ed., *Wan Qing dongyou riji huibian* 晚清東遊日記匯編 (A Compendium of Travel Diaries to Japan of the late Qing Period) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), pp. 1-5.

²⁰³ Henry James, *The Art of Travel: Scenes and journeys in America, England, France and Italy* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), pp. 213-214

²⁰⁴ For more discussion of statecraft scholarship, see Chapter 2.

²⁰⁵ Li Shuchang, *Xiyang zazhi* 西洋雜誌 (Sketchy Notes of the West) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 133-137, 218-242.

²⁰⁶ Fu Yunlong, *Youli Riben tujing* 遊歷日本圖經 (A Book of Illustrations of My Journeys in Japan) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003). Fu went to Japan in 1887, on an official mission to study contemporary Japan. He compiled the information he acquired about nearly every aspect of the Japanese society into *Youli Riben tujing*. Fu used diagrams and tables to illustrate Japan's political

and how the religion was related to the rise and fall of the Western empires.²⁰⁷

Foreign travel writings of the late Qing period contain abundant and complex materials which can be approached in many ways. In this chapter, I will divide the material into official and non-official travelogues in order to show the consensus and diversity of these writings. By introducing the writings of government appointed ambassadors and individual travellers and their ways of observation and presentation, I aim at setting the scene for a further detailed investigation to the essence of the study: Wang Tao's travel writings.

3.2 Embassy Mission Overseas

During the late Qing period, most journeys to Europe and the United States, and, in the early stages, Japan, were official missions. Working as an ambassador abroad in the first twenty years after the first Opium War, however, was an undesirable job for many scholar-officials. Even the *Zongli geguo yamen* 總理各國衙門 (Foreign Office), an official bureau set up in 1861 to handle foreign affairs, became the target of criticism. Officials working for the bureau were seen as lackeys of the West and enemies of Chinese traditions. Prince Gong 恭, the founder of *Zongli yamen*, bitterly described how officials were unwilling to take up posts in the bureau.²⁰⁸ Even Weng

system, diplomatic strategies, national defence, infrastructure and other aspects, resulting in a work of a one-hundred-and- sixty-nine-categories. His dairy, *Youli Riben yuji* 遊歷日本餘記 (A Supplementary Record of My Journey to Japan) also contains information about the geography of Japan, including its rivers and mountains and their strategic function. The third part of this diary also recorded how Fu started compiling the *tujing*. Apart from a few lines recording his itinerary, Fu included very little personal feeling in his dairy. Fu's work set a basis for later official diaries.

²⁰⁷ Shan Shili, *Gui qian ji* 歸潛記 (Records of a Returned Recluse) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 99-139.

²⁰⁸ Prince Gong wrote in a memorandum dated 1867, "Because of Wo Ren's (1804-1871) advocacy, scholar-officials both in the capital and other provinces grouped together and discussed privately, agreeing to prevent (the running of Zongli yamen). He even stirred people's minds with ridiculous rumours. As a result, no one applied to work in my bureau." See *Yangwu yundong*, Vol. 2, p. 36. The original reads, "自倭仁倡議以來，京師各省士大夫聚黨私議，約法阻攔，甚且以無稽謠言煽動人

Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904), the tutor of Emperor Guangxu 光緒 (1875-1809), an official often considered to be relatively open to Western ideas, was reluctant to accept a post from the bureau.²⁰⁹ J. D. Frodsham described the extreme difficulty when the Qing court was under pressure from Britain to send an apology mission after a British missionary had been killed on the border between China and Burma,

Chinese regarded the sending of diplomatic representatives abroad as an act of degradation, weakness and submission, to be undertaken only as a last resort.....the Chinese government could hardly expect to find men willing to suffer the humiliation of being sent abroad—a fate considered worse than banishment—without considerable difficulty.²¹⁰

In view of this, the first Chinese official representative abroad, Bin Chun was a surprisingly open-minded scholar-official. Despite the unpopularity of working abroad and his relative old age (63 in 1866), he “alone bravely expressed his willingness to go” (獨慨然願往).²¹¹ Bin Chun, a Manchu, had a background of extensive travelling in China, and even claimed that he had thought of travelling abroad when he was young. From 1866 to 1873, in order to discover more about the modern world, the Qing court sent four roving missions to Europe, the United States, France, and Peru and Cuba respectively.²¹² Bin Chun, Zhang Deyi 張德彝 (1847-1918) and Zhi Gang 志剛 wrote travel accounts of journeys which were the first official records of travelling to the West.

Before his mission, Bin Chun had already shown interest in Western learning.

心，臣衙門遂無復有投考者。”

²⁰⁹ Weng Tonghe, *Weng wengong gong riji* 翁文恭公日記 (Diary of Weng Tonghe) (Shanghai: Shanghai The Commercial Press, 1925), pp. 24-25.

²¹⁰ “Introduction”, J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. xxv.

²¹¹ Xu Jiyu, “Xu” 序 (Preface), in Bin Chun, *Chengcha waiji*, p. 1.

²¹² This refers to Bin Chun’s mission in 1866, Anson Burlingame’s 浦安臣 (1820-1870) mission in 1868, Chong Hou’s 崇厚 (1826-1893) mission in 1870-1872 and a mission to Peru and Cuba in 1873. Knight Biggerstaff, “The Establishment of Permanent Chinese Diplomatic Missions Abroad”, in *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XX.1 (1936), pp. 1-41.

Working in the *Zongli yamen*, he had opportunities to talk to Samuel Well Williams (1812-1884, Chinese name 衛三畏) and William A. P. Martin (1827-1916, Chinese name 丁韪良) and learnt about the political history of the United States. His knowledge of the West and his moderate character led to the court appointing him leader of this mission. In the first month of 1866, Bin started his journey with a few assistants, including Robert Hart and Zhang Deyi who became an active diplomat in the later half of the century. He travelled from Shanghai, to Hong Kong, Southeast Asian countries, Ceylon, Aden, Egypt, and arrived in France in the third month. There, Bin started his mission, visiting Britain, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Prussia, and Belgium. His travels in Europe lasted for three months. Bin's record of his time in Britain was the most detailed, showing the primary concern of the Chinese scholar-officials of that time. He also paid particular attention to recording the modern imperial history of Britain, France and Holland as they were most related to China. He met Queen Victoria, as well as a prince and princess. When asked about his perceptions of Britain, Bin answered that he found the society well-organized and its infrastructure better than that of China.²¹³ Although this answer may have been said out of courtesy, throughout Bin's record, he seldom showed hostility towards the seemingly strange customs of other countries. For example, he calmly recorded that it was the Western ritual for women and men to kiss one another.²¹⁴ He was particularly interested in transportation, describing in detail, for example, bicycles and trains.²¹⁵ Although he did not explicitly praise their efficiency, he recorded the relatively short period of time he needed to cover a long distance. In an attempt to advocate the use of these Western methods of transportation, Bin hinted that there were similar ideas in the Chinese traditions: *muniu liuma* 木牛流馬 (wooden flowing ox and horse, a transportation invented by

²¹³ Bin Chun, *Chengcha waiji*, p. 28.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, 22, 36.

Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 in the period of the Three Kingdoms).²¹⁶ Although Zhong Shuhe criticised Bin's view as barely logical, Bin's expression was not the same as those who believed that Western science originated from China.²¹⁷ To introduce objects that had never been seen to his fellow countrymen, Bin "translated" what was unfamiliar into something familiar. This device was commonly used in the early foreign travelogues when most readers were assumed to have little knowledge of the West.

Bin's humble attitude can also be seen when he noted, in several occasions, what China could learn from the West.²¹⁸ Chen Gonglu criticised Bin's travel account as insignificant, since he recorded nothing about Western culture and systems.²¹⁹ While this comment is true to some extent, Bin's record was framed by the historical context and his knowledge of the West that the West was only superior in technology. Nevertheless, many of the later travellers were influenced by his record.²²⁰

Zhang Deyi's 張德彝 (1847-1918) records as implied by their titles, *Hanghai shuqi* 航海述奇 (A Narration of the Strange Encounters of My Voyages) (1866), *Zai shuqi* 再述奇 (Second Narration of the Strange Encounters) (1967), *San shuqi* 三述奇 (Third Narration of the Strange Encounters) (1870) to *Ba shuqi* 八述奇 (Eight Narration of the Strange Encounters) (1906), are enthusiastic displays of strange and new things.²²¹ From 1862, Zhang was a student of the Tongwen guan 同文館

²¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 18-19. The *muniu liuma* is recorded in Romance of the Three Kingdoms. See Luo Guanzhong, *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) (Beijing: The Peking University Press, 1986) pp. 1252-1254.

²¹⁷ Zhong Shuhe, *Zuoxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha xifang de lishi*, pp. 69-70.

²¹⁸ Bin Zhaung, *Chengcha waiji*, p. 30, 34.

²¹⁹ Chen Gonglu, *Zhongguo jindai shi* 中國近代史 (Modern Chinese History) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), Vol. 2, p. 75.

²²⁰ For example, Guo Songtao might have read the diary of Bin Chun and been influenced by him. See "Introduction", J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, p. XLI. Some descriptions of children in Ceylon, the theatre and circuits performance in France and Belgium, and the French army are also similar to those of Wang Tao.

²²¹ For more information about the editions of Zhang Deyi's travel accounts, see Zhong Shuhe,

(College of Languages), learning English. In 1866, he went to Europe with Bin Chun. Much of his record is very similar to that of Bin's, although he recorded objects in a detailed way with great curiosity. Like Bin Chun, Zhang wrote a breathless record of Western technological objects, such as bicycles, railway, gas pipes, electricity, and even something as simple as rubber. Zhang did not hesitate to show his astonishment at seeing all these strange and fresh objects (訝於初見). He also displayed interest in such aspects of the Western lifestyle, as bread, coffee, tableware and the reading of newspapers²²². Compared to Bin, he was more direct in advocating the adoption of the railway, although he was most impressed by the interior design of the compartments, rather than by the idea of rail travel.²²³ His diary, owing to his lower and thus freer, status, contains fascinating novel and vivid descriptions of the West and the Westerners. However, Zhang's admiration in technology did not mean that Zhang was ready to accept all Western inventions. On a few occasions, he mentioned the manufacture and the use of condoms (*shenyi* 腎衣) in the West. During Bin Chun's mission, he could not understand their function, believing it would destroy people's excitement, and thought it was only used with prostitutes. In 1869, he again mentioned condoms, commenting that they prevented people from being filial, quoting from Mencius that having no descendants was the most unfilial act. In 1888, when Zhang was sent to Germany with Hong Jun 洪鈞 (1839-1893), he mentioned condoms again, this time turning his attention to the manufacturing process. Having understood the function of population control and preventing infection, Zhang was more open to their use.²²⁴ In general, Zhang's records primarily showed his excitement at being abroad, encountering many new and strange objects. It is an excellent example of a shock of novelty experienced by Chinese scholar-officials.

Zuoxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha xifang de lishi, pp. 87-88.

²²² Zhang Deyi, *Hanghai shuqi*, pp. 450 and 456.

²²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 484-487.

²²⁴ Zhang Deyi, "Wu shuji" 五述奇 (A Narration of Strange Encounters of My Fifth Journey) (1888) *Gaoben Hanghai shuqi huibian* 稿本航海述奇匯編 (A Collection of the Manuscripts of A Narration of the Strange Encounters of My Voyages) (Beijing: Beijing tushu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 196-196.

Although his records emphasized material things, Zhang, like Wei Yuan, Wang Tao and many later travellers, considered the possibility of uniting all human beings. Based on his observation of people's emotions, he pointed out that all human beings were similar, despite the differences in their appearance and hoped for the realization of *tianxia yijia* 天下一家 (all human beings in the same family). This was no longer the traditional *tianxia* idea based on the Chinese assumption of superiority, but understanding and equality between people from different countries.²²⁵

Apart from recording the dazzling effect of Western technology and objects, compared with Bin Zhuang and Zhang Deyi, Zhi Gang was more concerned with the effect of his diplomatic mission, the leadership of which was resolved after Burlingame's death in 1870. He noted, for instance, how he negotiated with Russia. Zhi Gang was also among the first Chinese official travellers to comment on Western politics. For example, during his mission in the United States, Zhi Gang discovered that the president did not require his citizen to refrain from mentioning his name. This challenged his concepts of the ruler and those being ruled, and engendered reflections on the practice in China. When visiting Spain, he was also stunned by the fact that in the West, to become a ruler, one must follow opinions of the common people of his or her country. He also discussed the issue through the people's point of view. In Prussia, he met a Prussian woman. The woman asked him whether the Chinese loved their emperor; she then told him that all the Prussians loved their emperor. Zhi Gang was deeply touched and wrote, "One should consider such conversation rather than (think about) the big cannons and solid warships of the Western countries."²²⁶ For the first time, Chinese diplomats noticed that the West

²²⁵ Zhang Deyi mentioned a gathering with a dozen friends from the United States, Britain, and France. After recording how happy were they chatting with one another, Zhang noted the similarity of all human beings. The original read, "衣服雖詭異，而喜則亦喜，憂則亦憂，情無或異。風俗雖不同，而好則皆好，惡則皆惡，性實大同。……固遐邇一體，天下一家矣。" See *Zai shuqi*, renamed as *Oumei huanyou ji* 歐美環遊記 (Record of My Voyage to America and Europe) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), pp. 758-759.

²²⁶ Zhi Gang, *Chushi taixi ji* 初使泰西記 (My First Mission to the West) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe,

was not only strong in technology.

These earliest travel accounts shared a common characteristic: they are exuberant works with a display of novel objects seen by the travellers. These early travellers might not have understood much of the West, and their comments might be superficial, however, it is precisely the freshness in their travelogues that evokes much of their charm.²²⁷ These early missions, however, did not generate any positive feelings both to the West and for the diplomatic posts. Frodsham noticed that Zhi Gang, after his mission, was doomed to minor posts in remote areas on the Chinese borders.²²⁸ A more in-depth observation, response, argument and discussion of the travellers' cultural shock came in after the mid-1870s, the most obvious being the travel diaries of Guo Songtao, and his assistant, Liu Xihong 劉錫鴻.

Compared to the accounts of travels to the West, the astonishment or sometimes even startling responses were not that intense from Chinese travellers to Japan. He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1831-1891) who wrote *Shidong shulüe* 使東述略 (A Brief Record of My Mission to the East), went to Japan in 1875 as the first Chinese envoy. He noticed the trend of Westernization in Japan but showed no interest to discuss its significance. He concluded the trend as simply a reflection of the Japanese habit of copying something new from others. The record, nevertheless, provided a general overview of Meiji Japan and supplemented geographical information. Nevertheless, he concluded from his journey that having personal experience was much more reliable than reading written materials about a place. He also realised that Japan, because of its geographical location, was important for the security of China, and that China should therefore seek alliance with Japan. This became the main theme of the travellers' records to Japan in the 1880s.

Unlike previous travel reports, Guo Songtao and Liu Xihong's travel diaries are

1995), p. 333.

²²⁷ Zhong Shuhe, *Zuoxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha xifang de lishi*, p. 107.

²²⁸ "Introduction", J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, p. xxxvii.

not lists of the Western objects they had seen. Although they were still awed by Western technology, military strength and architecture, their most distinctive characteristic is long passages of discussions of the differences between China and West.²²⁹ The travel diaries were not only a record of journeys, they were a place to debate and express opinions on current foreign affairs. In fact, Guo's *Shixi jicheng* 使西紀程 (A Record of an Envoy's Journey to the West) is structured more like a discursive thesis concerning foreign affairs, but using the form of a travel diary and observation of Western strategies as evidences. Before Guo was appointed ambassador, he was well-known for his outspoken personality and his "radical" thoughts of adopting Western methods to reform China.²³⁰ Guo believed that the West was not only superior in technology, but most importantly was highly civilized, an idea strongly denied by the conservatives at court.²³¹ Based on this assumption, Guo believed that the best way to handle the crisis faced by China was to understand the Western mindset and argue with reasons (有情可以揣度, 有理可以制服).²³² Therefore, the focus of the diary tended to record events that could refute the

²²⁹ For example, on Christmas Day, Guo paid little attention to the day's activities, instead he devoted long passages to discussing the influence of Christianity in China and how the government should deal with its expansion. See Guo Songtao, *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji* 使西紀程: 郭嵩濤集 (A Record of An Envoy's Journey to the West) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), p. 18.

²³⁰ Guo visited Shanghai in 1856 and spoke to Zeng Guofan about his observation. Zeng was surprised that Guo was amazed by the Western development and felt that he had exaggerated the advancement of the West. See Guo Songtao, *Guo Songtao riji* 郭嵩濤日記 (The Diary of Guo Songtao) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 188.

²³¹ A typical example of conservative opinion can be found in a memorial of Yang Tingxi 楊廷熙, who opposed the adoption of Western technology, no matter how useful, it might be because it would deny the rigid line between Chinese and barbarians, just like the division of high and low. He also claimed that learning from the West would result in the loss of loyalty and honesty, and Chinese people would become cunning. The original reads, "無論偏長薄技不足為中國師, 即多材多藝層出不窮, 而華夷之辨不得不嚴, 尊卑之分不得定, 名器之重不得不惜。……忠義之氣自此消矣, 廉恥之道自此喪矣, 機械變詐之行自此起矣。……西學未成, 而中原多故也。" In Yang Tingxi 22nd day of 5th month, in the 6th year of Emperor Tongzhi's reign, in *Yangwu yundong*, Vol. 2, pp. 47-49.

²³² Guo Songtao, *Guo Songtao riji*, p. 469.

conservatives' point of view and reinforce Guo's opinions about Western civilization. For example, at the beginning of the journey, Guo was quick to observe and record the rituals used on Western ships, concluding that,

How refined and civilized are these ceremonial courtesies of theirs!
This is sufficient to indicate that the foundation of this nation's (Britain)
wealth and power was not acquired by mere chance!²³³

His viewpoint was confirmed when he visited Hong Kong, investigating the Queen's College and a prison. The education system was impressively comprehensive and equally accessible to everyone, rich or poor. He went on to elaborate on the equality in education and the spirit of impartiality in Western law. These were then related to his visit to a prison, during which he concluded with a praise of the observation of law and the caution applied in enforcing law.²³⁴ When he arrived in Ceylon, he was astonished by the fact that the British had not needed to destroy the native royal family in order to establish itself. This challenged the Chinese idea of governance, in which one dynasty was established by overthrowing or even killing the previous emperor. Guo came to a conclusion that the main concern of Britain was trade. While it colonized others with wisdom and strength, it had no desire to "extinguish a state" (滅其國). This accorded with Guo's view that the Westerners were only interested in making profit in China and therefore, China should also develop its commerce to cope with the challenge. The most important point he wanted to make, however, was

²³³ J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, p. 4. The original reads, "彬彬然見禮讓之行焉，足知彼土富強之基非苟然矣。" Guo Songtao, *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji*, p. 2. In a further investigation into the system on ship was recorded later, Guo was greatly impressed and pointed out that this well organized system was the key for the strength of British merchants. See *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji*, pp. 18-19.

²³⁴ J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. 8-10. Guo's praise of the observation of law in Hong Kong reads, "The law must be observed and punishment meted out only in strict accordance with the offence." (translation of Frodsham) For Chinese original, see Guo Songtao, *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji*, pp. 4-5.

that the British did not only rely on military strength.²³⁵

Throughout the travel diary, Guo repeatedly emphasized that the success of the European countries had its origin (本 *ben*), which, according to him, was based upon a highly civilized system and culture.²³⁶ He even called for an adoption of the way in which Western countries established themselves. He said, “in this manner (the Western way), a state may well last for a thousand years. On the other hand, if a state does not grasp the Way, then disaster will come upon it.”²³⁷ In adopting the Western way, Guo did not focus on military strength as he thought it was only a by-product to the powerful foundation of the state. He emphasized education and commerce in particular as revealed in his observation in the diary.²³⁸ To handle disputes between China and the West, Guo looked back at history and pointed out that making peace was the most suitable policy. Only unwise people would regard making peace as humiliation.²³⁹ The more he observed and recorded Western customs and rules, the stronger he believed the correct way to reform China was, at least, to admit the superiority of the West. Near the end of the diary, when Guo was passing through Spain and Portugal, he made very short notes about his itinerary, but devoted long passages into a discussion of the origin of the powerful countries in Europe and how China should cope with them. After observing circumstances in Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, India, Ceylon, Egypt and Italy, Guo started his argument by thinking through a history of the flourishing and decay of different countries. He then turned to the present situation, acutely pointing out that European countries were established firmly on a material basis and sophisticated culture, a rather revolutionary idea at the time. Guo went on to argue how and why these European countries had become powerful and how they reasonably and strategically used their strength according to

²³⁵ Guo Songtao, *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji*, p. 15.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22- 23, 39-40.

²³⁷ J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. 73.

²³⁸ See Guo Songtao, *Shixi jicheng: Guo Songtao ji*, p. 3, 15, 41

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22-24.

international laws and their belief in fidelity and righteousness, a *dao* 道 (the way) he believed that China had to understand if she wanted to gain an equal footing among these powers. He openly criticised Liu Xihong for his conservative ideas, and stated that after the journey he had to admit his own shallowness.²⁴⁰

The diary's intention in showing the civilization of Western countries was so clear that it met with enormous criticism from court officials. The printing blocks of the diary were ordered to be destroyed. Guo was called back to China and never again promoted to an important position. Court officials found Guo's viewpoint unacceptable and accused him of treason. He Jinshou 何金壽, for instance, criticized Guo on the grounds he wished China to serve Britain.²⁴¹ Wang Kaiyun 王闈運 (1833-1916) pointed out that Guo had been poisoned by the West and that his journal was not worth reading.²⁴² Li Ciming 李慈銘 (1830-1894) accused Guo of exaggerating the civilization of the West. According to Li, when this diary was first published, all the readers were so provoked by Guo that they ground their teeth in anger. He even questioned Guo's loyalty.²⁴³

As *Shixi jicheng* had aroused heated debate at home, Guo decided not to write report back to the court again. This decision immediately freed him from the burden of self-scrutiny as a court official. After arriving in Britain and France, Guo experienced an eye-opening journey and it seemed to him that the contrast between China and the West became sharper and sharper. His diaries written in London and Pairs were straightforward and blunt, in which his arguments were built upon the

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 39-40. For a translation, see J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. 71-74.

²⁴¹ Quoted from Wang Kaiyun 王闈運, *Xiangqi lou riji* 湘綺樓日記 (A Diary of Xiangqi Tower) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1973), Vol. 6, p. 18. The original reads, “有二心於英國，欲中國臣事之。”

²⁴² Ibid., p. 18. The original reads, “殆已中西洋毒，《使西紀程》無可採者。”

²⁴³ Li Ciming, *Yueman tang riji*, Vol. 27, *Ji* 已, p. 80. The original reads, “記道里所見，極意誇飾，大率謂其法度嚴明，仁義兼至，富國未艾，寰海歸心。……迨此書出，而通商衙門為之刊行，凡有血氣者，無不切齒。……嵩燾之為此言，誠不知是何肝肺！而為之刻者又何心也。”

dichotomies of Chinese and Westerners. For example, Chinese culture was conservative while Western culture was radical. Confucian studies emphasized self cultivation, Western values based on Christianity emphasized spreading one's belief and love to others. Concerning the culture of politics, Guo compared and contrasted the inter-personal skills of China and the West, concluding that Chinese officials wasted too much time in meaningless courteous words. Concerning the system of politics, Guo pointed out that the Confucian ideal was to rule people according to virtue, while the West ruled people according to law. Guo felt that neither of these systems had been practised in China during the two thousand years since the Qin and Han dynasties. He then called for a complete reform of the political system and pointed out that democracy was what made the West strong. If China was to learn from the West, the priority would be its democratic government. He even went so far as to suggest that the Western encroachment in China of the past thirty years was a battle of *youdao* 有道 (those who possessed the Way) over *wudao* 無道 (those who did not follow the Way).²⁴⁴

Liu Xihong's diary is equally occupied with debates, but his concern was with the origin of Confucian studies and opposition to adopting Western methods. For example, an entry for 7th December 1876 recorded the first time Liu saw a train. Although he was amazed by the speed of the train, the diary was not confined to recording his astonishment or description of the train, but was largely devoted to a discussion of the theoretical and economic implications of railway building for China. Liu concluded that the railway was not suitable for China.²⁴⁵ Another example came after visiting a demonstration of the studies of optics and electricity, when Liu discussed the use of science in the Chinese context and questioned whether it was against Confucian values to emphasize science. His main argument was that the

²⁴⁴ Guo Songtao, *Guo Songtao riji*, p. 548. The original reads, “自西洋通商三十餘年矣, 乃似以其有道政中國之無道, 故可危矣。”

²⁴⁵ J. D. Frodsham trans. and annotated, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. 114-116.

Chinese civilization was the most enduring civilization in the world and that its philosophy was far more valuable and useful than Western science.²⁴⁶ This is the major differences between Guo and Liu as Liu believed that the Chinese civilization was superior to others. Like Guo, Liu also used a contrasting strategy in order to show the differences between Chinese and Western values. Parallel phrases were often used to show a clear contrast and to enrich the rhythm of the prose.²⁴⁷

Because of these opinions, Liu was often been portrayed as a conservative stubbornly opposing to any changes in China and anything Western. He was also notorious as he wrote memorandum demanding Guo's dismissal.²⁴⁸ Reading Liu's dairy and his reasons for opposing the adoption of Western methods, one can see that Liu was not as stubborn. He opposed the building of railway not because of a belief in *fengshui*, but because he thought that China lacked the money to build and maintain railways, and because if they were built by foreigners, China's security would be endangered. This was why, even though later he realized that the British saved a lot of money by using the railway, he still thought building railways in China was not suitable. His seemingly contradictory views in fact reflected Liu's realisation that Western technology could not be adopted without affecting other aspects of China. He was not sure whether the changes brought about by the adoption could be handled effectively in China.²⁴⁹ He therefore, cannot be seen as blindly opposing

²⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.135-136.

²⁴⁷ For example, “外洋以富為強，中國以不貪為富；外洋以強為強，中國以不好勝為強”，see Liu Xihong, *Ying zhao siji*, in Wang Xiqi, *Xiaofanghuzhai yuti congchao*, Vol. 11, p. 184. For an English translation, see J. D. Frodsham, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. 136.

²⁴⁸ For more information, see Zhong Shuhe, *Zuoxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha xifang de lishi*, pp. 238-259.

²⁴⁹ See his debate with a English interpreter, Bourne. Liu Xihong, *Ying zhao siji*, p. 192. For an English translation, see J. D. Frodsham, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. 141-143. See also Wang Yajuan, “Cong *Ying zhao siji* kan Liu Xihong duiwai sixiang de bianhua” 從英軺私記看劉錫鴻對外思想的變化 (A Study of Liu Xihong's Change in Attitudes towards Foreigners from *Ying zhao siji*), in *Journal of Changchun University of Science and Technology*, 16.2 (2003), pp. 42-44.

anything Western. Frodsham was correct in saying that Liu's attitude had gradually mellowed as he travelled in Britain.²⁵⁰ More than that, Liu actually praised that under the British system, there was no superfluous official or unemployed wanderer, and there was no barrier in communication between high (government) and low (people). Concerning its practice in politics, Liu observed that there were no cruel policies and no need to use empty words. Like Guo, he also realized that the British were very different from the barbarians China dealt with in the past, as they were not simply strong in military force.²⁵¹ He also recorded the change of his perceptions, stating that before travelling to Britain, he thought the British were uncivilised barbarians from an island whose only strength was in brute force. However, after staying in Britain, he discovered that the British were united, courteous and patriotic and treated the advantage of their country as a priority.²⁵² This was no different to admitting that Britain was a civilized country, a viewpoint similar to that held by Guo.

Later there emerged travel accounts with a moderate attitude in which the traveller's reflections on politics was kept to a minimum, and the theme turned to Western lifestyles and culture. This can be observed in the travel records of Li Shuchang who worked as a counsellor under Guo Songtao in the 1876 mission to Britain. In the following year, after Guo was called to back to China, Li went to Berlin with Liu Xihong. In 1878, he was a counsellor in the Chinese embassy in Paris, before being transferred to Madrid in 1880. He recorded his journeys during this period in *Xiyang zazhi* 西洋雜誌 (Sketchy Notes of the West). The book is divided into three parts: short and thematic essays on topics concerning Western

²⁵⁰ J. D. Frodsham, "Introduction", in *The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao, Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-yi*, pp. liv.

²⁵¹ Liu Xihong, *Ying zhao siji*, in Wang Xiqi, *Xiaofanghuzhai yuti congchao*, Vol. 11, p. 178. This entry can be seen as a systematic argumentative essay. Liu first started with a conclusion of his observations of Britain in the past two months and explained step by step how he had come to those conclusions.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

customs and events, a travel chronicle, *Xiyang youji* 西洋遊記 (A Record of My Journey to the West) and a few letters written during his mission in Europe.²⁵³ The format of the book was unusual at the time as most of the official travelogue was written in a diary form. Unlike most other official reports, *Xiyang youji* not only gave a detailed itinerary of the journey, but also included lovely descriptions of the landscapes which he praised. For instance, in the second episode, Li traveled with Guo Songtao before the latter returned to China in Switzerland. Li was impressed by the breath-taking scenery and gave a vivid and detailed description and regarded it as beautiful as a painting by Ni Zan 倪贊 (1301-1374) and truly able to wash away all his worldly worries (洗滌塵襟, 可謂名副其實). The theme of this episode, however, was still attached to his political agenda. By describing Switzerland as “the most spectacular scenic country” and “a paradise”, Li was not only addressing its landscape, but the fact that Switzerland was ruled not by a monarch, but by a government of the people, and it would never be involved in war, a fact repeatedly emphasized after descriptions of the scenery.²⁵⁴ The other episodes are equally intriguing, with Li writing about the scenery of Rome, Naples, France, and Madrid.

For the first section of the book, however, Li was highly selective in choosing only a number of unconventional but interesting topics to write on. He carefully grouped these works together, although there is no clear division. The first eight essays are about the general situation of Chinese embassies in different countries, and then about the political and social events that occurred during his mission. They were followed by essays about education systems, arsenals, paintings, games and banknotes. Unlike records occupied with technology and novel objects, *Xiyang zazhi* is particularly rich in descriptions of the customs, arts and daily lives of the Westerners. For example, his descriptions of a corrida in Madrid, horse racing in

²⁵³ Li Shuchang, *Xiyang zazhi* 西洋雜誌 (Sketchy Notes of the West) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981). The original version of the book also includes a selection of the diaries of Guo Songtao, Liu Xihong, Zeng Jize. The report of the landscape of Europe was also included in the short essay section, in front of Li's studies of Western coins.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147-149.

Britain and France and ice skating in different European countries vividly bring all these games to life.²⁵⁵

Although Li was not an active member of the reform party, he was impressed by Western technology and society during his journey and invariably expressed his reflections on the differences between China and the West. For example, after visiting a textile factory in France, Li compared and contrasted the production of cloth in China and France, pointing out that although the products were similar, by using machinery, Westerners could produce cloth in much greater quantity than the Chinese. He commented, “It is clear which is excellent and which is bad, which is sophisticated and which is crude.”²⁵⁶ In other episodes, Li’s reflections were more implicitly expressed. When visiting Brighton, he was impressed by its beautiful beach and the leisurely life of the British. Brighton was portrayed as a paradise and Li said he would love to visit it again and had been thinking about it since his last visit. The essay is more descriptive than argumentative, yet at the end, Li accounted for the strength of Britain by his observation of the leisurely life in Brighton.²⁵⁷ In his accounts of European political parties, while focusing on giving his readers stories of the rise and fall of different parties, Li did not forget to remind them that these political parties were different from those of China as the power struggle within the European parties never affected the development of the state. Examples were given in his accounts of the Spanish court and the French republic.²⁵⁸ Although he did not allude directly to the political struggle at home, his admiration for the Western democratic system was obvious.

From 1881 to 1883 and 1887 to 1888, when Li served as the ambassador to Japan, he compiled books lost in China but survived in Japan.²⁵⁹ He was also

²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 121-127.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 89-91.

²⁵⁷ Li Shuchang, *Zhuozun yuan conggao* 拙尊園叢稿 (A Compendium of Writings of the Zhuozun Garden) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), pp. 385-387

²⁵⁸ Li Shuchang, *Xiyang zazhi*, pp. 53-56.

²⁵⁹ Li Shuchang, “Ke *Guyi congshu xu*” 刻古逸叢書序 (A Preface to Compendium of the Lost

actively involved in promoting the relationship between Japan and China, despite the growing tension between the two countries. Wang Baoping has mentioned Li's contribution in organizing gatherings and compiling poems written by Chinese and Japanese intellectuals.²⁶⁰ Some of Li's essays are collected in his *Zhuozun yuan conggao*. All of them are excellent examples of descriptions of the scenery of Japan. Unlike his writings about Europe, these essays focus not on fresh and new objects, although Li was fully aware of Japan's Westernization. While Li adopted a more traditional approach in describing his journeys in Japan,²⁶¹ one can easily discern that the author was not as relaxed as in China. Despite being immersed in the serene and tranquil natural environment of Shioya, Li quickly turned to comment that he was looking forward to meeting Japanese, which referred to his mission of forming a strategic cooperative relation with Japan.²⁶² The account written about his excursion to Xu Fu's tomb is another example. After describing Kii-hanto as an isolated paradise, Li finished his writing by suggesting that although the descendants of Xu Fu could not be traced, Japanese and Chinese shared the same harbinger. This is a clear reference to the traditional close relationship between the two countries.²⁶³

This kind of deliberate emphasis on the close link between the two countries became a major theme in travelogues about Japan written after the late 1870s. Earlier travellers to Japan, such as Luo Sen 羅森 and He Ruzhang, saw the ancient Sino-Japanese tie as not more than a rhetorical flourish. They felt no particular reason to emphasize something that was a fact to them. After the late 1870s, however, as Japan was becoming a more Westernized country, at least in the eyes of the Chinese travellers, they saw the need to revive the influence of Chinese culture in Japan as a base for forming a strategic front between the two countries. Li Shuchang's short essays and Wang Tao's *A Travel to Japan* were excellent

Books) in *Zhuozun yuan conggao*, pp. 418-419.

²⁶⁰ Wang Baoping, "Congshu xu", p. 3.

²⁶¹ Mei Xinlin and Yu Zhanghua, *Zhongguo youji wenxue shi*, pp. 409-410.

²⁶² Li Shuchang, *Zhuozun yuan conggao*, pp. 471-473.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 473-475.

illustrations of this idea.

Another intriguing travelogue among these official reports of Western countries was Xue Fucheng's *Chushi Ying Fa Yi Bi siguo riji* 出使英法義比四國日記 (A Diary of My Missions to Britain, France, Italy and Belgium) (1889-1891). Xue, a talented essayist, worked as an assistant to Zeng Guofan after his life in Jiangsu had been disrupted by the Taiping Rebellion. Being famous for his prose writings, Xue Fucheng was known as one of Zeng's four great students. (The others were Li Shuchang, Yao Ying 姚瑩 and Wu Rulun 吳汝綸.) Although, like many late Qing intellectuals, literary achievement was of secondary importance to him, when writing *Chushi Ying Fa Yi Bi siguo riji*, Xue did pay some attention to literary aspects. For example, he was fully aware of what had been written previously by Guo Songtao and Zeng Jize on their way to Europe and pointed out that although some repetition was inevitable, he would avoid it as much as possible by emphasizing his own observations in Europe.²⁶⁴ In fact, while he kept the records of the passage of his journey to the West to a minimum, Xue nevertheless showed great concern about the relations between the Southeast Asian countries, China and the European countries. Whenever an event happened in Europe that was related to Southeast Asia, Xue would record it and recollect what he had seen when passing through these countries. For instance, Vietnam was often mentioned in his diary about France.

He also explained that his criteria for the selection of materials were different from others: "what I thought important was not recognized by other people. What I thought unnecessary was emphasized by other people."²⁶⁵ Indeed, Xue often went deeper than just giving a display of novel objects and superficial phenomena. While he was amazed by the advanced technology in Europe, Xue's interest was always in accounting for this advancement. After looking at a demonstration of armed force in

²⁶⁴ Xue Fucheng, *Chushi Ying Fa Yi Bi siguo riji* 出使英法義比四國日記 (A Diary of My Missions to Britain, France, Italy and Belgium) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), p. 7.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 2. The original reads, "詎知我所謂至要，人固以為非要。我所謂非要，人固以為至要乎？"

Britain, Xue did not simply suggest learning to make the armaments, instead, he remembered what he had observed and heard about the military education and recruitment system in Britain. He compared and contrasted the history of the status of military men in Europe and China, commenting that if China were to surpass the West, it had to reconsider its attitudes towards military men and their training.²⁶⁶

Xue was also aware that there was a limitation in travellers' observation,²⁶⁷ stating that, travellers, especially those who knew little about the foreign countries which they visited, were easily misled by what they saw on the surface and made biased arguments and suggestions to the court. This is an idea seldom discussed in late Qing foreign travelogues as travellers often narrated in an authoritarian voice, describing objects and systems in a-matter-of-fact tone. Xue was the first traveller to question the limitation and reliability of these reports, including the report written by himself.

He further pointed out that the most able ambassador should be able to see things in a bigger context, rather than only focusing on the strength of an object or a policy and forgetting its weaknesses. Owing to these limitations, travellers must strive to give a fair and balanced view, avoiding trouble both at home and abroad. This statement was possibly referring to the reception of Guo Songtao's travel diary. Therefore Xue held a more cautious position when stating what China should learn and commenting on the court policies or traditional concepts. For instance, when considering the differences in strength between China and European countries, Xue first stated that Chinese people had either exaggerated the power of Europe or blindly

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

²⁶⁷ The limitation of the Traveller as an observer is discussed by Eric Leeds. He states that as travellers observed objects and events during motion, the traveller's view is confined to only brief instants. He says, "it limits those observations to surfaces, exteriors, lines and figures quickly glimpsed in passing." Leeds, however, later points out that these in-built limitations can be compensated as "a serious Traveller must develop techniques of reading from the surfaces of things and people to discover their interiors, relationships, functions and meanings." See Eric Leeds, *The Mind of the Traveller: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, pp. 61-62.

believed in Chinese superiority, both mindsets were unbalanced. Xue then went on to analyse the reason for the rise of science in Europe, and mentioned very briefly and implicitly that the Chinese, in contrast, devoted all their efforts to the eight-legged essay and calligraphy. While this could be what Xue regarded as the critical reason of the weakness of China, he quickly turned to suggest that the Chinese in the past had also achieved scientific advancement and therefore, there should be no reason why the Chinese today should reject learning science. In conclusion, he suggested that only by learning from the stronger could one become strong.²⁶⁸ On the surface, it seemed to suggest that China should learn the technology from the West a common idea at Xue's time, but the main thrust of Xue's argument was an attack on the recruitment system of China—the civil service exam which had been time-wasting in the development of the state.

Apart from those general diplomatic missions, there were also specific missions sent by the court, such as Li Gui's 李圭 (1842-1903) mission to discover business opportunities, Xu Jianyin's 徐建寅 (1845-1901) mission to study technology and Zai Ze's 載澤 mission to observe Western and Japanese political institutions. These accounts contain even less description of scenery of foreign countries and personal feelings as they were written for specific purposes. Zai Ze's *Kaocha zhengzhi riji* 考察政治日記 (A Diary of My Studies of Political Systems), for example, is not a personal diary, but entries of his (or his assistant's) record of the different forms of governments in Japan and European countries as he was on the mission to prepare the establishment of a constitution in China in 1905. The diary is abundant in information about the political institutions of the countries Zai visited. Neither did he record any travel experience of him and his companions, nor comment on the effectiveness of the institutions being recorded.

In this category of travel diaries, Li Gui's work contains a greater variety of topics. Li Gui, a native of Jiangning, worked as a secretary for Herbert Elgar Hobson, commissioner of the imperial customs of Ningbo. In 1876, China was invited to send

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 74-75.

representatives to participate in the American Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Li Gui was recommended as a representative of the business sector. Starting in May 1876, Li Gui travelled from Shanghai to San Francisco, from where he took a train to Philadelphia. After the exhibition, he travelled around the US, visiting Washington, Hartford, and New York, and went to Europe before returning to China after more than eight months. He recorded his travels in *Huanyou diqiu xinlu* 環遊地球新錄 (New Records of My Voyages Around the Globe).²⁶⁹ Although Li was never a businessman, working in the customs enabled him to realise the importance of commerce. After learning about the heavy import duty of the United States, Li commented that the Western countries' policy of defending their own resources should be considered by the Chinese government. Li's main concern is the development of commerce in the United States. In the preface, he pointed out that commerce was the most important contributory factor to the strength of the West. The United States, owing to its fair policies and advocacy in commerce, would be able to surpass Europe in the near future. He then encouraged his readers to think positively about China's future: although China was lagging behind at the moment, like the United States, it could one day be better than Europe. He therefore, claimed that his record of the business conditions in the United States was intended to benefit China. The travel account, therefore, was not primarily designed for the individual businessman, but also for the state officials to discover more about the general condition of industry and commerce in the United States. It was also written as Li's personal rediscovery of the world as he explained in the preface, through the journey, he was fully convinced that the globe was round.²⁷⁰ This is why he used *huanyou* 環

²⁶⁹ The book was divided into four *juan*. The first being “Meihui jilüe” 美會紀略 (A Brief Record of the American Exhibition), the second and third *juan* were named “Youlan suibi” 遊覽隨筆 (Jottings of My Travels) and the fourth *juan* was a record of his journeys back to China, named “Dongxing riji” 東行日記 (A Diary of My Travels to the East) in which he mentioned his meeting with Wang Tao in Hong Kong.

²⁷⁰ Li Gui, “Zixu” 自序 (The Author's Preface), *Huanyou diqiu xinlu*, p. 1. See also Charles Desnoyers trans., *A Journey to the East: Li Gui's A New Account of a Trip Around the Globe*, p. 80.

遊 (journeying in a circle) as the title of his travelogue. In the diary, place was emphasized rather than date, indicating his emphasis on the vast space he travelled. Apart from giving an exciting record of the World Exhibition in Philadelphia, especially about the Chinese students sent to the US, Li introduced import tariffs, intellectual property laws, transport network, agricultural equipment, local products, telegrams and most importantly, the advocacy of commerce in the US. The book was intended to outline a large amount of new and detailed information that the author thought would be relevant to the commercial development of China.

Xu Jianyin's travel account straddles the travel diary and guidebook genres. Xu Jianyin, a native of Wuxi, went to Shanghai with his father in 1860 after the Taipings had occupied his hometown.²⁷¹ Owing to his father's knowledge of armaments, the Xu family moved to Anqing in the Jiangsu province to help Zeng Guofan make weapons to combat the Taiping rebels. There Xu was exposed to modern armament making and deepened his interest in engineering. Xu worked for the Jiangnan Arsenal after the Taiping Rebellion and, with John Fryer's 傅蘭雅 (1839-1928) help, he started translating science books into Chinese.²⁷² In 1879, he was sent by Li Hongzhang to Berlin in order to help the Chinese ambassador, Li Fengbao 李鳳苞 order warships for China. For most of his journey, Xue travelled around German arsenals and factories, with a one-month stay in Britain in the 9th month of 1879, researching the most advanced types of warship. After one year of browsing, Xue placed orders on behalf of the Chinese government with a few German companies in 1881. By the end of 1881, according to Li Hongzhang, Xue was seriously ill and was recalled to China. However, Xue's return might also be related to his relationship

²⁷¹ For biographical information of Xu Jianyin, see Wang Guangren, "Xu Jianyin nianpu" 徐建寅年譜 (A Chronicle of Xu Jianyin), in *Journal of Tsinghua University*, 12.3, (1997), pp. 39-50.

²⁷² For example, Xue had translated *Qixiang xianzhen* 器象顯真 (An Explanation of Machinery) (1871), *Huaxue fenyuan* 化學分原 (The Origins of Chemistry) (1872), and *Shengxue* 聲學 (The Studies of Sounds) (1874). The originals of the three translations are: *The Engineer and Machinists Drawing Book* compiled by V. Lebland and Charles Armenguad (1857), *An Introduction to Practical Chemistry: Including Analysis* by John E. Bowman (1850) and *Sound* by John Tyndall (1869).

with Li Fengbao as Xue later mentioned Li's incapability in supervision. Xue's record of his mission in Germany, *Ouyou zalu* 歐遊雜錄 (Sketchy Notes of My Voyages to Europe), written in the form of a diary, was published after his return to China in 1882.

Xu's travel diary is more like a report on everything military and engineering specialists would need to about technological development in Germany—from the making of glass, soap and water pipes to guns, warships and torpedo. During his journey, he recorded more than eighty factories that he had visited and their product and management methods. Xue was not satisfied with knowing the engineering of the machinery, but intended to encourage the production of those machines in China. Therefore, he added drafts to texts in order to explain the theories of the machine. Thus, this travel account is a highly focused technical report despite its name *Ouyou zalu*, which implies a seemingly casual nature of the travel.

The official travelogues to Japan after the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) followed this trend of travel records with specific purposes, especially in military and education aspects. These include Ding Hongchen's 丁鴻臣 *Sichuan pai Tongying youli yuecao riji* 四川派東瀛遊歷閱操日記 (A Dairy of a Sichuan Official's Observations of Japan's Military Training) and *Youli Riben shi pingzhi xuezhi riji* 遊歷日本視兵制學制日記 (A Diary of my Observations of Japan's Military Training and Education Systems), and Qian Depei's 錢德培 *Chongyou Tongying yuecao ji* 重遊東瀛閱操記 (A Diary of my Return to Japan and Observations of Japan's Military Training), to name just a few. These diaries, as their names suggest, focused on providing abundant details of the military and educational development of Japan in the late 1890s. These travel accounts were reports of the travellers' on-site inspections under the order of their superiors. Personal engagements due to the historic relation between two countries were entirely omitted. Also, as their objective was merely to report the education and military systems of Japan, the theme of Sino-Japanese friendship after the Sino-Japanese war was disappearing rapidly in the traveller's accounts, or at best being used as an empty slogan with no real meaning.

These travellers understood Japan in a completely different way. They approached Japan as if it was a foreign country with no ties to China except being a model for China to reform. This drastic change in the form of travel diaries to Japan is obvious.

Through the decades after the Opium War, Chinese officials who traveled to Europe and United States and wrote up accounts of their trips generally demonstrated their awe for the mechanics of the West. While the West was portrayed as exotic and strange and sometime unexplainable, most of the scholar-officials showed their open-mindedness. This is also because those who agreed to go abroad were often the most open-minded intellectuals in the court. As the period under study progressed, some officials had a more insightful observation of the West by relating their strength to a broader aspect of development, such as education and attitudes towards commerce. This change in focus, and thus in the traveller's mindset, was gradual but significant. Chinese official travellers' impressions of Japan also changed drastically through these decades, from indifferent to highly concerned and finally regarded Japan as a model. He Ruzhang felt at ease in Japan because of its similar lifestyle to that of the Chinese, and Li Shuchang discerned the need to emphasize this similarity in order to secure China an alliance. After the Sino-Japanese War, the official travelogues were overwhelmed by reports of specific areas of Japan that the officials saw as being useful to China. The writings were burdened with an unprecedented sense of crisis. On the whole, official travel reports which accounted for a large amount of the foreign travelogues of the time were alike with one another in content and form and written in a uniformly factual tone, with only very few exceptions.

3.3 Individual Travellers

By individual travellers, I mean those who are not on official mission and whose travel accounts were not written primarily for the record of the court, even though some of them might still have had an official title. Owing to the cost and other difficulties of travelling abroad, many of the late Qing foreign journeys were sponsored by the government. Some individuals, nevertheless, managed to go to the

West and Japan, with different motives and reasons. Some were translators, travelling to earn a living, while others were ex-officials who went on exile, and some even travelled for the sake of travel. In this section, I will outline a few significant travelogues in this category (apart from those written by Wang Tao). Their concerns and the resulting content and forms of travel records were different from those found in official reports.

Lin Zhen has been recognized as the first Chinese to travel to the West in the late Qing period.²⁷³ His travel account, *Xihai jiyou cao* (A Draft of My Journey to the Western Seas) was first published in 1849. The book contains five parts: a self preface written in *pianwen* which is the longest part of his work, a fifty-line five-syllable poem which is a summary of the preface, an essay about how he saved Chinese workers in the United States, a memorial of his grandmother and finally, a section that occupied more than one-third of the book, the prefaces and poems written by his readers, including officials such as Xu Jiyu and Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885).²⁷⁴ Very little is known about Lin Zhen apart from him coming from a gentry family which drastically declined into poverty after his father's death. His mother was not mentioned and he was brought up by his grandmother. When explaining his motive for going abroad, Lin's friend, Zhou Liying 周立瀛 suggested that he had been working in the ports in Xiamen 廈門 where he learnt some foreign languages, notably English, so that in 1847 he was recruited to go to the United States to work as a commercial translator. Although Zhou said that Lin's translation was highly regarded by "all countries" (各國), there is no evidence to show that Lin was involved in any official mission.²⁷⁵

In the second month of 1847, Lin set off for the United States, returning in 1849. Despite the long time he spent in the United States, Lin's travel account was brief.

²⁷³ Zhong Shuhe, *Cong dongfang dao xifang: zongxiang shijie congshu xulun ji* 從東方到西方——《走向世界叢書》敘論集 (From East to West: A Preface to *Walking towards the World*) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), p. 5.

²⁷⁴ Lin Zhen, *Xihao jiyou cao* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), p. 27.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

From what he wrote about the journey, he saw the whole trip as nothing more than a fantastic adventure, full of peril but also full of novelty. The journey was not totally a voluntary one: “Because of poverty, I thought of travelling afar.” (因貧思遠客)²⁷⁶ Owing to this reluctant feeling, one third of the record about the journey was occupied by his sadness at leaving his homeland, a typical theme in Chinese travelogues.²⁷⁷

The record of his impressions of the United States was an enthusiastic display of novel objects and the people he observed. Also, owing to his partial understanding of the West and Western technology, his explanations of what he saw, such as electricity and telegrams, were written as if he was trying to explain magic tricks.²⁷⁸ Apart from objects, Lin was also interested in people. He observed some phenomena in the US society, for example, that Americans valued those who could invent objects and looked down upon those who could only give empty words. He also noted the difference in economic development between the south and north, the unfair treatment of the black slaves and the democratic political system.²⁷⁹ In short, all his observations were juxtaposed in a casual and free-flowing manner, without any linkage or consequential relationship from one to another. What the traveller did was to show a scroll of pictures unrolling in front of him and the readers. One can feel the motion of travel as the images flow from one to another. Lin gave

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 43. Also see preface, p. 35.

²⁷⁷ Zhang Zhi, “Sixiang zheng yu huigu pi: wan Qing haiwai xingji de liangge cemian” 思鄉症與懷古癖——晚清海外行記的兩個側面 (Longing for Home and Pondering History: Two Perspectives of Late Qing Foreign Travelogues), in *Haiwai Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin*, Suzhou University. <http://www.zwwhgx.com/article/show.asp?id=871> 29.11.2007.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 37-38 and 43. For a discussion of the novelty-seeking nature of Lin Zhen’s travelogue, see also You Jingxian, “Yuejie yu youyi: wan Qing lu Mei youji de yuwai xiangxiang yu shuxie celüe” 越界與遊移——晚清旅美遊記的域外想像與書寫策略 (Border Crossing and Moving: A Study of Images of Foreign Countries and Writing Strategies of Travels to America in the late Qing Period), in *Haiwai Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin*, Suzhou University <http://www.zwwhgx.com/article/show.asp?id=873&Page=1> 29.11.2007.

²⁷⁹ Lin Zhen, *Xihao jiyou cao*, p. 38.

limited explanation of the objects he saw and values he observed, although sometimes, he found it impossible not to clarify his meanings in long annotations inserted between the tidy couplets.

The preface also recounted how Lin saved a group of labourers in New York. To further accentuate this adventurous story, Lin developed it into another essay, “Jiuhui beiyou Chaoren ji” 救回被誘潮人記 (A Record of Saving the people from Chaozhou who were being deceived).²⁸⁰ His account was set against the background of the illegal coolie trade in the nineteenth century: although the trade had officially ended in the 1840s, Chinese indentured workers were still being recruited, often through deception, by foreign companies in treaty ports where they enjoyed extraterritorial rights.²⁸¹ Lin’s story reveals a glimpse of this historical episode. The focus of the narrative was his sympathy towards these fellow countrymen and how he tried to save them by bringing the case to the local court. At the beginning, he felt helpless as he could not find anyone who knew both American law and the Chinese language. Then, the dramatic scene came when a Chinese lawyer, Lu 魯, arrived at court just in time to argue with the crafty British employer. However, the story does not end there. After the release of the coolies, Lin, being hated by the British employer, was set up and thrown into prison. He recorded his feeling: “although I was being falsely accused, I did not mind at all..... I feel happy to be able to save people (i.e. the coolies).”²⁸² He was finally released with the help of an American friend.

Lin’s account is unlike later travelogues in many ways. First, from the account, Lin made no suggestions for any sort of reform policy. His journey was written as if he had been forced to go abroad to earn a living. This impression is reinforced when reading the memorial about his grandmother which, although seemingly not related

²⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 45-47.

²⁸¹ For more information about the coolie trade, see David Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism 1834-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 25, 37, 38 and 61.

²⁸² Lin Zhen, *Xihao jiyou cao*, p. 47. The original reads, “余雖遭誣陷，中懷全無芥蒂.....余獨以救人為快事焉。”

to his travels, stressed his unwillingness to leave his hometown and relatives. In fact, this memorial seemed to enhance the value of Lin's book as his filial piety was lavishly praised in the prefaces written by various readers. When narrating what he saw in the United States, Lin was merely listing interesting objects and technologies without giving personal feelings or thought apart from descriptions of his awe. This is also perhaps a limitation posed by both his knowledge, vision and his choice of literary form as both *pianwen* and the poem had strict rules. From the text, what seemed to interest the author most was the story of saving the coolies. Thus, the travelogue is more like a short story which uses the foreign travel in the United States as a stage.

The first travel diary to Japan during the late Qing period was also written by a non-official, Luo Sen who witnessed the opening up of Japan. Little is known about Luo Sen, except that he was able to understand English so the Americans recruited him as a translator. He must have been known among Westerners in Hong Kong as the diary was later published in *Yixia guanzhen* 邇遐貫珍 (Chinese Serial), a journal owned by the Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong.²⁸³ Luo Sen's *Riben riji* 日本日記 (A Diary of Japan) started with an explanation of his understanding of the Americans' commercial motivations for opening up Japan and his prediction of Japan's eventual uplifting of its restrictions. The crew set off from Hong Kong, first arriving at Liuqiu (the Ryukyu Islands). What Luo observed was a replica of China in ancient times when people were humble, frugal and honest.²⁸⁴ Luo's first impression of Japan seemed not too different to his views of Liuqiu, except that sometimes it was described in a negative tone as having limited resources, conservative officials and curious but timid people.²⁸⁵ While he was attracted to a few strange Japanese customs, such as the women who painted their teeth black

²⁸³ Zhong Shuhe, *Cong dongfang dao xifang: zongxiang shijie congshu xulun ji*, pp. 123-124.

²⁸⁴ Luo Sen, *Ribi riji* (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983) pp. 29-30.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 36, 40-41.

after giving birth, and the practice of men and women bathing together,²⁸⁶ Luo was more aware of the influence of Chinese culture in Japan finding many familiar objects, such as lacquer and silk clothes, although he felt they were not as good quality as what could be found in China.²⁸⁷ He also talked to a few Japanese intellectuals about the Confucian studies and found out they were excelled at calligraphy and Confucian philosophy. One of them even used his understanding of Confucian studies to challenge Luo's choice of being a translator.²⁸⁸ Luo, however, seemed to be much more open minded than his Japanese counterparts and answered that knowing a foreign language was the best way to understand the country, and was beneficial for the broadening of one's horizons.²⁸⁹ In short, Luo saw Japan as both exotic, in its strange customs, and familiar: Luo was not totally shocked as Japan had always been seen as a vassal of China. Through commenting on those familiarities he observed, Luo displayed a clear assumption of Chinese superiority over the Japanese. This attitude was drastically changed in later travel writings no matter what were the travellers' views on Meiji reform.

The above two travel accounts are the only extant non-official records written earlier than that of Wang Tao. Although in later sections of the dissertation, I intend to show the uniqueness of Wang's travelogue, these earlier accounts share some similarities. First, three men were all translators, although Wang's achievement was greatly superior. Decades after the Opium War, individual travellers to the West and Japan were still very much limited by finance and transportation, so only a few had the opportunity. Working as a translator for foreigners was the only way to acquire a taste of Western science and values. This was, however, not a popular job. Of the three, only Luo Sen seemed to be proud of his job. This might be because he had lived in Hong Kong, a British colony for almost two decades. Comparing Wang

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 32-33, 35, 42-43.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 42.

Tao's travelogue with Lin's, both seemed to have devoted a considerable amount of effort into dramatizing stories in order to make the traveller the centre of the travel. Among many other travelogues of the same period, these two are strikingly personal, albeit for completely different reasons. Lin was not obviously aware of the significance of travelling abroad and he even felt guilty for leaving his grandmother. Wang, on the other hand, was excited to recount his readers his life, in the course of which he believed he had made great contribution to both China and the West. Therefore, the differences of these two accounts might have been more obvious than its similarity at the first sight. As they had different motives for travelling and writing travelogues, they observed different things and presented them in different ways. Not only did Wang Tao's knowledge of the West and international political issues surpass Lin's, his ideas of reform in China, and his advocacy for cosmopolitanism, were not even touched upon by Lin. Wang's literary skills are also far more refined than Lin's, whose prose is marked by terse and plain descriptions. As for Luo Sen, Wang Tao, with his knowledge in current affairs, saw Japan from a different perspective considering its people and the development of history, a method which differs from Luo's superficial and brief sketch of Japan. This was also due to the fact that when Wang Tao went to Japan, it had changed drastically from the time of Luo's trip, and Chinese influence had been suffering as Western influence grew.

The image of Japan and Chinese perceptions of Japan gradually changed as the period progressed. In the decades before the first Sino-Japanese War, apart from Wang Tao's *A Travel to Japan*, there were two other travelogues written by individuals worth mentioning: Li Youpu's 李筱圃 *Riben youji* 日本紀遊 (Records of Visits to Japan) (1880) and Huang Qingcheng's 黃慶澄 *Dongyou riji* 東遊日記 (A Diary of My Travels to the East) (1893), each displaying completely different feelings towards Japan. Although Li Youpu had worked as an official in Jiangxi province, his trip to Japan was a private arrangement. Li did not clearly mention the motive for his travel, only generally describing it as "having the discursive (aim) of

broadening my horizons.” (聊以擴眼界而已).²⁹⁰ He deliberately avoided mentioning his identity as an official and distanced himself from Chinese officials until the end of his journey when he was visited by He Ruzhang.²⁹¹ In fact, his diary seemed to aim to provide a travel guide, giving information on various aspects that one needed to know when travelling in Japan in 1880. For instance, he recorded in detail what he ate on the ship to Japan, how much the ship ticket was for each class, how one could transfer from Nagasaki to other harbours of Japan.²⁹² Li went to Japan at a time similar to Wang Tao, during which Chinese influence was waning and the study of China was out-shadowed by new Western learning. While Wang saw this as a crisis for the strategic relationship between the two countries and started promoting Sino-Japanese friendship, Li found the Japanese were not trustworthy friends. Not only did they abandon the roots of their culture (Chinese culture), they also deliberately exposed the dark side of China. During his visit to a museum in Tokyo, he felt embarrassed and angry that China was represented by opium utensils and worn out armour.²⁹³ Therefore, although he could not ignore the advanced western technology implemented in Japan, he was critical of the Meiji reforms, emphasising what it had been destroyed rather than what had been established. He felt closeness with the Japanese only when they showed their appreciation of Chinese studies.²⁹⁴

A decade later, the distance between Japan and China became even wider. Huang Qingcheng 黃慶澄 (1863-1904) was an intellectual who had contact among officials as his journey to Japan was sponsored by Shen Bingcheng, 沈秉成 (1823-1895) the provincial governor of Anhui 安徽 province and Wang Fengcao 汪鳳藻 (1851-1918) who became the Chinese ambassador to Japan in 1892. Although officially sponsored, Huang Qingcheng seems not to have been bound by

²⁹⁰ Li Youpu, *Riben youji* (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 108.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 88, 89, and 91.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

any official obligation of reporting to either the court or his sponsors. As mentioned in the travelogue, Huang had been eager to see the new Japan for years and he was anxious to investigate the reasons for Japan's growing strength.²⁹⁵ He no longer saw contemporary Japan as being the same as ancient Japan which resembled and respected China. Instead, the image of Japan was modern, efficient and Westernized. He was fully aware of the changes that had taken place in Japan and he took these changes positively. He analysed Japan's development from the waning decades of the *bakufu*, praising Japanese's decision to abandon the closed door policy. Like Li Youpu, he also recognized there was opposition to the Meiji reform, however Huang pointed out that its success was due to the vision of its leaders who understood the international situation and Japan's future development. He was sympathetic towards its leaders who had faced criticism. Comparing the situation in China, Huang was more cautious in showing support for large scale reform. He argued that although China seemed to have similar problems as Japan on the surface, the two countries were very different. He carefully directed his discussion to avoid a straightforward criticism of the Chinese mindset, saying that the Japanese were more active and their shortcomings related to their impatience. However, what he really meant was the Chinese were not active enough to put forward plans to strength China and that they were too tolerant of the encroachment of foreign powers. He concluded by suggesting that China could learn the technology of Japan but not its intention of reform (probably referring to the expansionist policy of Japan as the two countries had disputes from late 1870s and when Huang visited Japan, the countries were on the verge of war over attempts to increase influence in Korea).²⁹⁶ Zhong Shuhe noted that Huang's unwillingness to reveal his support for learning from Japan was due to the increasing unrest between the two states and that speaking about learning from

²⁹⁵ Sun Yirang, "Xu" 序 (Preface), in Huang Qingcheng, *Dongyou riji* (changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 219-220

²⁹⁶ Huang Qingcheng, *Dongyou riji*, pp. 239-240.

Japan had become a taboo among officials in the court.²⁹⁷ In general, for Huang, Japan was neither a cultural offshoot of China nor a strategic friend with whom China could seek to form an alliance: from his narration, it is clear that he had distanced Japan from China, regarded Japan as a Westernized country and fully recognized Japan's ability and intention to be a competitor of China.

At the turn of the century, the most eye-catching individual travellers to Europe and the United States were Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, both went into political exile after the failure of the Hundred Days Reform (1898). Their travelogues are not only a vehicle for them to express their awe towards the West or discuss their reform ideas, but also propaganda which were used to illustrate and prove their political theories. Kang Youwei, under the protection of the British consulate, fled to Hong Kong in 1898. During the 9th month, he went to Japan. Owing to pressure from the Qing court, Kang left Japan for Vancouver where he established Baoyuanghui 保皇會 (Protect the Emperor Society), aiming to promote his reform ideas and gather support for Emperor Guangxu. From 1900 to 1904, Kang wandered around Southeast Asia and India. In the summer of 1904, he decided to travel to Europe, later writing *Ouzhou shiyi guo youji* 歐洲十一國遊記 (Records of My Journeys to Eleven European Countries). Although the title suggested that Kang intended to record eleven countries he visited in Europe, he only published records of Italy and France. In the preface, Kang traced the history of Chinese foreign travels. He pointed out that owing to transportation difficulties in the past, Chinese people could not travel afar. Now, however, with the invention of steamships, automobiles and electricity, he was able to travel as far as he wished. He saw this as a gift given by Heaven and further claimed that he believed that it was his "mission", given by Heaven, to travel abroad. He saw himself as Shen Nong 神農, a legendary figure who was believed to be the greatest Chinese doctor, and his mission being to compare and contrast the situation of other places in the world with China and finding a suitable remedy for curing the

²⁹⁷ Zhong Shuhe, *Cong dongfang dao xifang: zongxiang shijie congshu xulun ji*, pp. 159-160.

“illness” of China.²⁹⁸ Having this mission in mind, Kang was critical when observing Europe in order to assess which were the most useful remedies for China. His journey to Italy was rather a disillusioned one. He reached Naples where he was told there were many thefts and acts of deception. When visiting volcanoes near to the city, Kang saw many beggars “just like in India”. He even further imagined that this should be “common in all other countries, not just in Naples”.²⁹⁹ He then turned to a discussion of his disappointment, saying that Europe was not as ideal as he had read in books, the places were dirty and the people were cunning. He was not totally convinced that China should be westernized. Indeed when he wrote *Datong shu* (1913), Kang saw the whole world as a patient who needed to be cured.³⁰⁰

By traveling abroad and describing these foreign experiences, Kang believed that the remedy he (and his successors) prescribed could “revive life from death, supplement one’s essence and lengthen one’s life”.³⁰¹ Reading as a political allegory in Kang’s political theory, he was concerned not only with the “life” and “death” of the Qing dynasty, but also with the Chinese nation as a whole. Underneath this sense of crisis was the thought of social Darwinism which became influential after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) which had shocked the Chinese people. Alongside with the humiliating defeat was Yan Fu’s 嚴復 (1854-1921) introduction to the idea of natural selection following his translation of Thomas Henry Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* (*Tianyan lun* 天演論 A Discussion of Evolution) (1897), Chinese intellectuals sensed the possibility of the extinction of Chinese as a whole, and started warning people that they could either evolve or be eliminated through competition.³⁰² This thought became a theme in the travelogues of Kang and Liang.

²⁹⁸ Kang Youwei, *Ouzhou shiyi guo youji*, pp. 1-3.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁰⁰ For more information about Kang’s concept of saving the world and his *Datong shu*, see He Peng, *Kang Youwei wenxue*, pp. 22-24.

³⁰¹ Kang Youwei, *Ouzhou shiyi guo youji*, p. 2.

³⁰² For recent discussion of the influence of Yan Fu, see Wang Tiangen, *Tianyan lun chuanbo yu Qing mou Min chu de shehui dongyuan* 天演論傳播與清末民初的社會動員 (The Dissemination of A

Kang wrote in the first episode of his travels to Italy that the objective of traveling around Italy was to find out about the evolution of Italy which, hopefully, would be able to mirror the evolution of China.³⁰³ During his two week journey, he found out many similarities between the two countries. Their empires were equally ancient, their house designs were alike, their economic condition was similar, even adultery committed by the clergymen in Rome could be compared with the misbehaviour of Buddhist monks in China.³⁰⁴ These comparisons cannot be seen merely as casual records as the author had emphasized that all these similarities provided him with the basis for finding a remedy for China in Italy. The author went deeper than the surface phenomenon. For example, in the second episode, Kang compared Naples with London, Berlin and New York, illustrating the idea that old empires were hard to change because they had many buildings already. Beijing and all other provincial cities in China faced the same problem as Naples.³⁰⁵ This was not only referring to the buildings, reading alongside Kang's political ideas, he had always suggested destroying the old in order to build up the new. Liang Qichao, for instance, described Kang's contribution to Confucian scholarship as a typhoon, a volcanic eruption and an earthquake to the old conservative scholarship.³⁰⁶ Therefore, destroying the outdated part was central to Kang's idea of a new China.

When visiting the historic sites of the Roman Empire, Kang quickly turned from a description of the ruins into a discussion of his theory of evolution and the future development of China.³⁰⁷ When visiting the remnants of Augustine's palace, Kang

Discussion of the Theory of Evolution and Social Mobilization in Late Qing and Early Republican Era (Hefei: Hefei Gongye Daxue chubanshe, 2006).

³⁰³ Kang Youwei, *Ouzhou shiyi guo youji*, p. 16.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp14-16, 24-25, and 39-40.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

³⁰⁶ Liang Qichao, *Qingdai xueshu gailun*清代學術概論 (An Introduction to the Qing Scholarship) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press 1985), p. 129.

³⁰⁷ Kang Youwei, *Ouzhou shiyi guo youji*, p. 54. Kang clearly pointed out his intention for discussion, saying, "whenever I encountered a historical relic of the Roman Empire, I thought deeply about the West and China. This (comparison) cannot be wiped out of my mind." (每撫羅馬一古跡，則感慨中

traced the history of the Roman Empire, and compared the Roman emperors to Chinese emperors. Walking through the palace of Octavia, he thought of his equivalent in China as Qin shi huangdi (the first emperor of the Qin) and Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, both of whom were famous for their military strength. He also imagined Octavia's wives might act like Chen A'jiao 陳阿嬌 and Wei Zifu 衛子夫, the wives of Emperor Wu. Then, he concluded that the relics revealed the once powerful Roman Empire, and Romans believed that "the Roman Empire is the world and the capital of the Romans was the capital of the world" (羅馬為世界，以羅馬都為世界首都). Kang found this idea strikingly alike to the Chinese assumption of superiority and called the Chinese Empire *tianxia*. This was, however, nothing to be proud of as Kang saw from history that the Roman Empire had fallen. Finally, he warned his readers that China was now waning, and its culture, arts and civilization would diminish if the Chinese did nothing.³⁰⁸

Another discussion resulting from this visit was Kang's opinion on the stability of China. Again, using his theory of evolution, he argued that stability was the only way to evolve. He first traced the history of the division of the Roman Empire which he regarded as the key to explain its collapse. He concluded that it was human nature for people to compete for everything they desired. A big empire could only be formed after many battles caused by division. In this analysis, Kang saw division as a process during unification. Therefore, dividing a big empire into smaller states would only lead to another round of struggles for unification. After setting up this framework of thought, he introduced a counter viewpoint saying some people thought that Western countries advanced only after continuous competition between one another, commenting that the process was too cruel and unsuitable for a unified country like China. Furthermore, he argued, modern civilization was not based on those conflicts but the relatively peaceful conditions of the past one hundred years. Therefore, he concluded that China should remain as one state in order to avoid

西，不能去懷也。”

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 47-50.

instability.³⁰⁹ Kang used his travel experiences and feelings as evidence for his theory.

As for the relation between evolution and political reform, it was fully articulated not only by Kang, but also by Liang Qichao who used it as a framework for the discussion of the development of the United States in his travelogue, *Xin dalu youji* 新大陸遊記 (Memorial of My Travel to the New World). After reading American newspapers (with help from translators) and investigating various aspects of American political, social and economic conditions, Liang said that there was nothing he should worry about for the Americans except for the number of immigrants. He listed the number and origins of immigrants and claimed that those people who were inferior by nature would hinder the competitiveness of the white people.³¹⁰ Another example is when discussing the nature of Chinese people, Liang compared them with the Jews. Although the two of them were similar in their emphasis on family ties, the Jews were much more unified while the Chinese were concerned only with personal advantage. He attributed the unity of the Jewish people to their existence even after their country had been destroyed for a thousand years, and, in turn, warned his fellow countrymen to act as responsible “citizens” and change their behaviour in order to ensure the survival of the whole nation.³¹¹

Liang’s travels happened in the same period as his master, Kang Youwei. After the coup d’état in 1898, he was under the protection of the Japanese Consulate and travelled to Japan where he learnt to read Japanese. Although he had admired the Japanese reforms in the past, he had never been to Japan to see the effect of these reforms. Later when remembering his trip to Japan, Liang regarded it as “a mission to the East for my homeland” to stay in “the most advanced country that adopted a constitutional monarchy in Asia”. He felt that his journey to Japan had been an experience of shift of paradigm for him. One issue he addressed was the power of

³⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 51-54.

³¹⁰ Liang Qichao, *Xin dalu youji* (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1974), pp. 262-271.

³¹¹ Ibid., pp. 273-274.

literature and the importance of information dissemination. Therefore, he established *Qingyi bao* 清議報 in Yokohama in December 1898, promoting reform and introducing a wide range of Western ideas and people. In 1899, Liang planned to travel to the United States to help Kang Youwei to establish Baohuanghui, but was stopped in Hawaii due to a protest from the Qing court to the US government. For this short trip, he wrote a travel diary, *Hanman lu* 汗漫錄 (Records of My Roamings, also named *Xiaweiyi youji* 夏威夷遊記 Records of My Travels to Hawaii). Although brief and short, *Hanman lu* was Liang's first attempt at analysis-based travel writing. With the narration of his journeys kept to minimum, Liang devoted himself to arguing for his idea of the revolution of literature.³¹² The focus of the travelogue completely shifted from the place being visited to the author's platform for discussion. During the next four years, Liang stayed mainly in Japan: although he also traveled to Australia, he left no travel records of his visit.

In 1902, Liang finally managed to travel to the US and wrote *Xin dalu youji*, however, this work differs from *Hanman lu* in which he included far more empirical examples. Also, he must have thought through the format and style of this travelogue as he gave an evaluation of travel writing as a genre in his editorial notes. He laid out a number of rules for writing travelogues, principally writing for the modernization of China and the improvement of the Chinese, and omitting things that were "not related to big ideas" (無關宏旨).³¹³ In fact, this is why Chou Yin-hwa attributed the start of modern Chinese reportage to *Xin dalu youji*, pointing out its breakaway from the traditional travelogue and the adoption of a style of meticulous analysis based on information gathered during the travels.³¹⁴ From a backward looking direction, Liang's work can be seen as a further development of the informative and argumentative nature of the official reports and the propaganda function of Kang's

³¹² Liang Qichao, *Hanman lu*, in *Yinbing shi zhuanji* 飲冰室專集 (Special Collections of the Drinking Ice Studio), Vol. 22, Appendix 2 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), pp. 185-196.

³¹³ Liang Qichao, *Xin dalu youji*, p. 224.

³¹⁴ Chou Yin-hwa, "Formal Features of Chinese Reportage and an Analysis of Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 *Memoirs of My Travel in the New World*", in *Modern Chinese Literature*, p. 216.

travelogue as described above. Liang was unique in that he was conscious of what he was doing and trying to achieve. Also, like other foreign travelogues of its time, Liang's work was investigative in nature and aimed at reporting facts. Liang's selection of these facts, however, was different from his predecessors. He was primarily concerned about the Chinese in North America. Gathering as much information as he could, Liang produced statistics of the Chinese population in the United States. He gave a survey on the Chinese population in major cities, their professions, their societies (which Liang criticised, calling for a stop of the clan culture and requested people to unite as one).³¹⁵ This is the first comprehensive record of American Chinese in his time, reflecting a wide range of issues concerning the life of Chinese in a foreign country.

Another traveller in this category worth mentioning was the first woman travel writer, Shan Shili who went from Japan to Russia in 1903 and to Italy in 1909.³¹⁶ She wrote two travelogues, *Guimao lüxing ji* 癸卯旅行記 (A Record of My Journeys in 1903) and *Guiqian ji* 歸潛記 (Writings of Retirement).³¹⁷ Shan was no ordinary woman who was confined to the inner chamber. Instead, she was a frequent traveller as her husband, Qian Zixun 錢子恂 was an official sent to Japan. However, she tried to keep away from Chinese officials as far as possible, because she was annoyed by their *guanqi* 官氣 (official manner, possibly referring to their ignorance and pride).³¹⁸ Therefore, she felt free to express any inadequacy of the Qing court's

³¹⁵ Liang Qichao, *Xin dalu youji*, pp. 377-406.

³¹⁶ Shan Shili came from a gentry family which had declined after the Taiping Rebellion. Brought up by her uncle Xu Renmu, Shan received a good education and was able to speak foreign languages. Her education was also an indispensable factor affecting her views towards the importance of new style women education. Ellen Widmer suggested that her childhood experience of the Taiping Rebellion was important in shaping her ideas on the virtue of women. See Ellen Widmer, "Foreign Travel through a Woman's Eyes: Shan Shili's *Guimao lüxing ji* in Local and Global Perspective", pp. 763-791.

³¹⁷ *Guimao lüxing ji* was first published in Japan with Dobun Shoin (Tongwen 同文 Publishing House) in 1904. The title *Guijian ji* refers not to Shan's retirement, but her husband's.

³¹⁸ Shan Shili, *Guimao lüxing ji* (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 30, 40, 61.

policies. For example, when talking about her sons and daughters-in-law who studied in Tokyo, she went on to discuss the shortcomings of Chinese education, as she and her husband could find no suitable school for their sons. On the other hand, Japanese education enabled her sons and daughters-in-law to learn something practical.³¹⁹ She was also sharp in capturing the Chinese perception of technology. Unlike previous travellers who were attracted by the Western technology and praised it in a lavished manner, Shan was skeptical of such attitudes. When visiting an exhibition in Osaka, she pointed out that the Chinese could not understand the implication of technology, merely seeing it as a trinket.³²⁰ The same observation emerged when she was in Shanghai, seeing many “Western shops” which reduced Western technology to sensational and chic objects for entertainment.³²¹ This critical view points not only to the failure of China’s modernization (in comparing with Japan), the concept itself can be used as a judgment of an enormous amount of previous novel-seeking travelogues.

Concerning Chinese superficial understanding of foreign countries, Shan compared the railway systems in Russia and China. Russians were concerned with the maintenance of the Siberian railway and with consideration of profit making, allowing common people, such as businessmen, to use the railways, which was opposite to the management of the Manchurian railway. She was disappointed to see that Chinese people did not understand the essence of a railway and therefore had no idea how to use it efficiently.

More extraordinary was that Shan was fully aware of her identity as a woman and her intended readers were also (well-educated) women. Throughout the dairy, she kept reminding her readers that women were not inferior to men. Women, instead of confining themselves to home, should feel confident enough to move away from

³¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 23-25, 30, 34, 37, and 40.

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 35. This phenomenon was an important factor affecting Wang Tao’s travel writings, in which, I argue, he used certain strategies to meet the tastes of the readers of Shanghai. For more discussion, see Chapter 7.

the restrictions, meaning that women should start from, literally, walking out of their houses.³²² She mentioned a few times that Japanese and Western women found no difficulty or restrictions in walking on streets whereas Chinese regarded it as inappropriate. Not only did she walk on streets, she also encouraged her daughters-in-law to do so³²³. She placed emphasis on the education of women as she believed mothers were the most influential person during an individual's growing up. Therefore, only when China improved its education on women could China have responsible nationals.³²⁴ Yet, China should preserve its edge in women education—the emphasis on women's moral standards. Shan advocated an all-round education for women incorporating knowledge and virtue.³²⁵

Also, unlike most travellers mentioned above who travelled in order to bring back certain information or to promote their own opinions, Shan wrote for the sake of promoting travel itself. She was interested in traveling abroad. When leaving China to travel to Japan and Russia, Shan expressed her excitement rather than reluctance to depart. As she had been to Japan a few times by 1903, she was personally attached to the country. Arriving at Nagasaki, Shan described the serene scenery of the night and added that she felt she was meeting an old friend.³²⁶ The idea of home was blurring as traveling across countries become common. Even when she travelled to Russia, the pain of departure was never in her mind. She saw the whole journey as a necessary process of learning. This is a complete shift of the theme of travel writings from the traditional theme of yearning for home to a sense of traveling as an indispensable episode in one's life. When traveling to Venice, she wrote a short essay about Marco Polo and traced her interest in traveling to when she heard about Marco Polo's journey when she was small.³²⁷ She wanted to arouse

³²² Ibid., p. 31, 37, 91

³²³ Ibid., p. 31.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 31.

³²⁶ Ibid., 39.

³²⁷ Shan Shili, "Mage Bolou shi" 馬格博羅事 (The Life of Marco Polo), in *Guiqian ji*, pp. 223-229,

people's interest in travelling abroad, especially Chinese women. She wanted Chinese women to travel to foreign countries to see the modern world so that they would be confident of their potential.³²⁸

Her second travelogue, *Guiqian ji*, which consisted of several thematic essays, focused on the cultural aspects of her journey in Italy. She stopped talking about politics explicitly, and turned her interest to arts, describing Italian architecture, Christianity, Greek mythology and Western literature, all of which were rarely mentioned in such detail among other late Qing travellers. When introducing art and literature for the sake of their beauty, Shan did not forget to remind her readers that she was always thinking about the state. Introducing the layout in the Jewish quarters in Rome, she traced the history of the Jews and described their present situation in the ghettos, adding “it (the story of the Jews) shows how the conquered people were ruled under the white people.” At the end of the essay, she added a line of postscript, saying, “this is a record of ghettos, readers should read it with care.”³²⁹ Her emphasis on “conquered people” being “ruled under the white people” can be first read as a direct reference of the discrimination she experienced in Russia in 1903.³³⁰ Secondly, it can also be read as a political allegory, of which the sense of a crisis of extinction and being conquered were becoming the main stream of thought with the Qing dynasty on the verge of collapse. In the process of observing and narrating the Jewish ghettos, Shan was evaluating the place of China and Chinese people in the world. She warned her readers that China must not follow the footsteps of the Jews, otherwise, they would become a “conquered people” just like the Jews in Rome.

here p. 223.

³²⁸ Shan Shili, *Guimao lixing ji*, p. 22.

³²⁹ Shan Shili, “Louma zhi Youtai qu—gedu” 羅馬之猶太區——格篤 (Jewish Quarters in Rome: Ghettos), in *Guiqian ji*, pp. 204-221.

³³⁰ Shan Shili, *Guimao lixing ji*, pp. 62-64, 69-70, and 78.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

A general survey of some of the most important works of the foreign travelogues sees that compared with earlier travel literature, not only the theme, subject matters and writings styles of travelogues changed, the concept of travel had also greatly altered. By the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese intellectuals had become firmly attached the idea of travel to national development. They even sought to bring in Western traditions to justify the need of travel. Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1842-1922) commented,

Nowadays, the West emphasises the importance of traveling. Even people who were as precious as princes and nobles regarded traveling to other countries as an essential act.....Passing through each and every place, they will observe the strength and weakness of the institutions, enquire about the good and bad customs, find out productivity, explore economic development, study inventions, and investigate military power. They will pay extra attention to geography: the perilous landscapes, the control of borders, the length of roads and the depth of rivers and estuaries. All of their observations are drawn into a map, recorded in dairies, and published in newspapers. This kind of information is so popular that people compete with one another to buy it. In spare time, they will use it as topics for discussion. In times of emergency, all fellow countrymen feel confident (about their enemies) that they find it easy to ride on chariots and go straight to their enemies' lands.....Other people see these countries conquered a few cities and occupied lands every now and then, and think that this is due to the speed of their army. It is, however, owing to the fact that their army is well-trained and strategies well-prepared which results from their travels not any other hasty means.³³¹

³³¹ Zheng Guanying, "Youli" 遊歷 (Travel). The original reads, "降至今日, 泰西各國尤重遊歷。尊

This view is resonated in almost all the travelogues surveyed above. From the very beginning of this era of unrest, the intellectual travellers' accounts were works of statecraft, commenting on the society, government institutions, and cultural orientation that they encountered and compared with the situations at home. For that reason, home is constantly present in their consciousness even when they experienced the least significant thing in life. Time, weather and distance were of great concern to the travellers, most of them noting down data meticulously, through which they expressed a sense of relativity of not only time and space, but also China's place in the world.

Almost all of them felt the need to discuss some opinions about the modernization of China, and to offer suggestions even though all they had experienced was their short trip. Most of them took on the immediate situation of the places they visited, while some others, such as Xue Fucheng, Wang Tao, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, traced back to history to seek for an explanation. In short, these works were dominantly investigative and expository in nature, and the unifying feature being, despite differences in concerns and mindsets, they shared a sense of frustration and anxiety to strengthen China. For some, this frustrated and anxious feeling resulted in concluding that the Chinese had to learn from the West and Japan, while for others this prompted a debate, a reevaluation and sometimes, a defence of the Chinese traditions. However, all of them were transformed, in one way or the

如世子王孫，貴如世爵將相，莫不以遊歷各國為要圖。……經過之處，觀其朝章得失，詢其俗尚美惡，察其物產多寡，究其貿易盛衰，仿其制作精粗，探其武備強弱。而於地理一事尤所究心。山川之險夷，出入之難易，路徑之遠近，江河海口之淺深，無不成地圖，載入日記，刊諸日報，紙貴一時。無事，彼此傳聞以資談助；一旦有事，則舉國之人胸有成竹，不難駕輕就熟，乘勝長驅……人弟其今日奪若干城，明日辟若干地，以為用兵之神速。而不知兵皆素習，謀皆豫定，無一不從遊歷得來，非一朝一夕之故也。” In *Shengshi weiyan* 盛世危言 (Serious Words about the Prosperous Society) (1894) (Beijing : Beijing Founder Apabi Technology Limited, 2007), p. 210.

other, through their travel experience by looking for a way out for China's crisis and trying to fit China into the broader international scene. In the following chapters, I will argue that Wang Tao and his travelogues, although based on a similar set of assumptions about Chinese versus foreigners, and China versus the world, are unique in their use of travel to articulate an intellectual response to personal fate, social situation and national future in, sometimes, a playful tone.

Chapter 4 The Traveller Wang Tao

4.1 Always On the Road: The Life of Wang Tao

I started thinking of Jiangnan when I became a guest in Yue.

My tears not yet dry up after six years of homesickness.

Now, cast away far over the vast oceans,

Even eastern Yue feels like home.

一從客粵念江南，

六載思鄉淚未乾。

今日擲身滄海外，

粵東轉作故鄉看。³³²

This poem was written by Wang Tao in Scotland in 1869, a journey during which he had often expressed feelings of pride and invigoration.³³³ Just before he wrote this poem, Wang had described a relaxing excursion he had with his British friends in the hills of Dollar. A letter from home, however, stirred up feelings of homesickness and led to him writing this poem. The poem vividly summarises the first half of Wang Tao's life, revealing his immense longing for "home". "Home" here is an ambivalent term which could refer to several places. The poem provides the best example of Wang Tao as a traveller who always regarded himself as "a guest" (客).

In *Jottings of My Roamings*, Wang told his readers that he was obsessed with traveling and had always been annoyed by the fact that he lived in remote and

³³² Wang Tao, "Travelling in a Mind Refreshing Garden", *Manyou suilu* (Jottings of My Roamings), p. 126. The poem has two versions. Here, I use the version recorded in *Henghua guan shilu*, in which the fifth word of the first line is *nian* 念 (to remember) rather than *si* 思 (to think). This appears to be a better version because otherwise *si* is repeated in the second line. See *Henghua guan shilu*, Vol. 3, p. 10, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), p. 477.

³³³ Wang commented immediately after this poem, "Alas! Although I am in dangerous circumstance, I still feel proud because I am able to travel to remarkable places, appreciate beautiful scenery, enjoy literature and make friends, almost forgetting that I am away from home." See Wang Tao, "Travelling in a Mind Refreshing Garden", *Manyou suilu* (Jottings of My Roamings), p. 126.

mountainous area.³³⁴ His exile to Hong Kong was described as a journey he had longed for.³³⁵ In reality, however, his travels did not all start with voluntary departures. He was forced to leave his quiet and peaceful hometown, Fuli 甫里, in order to earn a living for the family in Shanghai. Later, he went on a political exile to Hong Kong in order to avoid his execution. This exile finally turned out to be Wang's key for success in his later life as he was able to open his eyes to the development of a British colony and later the European countries to which China had submitted twice by 1860. Returning to Hong Kong, Wang Tao was recognised an expert in foreign affairs and from then led on a successful career in several printing presses and professional writing. Although he always claimed to be longing for his homeland, Wang Tao finally decided to settle down in Shanghai, a place he had once disliked, and died there in 1879.

Wang Tao, one of the most outstanding figures involved in Sino-foreign exchanges during the late nineteenth century, has many facets, one of the most important, though often neglected, was being a traveller. Throughout his life, he was constantly drifting from one place to another, voluntarily or involuntarily. He struggled to settle down and identify with many places, and although he enjoyed himself on many occasions, feelings of homesickness haunted him even in the midst of happiness. What makes Wang Tao a more fascinating traveller than his predecessors is that he travelled to places beyond the Chinese border. Being a stranger in strange places (in the eyes of traditional Chinese literati), Wang Tao surprised his readers with his open-mindedness in understanding the customs, systems and culture of other peoples.

Although Paul Cohen was correct to regard Wang's foreign experiences in his later years in Shanghai as the origin of his transformation,³³⁶ the journey to Europe also changed Wang, especially in regard to his views of *huayi zhibian*. When he was

³³⁴ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 42 and 58.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³³⁶ Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*, p. 73.

in Shanghai, in spite of having a good relationship with Henry Walter Medhurst (Chinese name, 麥都思 1796-1857), Wang did not hesitate to uphold *huayi zhibian* in his letters to close friends and relatives. He felt his job had undermined his identity as a Confucian scholar.³³⁷ Despite having seen and contacted Westerners, Wang's descriptions of the Westerners were not dramatically different from most of the views of ordinary Chinese people, criticising their brute and crafty nature (其性外剛狠而內陰鷙). He did not trust foreigners, quoting the traditional saying, "those who do not belong to our race will never have the same mindset as us"(非我族類，其心必異).³³⁸ After a period of being undecided whether to advocate a closed or open door policy, he chose the former in order to protect China.³³⁹ During this period, although he felt the urgency to change China, he did not know the exact methods for doing so. In a letter, Wang discussed the possibility of using Western technology in China, and concluded that Western methods had no merit in terms of self cultivation and the modernization of the state.³⁴⁰ It was only from his essays written after 1871 that one can see how Wang had overcome the traditional assumption of Chinese superiority and actively promoted the adoption of Western methods. His view of Chinese and barbarians had changed drastically. His "Huayi lun" 華夷論 (A Discussion of Chinese and Barbarians) can be seen as Wang's manifesto, representing the end of

³³⁷ Wang Tao, "Zai ji Sun Ti'an" 再寄孫惕庵 (A Second Letter to Sun Ti'an) and "Feng Zhu Xuequan jiushi" 奉朱雪泉舅氏 (To Zhu Xuequan, My Brother-in-Law), in *Taoyuan chidu* 弢園尺牘 (Letters of Wang Tao) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), pp. 10-11 and 22-24.

³³⁸ For Wang's comment on the appearance of Westerners, see "Zai ji Sun Ti'an" 再寄孫惕庵 (A Second Letter to Sun Ti'an) and "Feng Zhu Xuequan jiushi" in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 10-11. For how ordinary people looked at Westerners, see an diary entry of Lin Zexu in 1839 which recorded how Cantonese people saw Westerners like ghosts. Lin agreed with those descriptions and concluded that Westerners were truly barbarians. *Lin Zexu riji*, in *Yapian zhanzheng*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

³³⁹ Wang Tao, "Feng Zhu Xuequan jiushi", and "Da Bao Xingzhou Mingjing" 答包荇洲明經 (A Letter to Bao Xingzhou, a Graduate of the Classics), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 22-24 and 92-94. See also *Wang Tao riji* 王韜日記 (The Diary of Wang Tao) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 82-83

³⁴⁰ Wang Tao, "Yu Zhou Taofu zhengjun" 與周弢甫徵君 (A Letter to Master Zhou Taofu), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 25-31.

the traditional prejudice embodied in *huayi zhibian*.³⁴¹

Zhang Hailin pointed out that the significance of his European journey was to open Wang's eyes to the reality of the international stage and enable him to reassess China's foreign relations.³⁴² Instead of supporting a closed door relationship, he saw the need to understand Western (British systems and culture) thoroughly. He worked on writing European histories and hoped that by understanding the historical and current relations between the European powers, China could benefit by forming an alliance against Russia, the country which he saw as representing the greatest threat to China. During his journey, he saw not only things worth learning by the Chinese, but also areas in which the Chinese could contribute to the making of a better world, the universalistic idea of a great unity which had become increasingly prominent among the late Qing intellectuals, from as early as Wei Yuan and Wang Tao to Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao.

This study is essentially about Wang Tao's foreign travelogues, but before analyzing the content and style of his travel writings, it is important to know the traveller. This chapter briefly introduces Wang Tao's life, especially his travels, and his literary works as background.³⁴³ A more detailed chronicle of Wang Tao, including a translation of Wang's autobiography, is available in Appendix 1.

Wang Tao was born on tenth November 1828 in a small village in Jiangsu 江蘇 province. At that time, the Qing dynasty had already passed its pinnacle. During Emperor Jiaqing's 嘉慶reign (1796-1820), the country suffered serious political, military and social problems.³⁴⁴ As described in Chapter 2, some scholars had

³⁴¹ Wang Tao, "Huayi lun" 華夷論 (A Discussion of Chinese and Barbarians), in *Taoyuan wenlu weibian*, Vol. 10, pp. 20-21, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 640-641.

³⁴² Zhang Hailin, "Wang Tao de 'tianxia guan' yu gaige sixiang" 王韜的「天下觀」與改革思想 (Wang Tao's View of the World Order and his Reform Ideas", in Wang Man Kong and Lam Kai Yin eds., *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, p. 55.

³⁴³ Most research about Wang Tao has focused on his life events; therefore, here I will just mention those events most relevant to the studies of his travel writings. For more information on his life, see the research I mention in the Introduction.

³⁴⁴ For more information, see Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (Hong Kong: Oxford

already sensed the need to change in terms of both scholarship and state policy. The problems and the need to change became more apparent and urgent as time went by, although there was little change in the way of life in Jiangsu.³⁴⁵ Wang was raised in a gentry family and his ancestors belonged to the elite class. Like all other young men from such a family background, Wang's ultimate ambition was to be successful in the civil service examinations. However, Wang only passed the first stage of the exam and as a result of his failures of the later stages, he was unable to pursue a political career by that means. This had a life-long impact on Wang Tao and can be seen in his writings, most obviously in the travel account which will be discussed later.

In 1847, six years after Shanghai had been opened up as a treaty port, Wang went to visit his father there, and was greatly impressed by the Western influences. Two years later, because of a serious flood, Wang experienced difficulties earning a living in his hometown, and at the invitation of Henry Medhurst decided to work for the London Mission Press in Shanghai.³⁴⁶ At first, Wang felt very depressed when working in Shanghai because at that time people despised those who worked for foreigners.³⁴⁷ Translation work in Shanghai was also not something Wang had hoped to be doing. He complained about the incorrect interpretations of the Classics by the missionaries and the loneliness he experienced away from his many literati friends. In fact, however, Wang did comment at a later date on his enjoyable working relations with Henry Medhurst and he did manage to find friends with similar aspirations, such as Jiang Jianren 蔣劍人 (1808-1867) and Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1811-1882).³⁴⁸ The three of them were known as *Haishang san qiren* 海上三奇人

University Press, 1983), pp. 123-130.

³⁴⁵ Henry McAleavy, *Wang T'ao 1828?-1890: The Life and Writings of a Displaced Person* (London: China Society, 1953), p.1.

³⁴⁶ Henry Walter Medhurst, a native of London, was sent by the London Mission to Malacca in 1816. In 1843 he went to Shanghai, where he became the city's first missionary. He established the Mohai shuyuan 墨海書院 (London Mission Press) in Shanghai, translating the Bible for preaching purposes.

³⁴⁷ Henry Macaleavy, op.cit., p.8.

³⁴⁸ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan" "Taoyuan Laomin zizhuan" 弢園老民自傳 (The

(Three extraordinary men of Shanghai) for their talents and Bohemian behaviour.³⁴⁹ The heartbreaking feeling, perhaps, came from the fact that it was Wang's first departure from his homeland.³⁵⁰

The year 1862 was the turning point in Wang's life. In his preface to the *Jottings of My Roamings*, Wang wrote obliviously "all of a sudden, there were rumours about me" regarding an event that could have resulted in his execution.³⁵¹ At that time, the Taiping Rebellion that had started in the 1850s was about to end. Although the strength of the Taiping forces was waning, the court army was still struggling to defeat them. Due to the scale and time (altogether fourteen years, affecting eighteen provinces) of the rebellion, most parts of Jiangsu were in ruins and the only safe place was Shanghai as it was partly controlled by foreigners. Wang was so concerned with the rebellion that he wrote several memoranda to Qing officials, suggesting plans for fighting back against the rebels. One suggestion was to train the Qing army to use foreign weapons, a policy actually carried out after the Taipings attacked Shanghai. These memoranda, according to Wang, aroused jealousy among the local officials and directly resulted at his unjust accusation later.³⁵²

Despite his effort to help the Qing army, in 1862, a memorandum signed by Huang Wan 黃畹, regarding military strategies to capture Shanghai against the Qing army, was discovered after a battle in Wang jiasi 王家寺 in Qibao 七寶 prefecture. After falling into the hands of Qing officials, the memorandum was immediately

Autobiography of the Old Man of Taoyuan). In *Taoyuan wen xinbian* 弢園文新編 (Newly Edited Essays of Wang Tao), (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1998) pp. 367-368.

³⁴⁹ Yu Xingmin, "Wang Tao he haishang kuangren zhimi" 王韜和海上狂人之謎 (Wang Tao and the Mystery of Bohemians on the Sea), in *Shanghai 1862 nian* 上海, 1862 年 (Shanghai, 1862) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 388-472.

³⁵⁰ The term "departure" comes from Eric Leed's *Minds of the Traveller*, describing the start of a journey (often being painful). How Wang's travels related to Leed's concepts of travels will be further analyzed in Chapter 9.

³⁵¹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, ed Zhong Shuhe (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982), p. 30. The original reads, "中間以蜚語之猝來。"

³⁵² Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan", pp. 368-369.

judged to be Wang's work since its style looked very similar to that of his previous memoranda. Furthermore, the character *Wan* 畹 as well as the first character of Wang's courtesy name Lanqing 蘭卿 both appeared in *Chuci* 楚辭 (The Songs of Chu), as metaphors for virtuous people.³⁵³ The court accused Wang of treason and ordered his arrest. Wang was caught up in heavy snow during the winter of 1862 both on his journey home to Fuli and later, on his way back to Shanghai. Because of this delay, Wang heard the news before he arrived in Shanghai and he went right away to the British Consul for help. The Consul, Walter Medhurst, who happened to be Henry Medhurst's son, offered to hide Wang in the consulate. The Qing court demanded that the British consulate should hand over Wang. In order to protect Wang, Walter Medhurst arranged for him to flee to Hong Kong in 1863.

Whether Wang was really the author has been a heated topic of discussion and is still uncertain. It was even suggested that Wang obtained the highest degree of civil service examination held by the Taiping regime.³⁵⁴ Sources from the British consulate in Shanghai showed that Wang knew the content of the memorandum, revealing that he was the author.³⁵⁵ Although most scholars believe that Wang could have written it, they have found it hard to explain his intentions.³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the

³⁵³ More details concerning the discussion of the authorship of the memorandum can be found in Lee Chi-fang "Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship, and Literary Achievement" (PhD diss, University of Wisconsin, 1973), pp. 73-90. And Zhang Zhichun 張志春, *Wang Tao nianpu* 王韜年譜 (The Chronicle of Wang Tao), (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 55-62.

³⁵⁴ See Hong Shen "Shenbao zongbianzhuang 'changmao zhuangyuan' Wang Tao kaozheng" 申報總編纂「長毛狀元」王韜考證 (An Evidential Study of the Major Editor of *Shenbao*, the Long-haired Graduate Wang Tao), in *Wenxue*, 2.6, (1934) pp. 1033-1045. See also Chen Zhenguo, Jian Youwen "Changmao zhuangyuan Wang Tao" 長毛狀元王韜 (The Long-haired Graduate Wang Tao), in *Yijing*, 33 (1937), pp. 41-45 and 34.

³⁵⁵ Natascha Vittinghoff Gentz suggested that the Qing court's harsh policy towards Wang Tao was due to the fact that he sought help from the British Embassy, rather than his memorandum to the Taipings. In "Why did Wang Tao go to Hong Kong? Some Preliminary Observations from the Unpublished Documents in the Public Records Office, London", *Contemporary Historical Review*, 1.3 (1998), pp. 60-62.

³⁵⁶ Lee Chi-fang, "Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship and Literary

significance of this event here is that Wang was forced to leave again to a strange place. This time, he went into exile, a journey with no chance of returning. The result of it, however, turned out to give Wang a unique opportunity to explore the Western world.

Arriving in Hong Kong, Wang changed his given name to Tao 韜 and adopted the courtesy name Ziqian 子潛 (*qian* means to hide under water), as well as various other sobriquets, such as Zhongtao 仲弢 (*tao* has the same meaning as *tao* 韜, meaning to hide) and Tiannan dunsou 天南遯叟 (The Old Recluse of the South), all of which contain a meaning of hiding. These revealed the despair that resulted from his exile, as he was facing the possibility of permanent detachment from mainland China.

Recommended by the London Mission Press, Wang worked for James Legge (Chinese name, 理雅各 1815-1897) during his stay in Hong Kong.³⁵⁷ Legge supported Wang's life and got his family to Hong Kong. Wang helped Legge with his expertise in the Classics.³⁵⁸ From letters of Wang Tao, it is evident that he

Achievement", PhD diss, University of Wisconsin, 1973, p. 92; Paul A. Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*, pp. 50-53; Henry McAleavy, *Op.cit.*, pp. 14-16. For Chinese resources, see Wang Ermin, "Wang Tao zaonian shijiao huodong jiqi yu xiyang jiaoshi zhi jiaoyou" 王韜早年施教活及其與西洋教士之交遊 (Wang Tao's Preaching Duty and his Contact with Western Missionaries), in *Dongfang wenhua*, 3.2 (1975), p. 213; Wu Yuanshen, "Wang Tao fei Huang Wan kao" 王韜非黃畹考 (An Evidential Study of Wang Tao not being Huang Wan), in *Journal of Nei Menggu University*, 2 (1982), p. 35.

³⁵⁷ James Legge, a native of Huntly, became headmaster of the Anglo-Chinese College of Hong Kong in 1843. He started translating the Chinese Classics from 1841 and finished by 1870 with the help of Wang Tao. From 1876 to 1897, Legge was professor of Sinology at Oxford University and his *Sacred Books of China* was published from 1879 to 1891. Besides translation, Legge also wrote about Confucius, Mencius and Chinese religions.

³⁵⁸ For Legge's acknowledgment of Wang Tao's assistance, see James Legge trans., *Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Jardine, 1865), V. III, preface, viii. See also Luo Xianglin, *Xianggang yu Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 香港與中西文化交流 (Hong Kong and Cultural Exchange between China and the West) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1962), p. 62.

appreciated Legge for his knowledge in the Classics.³⁵⁹

In 1867, when Legge went back to Scotland, he invited Wang to join him. Wang eventually headed off that winter. According to *Jottings of My Roamings*, after embarking from Hong Kong, he passed through Southeast Asia, India, and Africa before arriving in Italy. He then went by train and travelled around Italy and France before crossing the English Channel to Britain. After staying in England for a few days, he went to Scotland with James Legge. From 1868 to 1870, he stayed in Dollar and travelled around the cities and villages of Scotland. He was well received by Legge and Legge's British friends. Also, because of Legge's network, Wang was able to experience things that his contemporaries could not. For instance, he gave a speech at the University of Oxford and talked to many British intellectuals and merchants. The travel was recorded in *Jottings of My Roamings*, and further information can also be found in Wang's letters and poems written at the time. In 1870, Wang started returning to Hong Kong.

Thereafter, Wang stayed in Hong Kong writing about the Classics and current affairs, especially Western issues. In 1871, Wang Tao used information from Western newspapers and his own understanding of the European balance of power to write *Pufa zhanji* 普法戰紀 (A Record of the Franco-Prussian War 1871). This work contains not only an account of the battle fought between Prussia and France, but also an analysis of the development of the European countries. Most important of all, Wang wanted to draw Chinese attention to international affairs, and considered China's place in them. He estimated that the war had decisively upset the old balance of power and that Prussia would rise to power. The manuscript was sent to Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811-1872), Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) and Ding

³⁵⁹ Wang Tao, "Song xiru Liyage huiguo xu" 送西儒理雅各回國序 (A Preface to a Western Confucian Scholar, James Legge, Returning Home), in *Taoyuan wenlu weibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 3-4, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 603-604. Part of James Legge's letters are stored in the SOAS library. The letters reveal Legge's great interest in Chinese to the extent that he would discuss Chinese words with his third daughter, Marian. I have not found any mention of Wang Tao or his letters to Wang Tao in this collection.

Richang 丁日昌 (1823-1882), and was greatly appreciated by them, inspiring Zeng and Li to invite Wang to become their advisor, although Wang Tao declined their requests.³⁶⁰

Instead of pursuing a career as an assistant of provincial leaders, Wang found himself a job that was extraordinary in his day, but later became popular among later reformers. In 1874, *Xunhuan ribao* was established with the help of Wang Tao and a group of elite scholars and merchants of Hong Kong. Wang became its major editor, writing a daily editorial.³⁶¹ Wang believed that by running a news printing press, he could inform his fellow countrymen about the most important current affairs happening both inside and outside China.³⁶² Wang's importance in the development of journalism was highly rated by both his contemporaries and modern scholars: for example, Qian Xinbo 錢昕伯 (1833-?), an editor of *Shenbao* was sent to learn from Wang Tao. Lin Yutang's 林語堂 (1895-1976) comment that Wang was the "father of journalism" became a standard phrase in research works on Wang's journal career.³⁶³ His networks in the printing press industry proved to be useful when it came to publishing his works. Many of his works, including his short stories and *Jottings of My Roamings*, were published by *Dianshi zhai huabao*, a by-product of *Shenbao*.

³⁶⁰ Zhang Zhichun, *Wang Tao nianpu*, 王韜年譜 (The Chronology of Wang Tao), (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p.103.

³⁶¹ For more information about Wang Tao's role in *Circulation Paper*, see Lin Kaiyin and Huang Mankong eds., *Wang Tao and the Modern World* (Hong Kong: Educational Publishing Co. 2000), Section 3 "Wang Tao and his Publishing Work", pp. 299-372. For a complete list of Wang's editorials in *Circulation Paper*, see Zhang Hailin, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, pp. 479-510.

³⁶² The newspaper adopted a Western layout and used information from Western newspapers. At the same time, it copied the main news from *Jingbao* 京報 (The Capital Newspaper). For more information, see Natascha Gentz, "Useful Knowledge and Appropriate Communication: The Field of Journalistic Production in Late Nineteenth-Century China", in Rudolf Wagner ed. *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image and City in Early Chinese Newspapers 1870-1910* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007), pp. 47-104, here, pp. 56-60.

³⁶³ Lin Yutang, *A history of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1934), p. 79.

In Hong Kong, Wang made his name. He was involved in various elite groups, including the Tonghua Hospital, a Chinese organization recognized by the Hong Kong government.³⁶⁴ Elizabeth Sinn was correct in describing how during his stay in Hong Kong Wang's status had changed from that of a fugitive paradise after his journey to Europe. Nevertheless, Wang devoted most of his efforts to the promotion of reform ideas and the analysis of Western affairs. In 1879, after being invited by a group of Japanese intellectuals, including such towering figures of modern Japanese history as Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832-1890) and Oka Senjin 岡千仞 (1833-1914), Wang went to Japan, staying for about a hundred days, writing *A Travel of Japan* as a record of his trip. Scholars have concluded that this record contained far less discussion of reform than *Jottings of My Roamings*, and have therefore belittled its significance. It should be pointed out that *A Travel to Japan* was written during a sensitive time when China and Japan were experiencing an increasingly intensified relationship, and that the diary was meant to show gratitude towards his Japanese hosts. Therefore, Wang had to find some courteous and less offensive ways to convey his thoughts and messages to the Japanese audience. From his account of this journey, it is clear that Wang was fully aware of Japan's development although he could not totally agree with the radical idea of complete Westernization.

In 1884, thanks to an unofficial agreement by Li Hongzhang, Wang was no longer under the threat of arrest in the mainland and chose to go back to Shanghai. He wrote for *Shenbao*, and compiled and published his writings. In 1887, he started working as the director of Gezhi shuyuan 格致書院 (Shanghai Science and Polytechnic Institution), designing a curriculum to include both Chinese learning and a wide range of other subjects, such as European languages and science. He fully established himself as a modern intellectual who was well-known for his knowledge of Western issues. In his late years, he made revisions to his writings and republished

³⁶⁴ Wang Tao, "Chuangjian Tonghua yiyuan xu" 創建東華醫院序 (A Preface to the Establishment of the Tonghua Hospital), in *Taoyuan wenlu weibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 24-25, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 614.

some of them. In 1897, Wang died in Shanghai.³⁶⁵

Although Wang Tao did not become a revolutionary, and appears “limited” or “not very advanced” when compared to Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, Paul Cohen has acknowledged his significance as being among the first to consider the need for change in China. He showed how a typical traditional Chinese exam candidate was gradually transformed into a pioneer.³⁶⁶ Although still frustrated by his failure in the civil examination and hoping to be a recluse, Wang Tao was no longer a traditional Chinese scholar as he did more than simply complain about the system that had prevented him from showing his talents. Instead, he sought a way out by exploring and promoting the modernisation of China. In Wang’s mind, China was no longer the Middle Kingdom and Westerners were no longer barbarians; instead, they could be competitors, friends and even teachers from whom the Chinese could learn. These transformations did not come from nowhere, but from Wang’s extraordinary experiences through travelling extensively throughout his life.

4.2 The Author, Wang Tao and his Writings

Apart from being a pioneer of reform, Wang is also a prolific writer, writing over forty books. He was proud of his writings, even though in his autobiography and some of his prefaces he described them as not good enough even for “plastering windows or covering pots” (糊窗覆甑).³⁶⁷ He was, however, only feigning modesty as in fact he had a high opinion of himself and his works.³⁶⁸ His serious attitude towards writing can be proved by the fact that he published his works and wrote his

³⁶⁵ For a discussion of Wang’s death date, see the Chronicle of Wang Tao in Appendix 1.

³⁶⁶ Cohen, Paul A. *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ch’ing China*, pp. 1-7.

³⁶⁷ Wang Tao, “Taoyuan Laomin zizhuan”, in *Taoyuan wen xinbian*, p. 372.

³⁶⁸ In his autobiography, Wang mentioned that his essays had been praised as remarkable by others, especially some of his writings of the West and that “those who wanted to write about foreign issues thereafter were able to refer to this book as a model”. In “Taoyuan Laomin zizhuan”, pp. 367-372.

own annotated bibliography, in which he recorded every book he wrote, explaining its background and content.³⁶⁹

Wang's writings can be divided into two categories: scholarly works and literary works. Despite his failure in the examinations, Wang remained interested in the Chinese Classics. He was, however, not confined to any schools of the Classics and, unlike traditional literati, did not regard the studies of the Classics as the most important work in his life. During Wang's time, the revival of the New Text School and its reform ideology dominated the scholarship of the Classics and led gradually to a re-examination of the validity of the Classics in the modern world. The elasticity of Confucian ideas was put to the test under the challenge of the West, eventually resulting in the incapability of Confucianism to cope with the problems.³⁷⁰ The ultimate result was that the Classics were no longer regarded as the origin of all scholarship, becoming one of the many subjects. Although Wang Tao was not directly involved in this discussion of Classical scholarship, his works on the Classics showed that he had started treating them simply as another subject of interest alongside his works about the West. Although he worked mainly with the Old texts version of the Classics, such as *Mao shi* 毛詩 (The Book of Songs by Master Mao) and *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Master Zuo's Explanations of the Spring and Autumn Annals), and used philological research methods, he was not keen on debating whether the old text or the new text version was more authoritative.³⁷¹ Instead, Wang adopted an open attitude as he agreed with James Legge that the new text and old text versions of *Shangshu* 尚書 (The Book of Documents) could have come from different origins and both should be used in the studies of the Classics.³⁷² When writing *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jishi*

³⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 373-386.

³⁷⁰ See Chapter 2, section 2.2, The Scholarships of the Qing Dynasty.

³⁷¹ During his youth, Wang already insisted that the Han and Song learning should be treated in a fair way, using both of their strengths rather than emphasizing on one. See Wang Tao, "Cheng Yan Yutao zhonghan shi" 呈嚴馭濤中瀚師 (A Letter to Master Yan Yutao), in *Taoyuan chidu* (Shanghai: Songyin lu, 1893), pp. 7-8.

³⁷² See Wang Tao, "Song xiru Liyage huiguo xu", in *Taoyuan wenlu weibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 3-4, in *Xuxiu*

春秋左氏傳集釋 (Explanations of the Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Zuo from Various Sources), and *Huangqing jingjie zhaji* 皇清經解劄記 (Notes of the Qing Dynasty Explanation of the Classics), Wang appeared to be a synthesizer who understood the diversity of scholarship. Because of this more open-minded attitude, Wang used Western methods to check against the Classics and wrote *Chunqiu shuorun kao* 春秋朔閏考 (A Survey of the Calendar of the Spring and Autumn Annals), and *Chunqiu rishi bianzheng* 春秋日蝕辯證 (A Discussion of Solar Eclipses in the Spring and Autumn Annals).³⁷³

Wang's most distinctive achievement in the studies of the Classics, however, remained his assisting of James Legge in the translation of the *Book of Songs* and the *Book of Documents* which were the earliest versions of the Classics in English. Lee Chifang described the result of Wang's translations as enabling "Westerners to understand the basic formative ingredients of Chinese cultural life".³⁷⁴

Wang Tao was more accomplished for his knowledge of current affairs, especially his western knowledge which enabled the depth of his scholarly works to go beyond those of his predecessors: he was able to comment on Western issues and how China should react to the incidents happening on the international stage. *Pufa zhanji* 普法戰紀 (A Record of the Franco-Prussian War), *Siming bucheng* 四溟補乘 (A Supplementary Account of Foreign Affairs), *Fa zhi* 法志 (A General History of France) and *Huoqi shuolie* 火器說略 (An Introduction to Firearms) are examples of his works which are all highly regarded by Wang's contemporaries and modern scholars.³⁷⁵

siku quanshu, pp. 603-604.

³⁷³ Wang Tao, "Yu Zhan Yuehan shu" 與湛約翰書 (A Letter to John Chalmers), in Zeng Ciliang ed., *Chunqiu lixue sanzong* 春秋曆書三種 (Three Books of the Studies of Astronomy of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), p. 15.

³⁷⁴ Lee Chifang, "Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship and Literary Achievement", (PhD diss, University of Wisconsin, 1973), p. 244.

³⁷⁵ For more information, see Lee Chi-fang, "Wang Tao de wenxue yu jingxue" 王韜的文學與經學 (Wang Tao's Literature and Studies of the Classics), in *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, pp. 202-214.

Although Wang had not shown interest in the controversy of Classical scholarships, he did regard himself as the disciple of Wei Yuan, one of the leading figures of the New Text School and statecraft scholarship. Perhaps, this concord lay in the desire of the two men to introduce to the Chinese people a new modern world and to discuss how China should survive by adopting Western methods while maintaining the essence of Chinese culture. Looking at Wang's extant writings, he also devoted a lot of time to the writing of statecraft, some being in his editorial works, collected in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian* 弢園文錄外編 (Edited Essays of Taoyuan).

Wang's letters were compiled in *Taoyuan chidu* 鞞園尺牘 (Letters of Wang Tao). In the prefaces, Wang emphasized the fact that he expressed his true feelings in letters and how he decided not to follow the traditional rules when it came to writing prose. However, his letters still appear traditional when compared with his editorials and travel writings since most of them are written in the *pianwen* form. In the preface, Wang Tao pointed out that letters were for revealing one's true character. His letters also have high literary value and can serve as a reference for the study of his life and thought. He included two letters in *Jottings of My Roamings*.

Like other traditional Chinese intellectuals, Wang devoted much time and attention to poetry. His poems are compiled in *Henghua guan shilu* 蘅華館詩錄 (Poems of Henghua Studio). Many of his poems adopt the style of Song Poetry which matches ideas about poetry as stated in the preface of *Henghua guan shilu*.³⁷⁶ Most of Wang's poems, especially those written after he arrived in Shanghai, are vehicles for discussing current affairs. The form of poetry enabled him to express his political view in a euphemistic way and at the same time created more space for him to show his feelings, which would have been difficult for him to do in editorials. He

³⁷⁶ Wang states that a poem should express true feelings and reveal one's knowledge. The original reads, “性情用真，而學問亦寓乎其中，然後可六言詩。” See “Preface to *Poems of Henghua Studio*”, in *Henghua guan shilu*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 426. This accords with the concept of Song poetry which emphasizes knowledge as well as subjective feelings.

incorporated twenty six poems into *Jottings of My Roamings*. Although there are more poems in *Fusang youji*, the poems in *Jottings of My Roamings* are worth studying for two reasons: first, the way he selected poems to supplement his narrative reveals a different approach from that taken with *Fusang youji*; second, because of the effectiveness of poems in expressing and recording new things. Poems in the travelogues will be discussed in the following chapters.

Wang also produced a significant amount of miscellaneous writings, the most famous of which are *Haizou yeyou lu* 海陬冶遊錄 (A Record of Sensuous Travels to the Corners of the Sea), *Huaguo jutan* 花國劇談 (A Dramatic Talk of the Kingdom of Flowers) and *Yanshi congchao* 艷史叢鈔 (A Compendium of the History of Alluring and Seductive Romances). Most of these works were written in the form of sketches, talking about one of Wang's most favourite topics—women and literati life in Shanghai. Wang Ermin used these texts as a basis to discuss Wang Tao's private life.³⁷⁷ I will discuss Wang's records of romance in *Fusang youji* alongside these miscellaneous writings in Chapter 14.

Among all his literary works, Wang's short stories not only constitute a significant amount, but are the most closely related to his foreign journeys.³⁷⁸ Apart from Lu Xun's 魯迅 (1881-1936) comment that Wang's works were continuation of *Liaozhai* in terms of the style of narration and their difference being that Wang set his stories in brothels rather than in the world of ghosts and monsters, little research has been carried out on these short stories, neglecting the fact that they can act as valuable sources for evaluating both Wang's literary achievement and the short

³⁷⁷ Wang Ermin, "Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing" 王韜生活的一面——風流至性 (An Aspect of Wang Tao's life: Romantic and Emotional). In *Journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, 24 (1995), pp. 225-262.

³⁷⁸ His series of short stories are collected in three books, *Dunku lanyan* 遁窟謔言 (False Words of a Man in a Hidden Cave), *Songyin manlu* 淞隱漫錄 (Carefree Jottings of a Songjiang Recluse) also named *Hou Liaozhai Zhiyi* 後聊齋志異 (A Sequel to the Mysterious Stories of the Chatting Studio), and *Songbin suohua* 淞濱瑣話 (Anecdotes on the Song River Bank).

stories of the late Qing.³⁷⁹ In general, when taking a closer look at Wang's short stories, it is most noticeable that there are stories involving foreign locations and describing mostly Westerners and Japanese.³⁸⁰ One of those stories, "Meili xiaozhuan" 媚梨小傳 (A Story of Mary), was translated by Henry MacAleavy.³⁸¹ Wang's choice of subject matter is especially relevant to his life experience and travel accounts.

Both Wang's travelogues were finished before his collections of short stories.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Lu Xun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959), p. 286. For more information about research done on Wang Tao's literary works, see Dang Yueyi, Wang Tao yanjiu shiji huigu 王韜研究世紀回顧 (A Retrospect of the Study of Wang Tao in the 20th Century), *Journal of Dezhou University*, 15.5, (2003), pp. 17-21. The most recent research into Wang's short stories is You Xiuyun's *Wang Tao xiaoshuo sanshu yanjiu* 王韜小說三書研究, (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji, 2006). The author surveys Wang's short stories, analysing their subject matter and methods of narration. Wang Juen Kon's "The Background of the *Dunku lanyan* and its Features" (《遁窟謠言》成書背景及其特徵) investigated the date of *Dunku lanyan*, pointing out Wang's interest in writing exotic stories about Hong Kong and Canton. In *Journal of Chinese Studies*, 47.1 (2007), pp. 335-366. Sheldon Lu Hsiao-peng mentioned the significance of Wang's short stories in introducing Chinese to a new modern world. In "Waking to Modernity: The Classical Tale in Late Qing China", in *New Literary History*, 34 (2003), pp. 745-760 and a later version was published in his *Chinese Modernity and Global Biopolitics: Studies in Literature and Visual Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 23-32.

³⁸⁰ Guo Yanli 郭延禮 has mentioned this characteristics but without further elaboration. See *Zhongguo jindai wenxue fazhanshi* 中國近代文學發展史 (The History of the Development of Late Imperial Chinese Literature), (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu, 1990), p. 472.

³⁸¹ Henry MacAleavy, op. cit., pp. 33-36. It should be noted that MacAleavy did not translate a complete version of the story. A few lines narrating how Mary's struggle to help to shoot down the Chinese pirates was not appreciated by the Chinese government are omitted.

³⁸² *Dunku lanyan* is Wang's first collection of short stories. The date of completion is not certain: each story, as Wang states in the preface to the book, was written during his youth up to 1875. As *Dunku lanyan* was finished before Wang's travel to Japan, one can find fewer Japanese scenes in it, as would be expected, when compared with to the other two collections. However, it does contain stories about Hong Kong, foreign areas, especially fictional islands. The short stories in *Songyin manlu* were serialized in *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報(1884-1897) from the end of June 1884 to mid October 1887. Part of *Songbin suoyu* was also published in 1887, but was only finished in late 1888. Wang Tao was the first writer to publish his works in the *DSZHB* in the form of book supplements fulfilling

In his later collections, *Songyin manlu* and *Songbin suohua*, one can find many parts duplicating his travel writings, the most typical example being the excerpts from “Haiwai Zhuangyou” 海外壯遊 (Extensive Travel Overseas).³⁸³ The story is about a Chinese man of letters, Qian, who, having no interest in the civil examination, turned to Taoism. He was taken to a Taoist paradise on Mount Emei in Sichuan, where he was tempted by a beautiful fairy and thrown down to the earth to experience the prosperous human world. Thereafter, the author gave five scenes of Britain and France, all of which are also recorded in *Jottings of My Roamings*, the paragraph about dancing being directly taken from “A Great Dancing Party”.³⁸⁴ Other excerpts, however, are modified in order to make the story more interesting. The description of the demonstration of canon in the story is mostly based on Wang’s description of a canon in “Visiting the Shores”. His description of the navy, however, came from his mixed impressions of the French and British navies recorded in his travelogue.³⁸⁵ Some of the characters in the story, such as Andrew Dixon, and the British ladies, Zhouxi and Meili, are people Wang met during his travel to Europe³⁸⁶. These are characters that play an important role in Wang’s travel account; they are also the persons who took the protagonist to different places, thus linking the different scenes in the story.

In general, the descriptions in his travel writings are not as detailed as in the stories. This may be caused by the difference in the nature of the two genres. Although it is difficult to prove that Wang told the truth in his travel writings, he

Ernest Major’s objective to make it into a combined journal of illustrated, literary and artistic material. More information can be found in Rudolf G. Wagner, “Joining the Global Imaginaries: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai huabao*.” In Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image and City in Early Chinese Newspapers 1870-1910*, pp. 105-174.

³⁸³ Wang Tao, *Songyin manlu* (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin, 1997), pp. 286-290

³⁸⁴ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 155-157

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82 and p. 136.

³⁸⁶ Dixon was the editor of the newspaper *China Mail* in Hong Kong, whom Wang had known in Hong Kong. He was a Scot and received Wang in Scotland. Wang mentioned him in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 139-140. For Zhouxi and Meili, refer to *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 151 and 159.

claimed that his objective was educational, aimed at “broadening the readers’ horizons”.³⁸⁷ He may have felt freer when it came to writing short stories. The descriptions in his stories are not only much more detailed, but also more vivid and polished, and thus more intriguing for readers.

This is most apparent when comparing descriptions about horse-riding performance. In “Watching Drama in Paris”, the author gives a brief description of two major performances in horse-riding: first, young ladies jump back and forth across the backs of the fast running horses, second, the performers jump up high from the horse back and pass through twenty paper hoops suspended from above. The author’s comments are confined to a general portrayal of the performance in his conclusion, “Even flying swallows soaring into the wind or immortals floating in the air cannot be compared to them.”³⁸⁸ However, the description of these two performances in “Taixi zhuxi leiji” 泰西諸戲類記 (A Compendium of Various European Performers) is not only longer, but also contains more information about the performers’ appearances, their miraculous actions, the background music and the sequence of the performance.

In his travel writing, Wang writes,

“The most miraculous performance is that they can jump up high from the horse back and jump through twenty paper hoops. Initially, there are dozens of paper hoops covered by thin layers of hanging paper.”³⁸⁹

However, when it comes to story telling, the author gives more details, writing,

“At the end, there is a performance of passing through hoops. Large hoops are held in front of the girl (the performer) and the horse. The girl jumps through the hoops while the horse passes under the hoops. Riding fast around the arena, the girl can jump through sixteen hoops while the audience cannot even notice that her feet

³⁸⁷ Wang Tao, “Preface”, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 32.

³⁸⁸ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 89.

³⁸⁹ The original reads, “技最神者，能於馬上躍升高際，空中懸圈數十，圈外蒙薄紙，一躍能破紙圈二十。” Ibid, p. 89.

have left the silk saddle.”³⁹⁰

Polished language can also be viewed in the use of more metaphors to resemble the actions of the performers, such as using a fast-shooting arrow, a falling star, the Lingxu fairy, a fast moving wind and lightning to represent the speed of the horses.³⁹¹

As for the parts about Japan, Henry Macleavy commented, “It is noteworthy also that after his visit to Japan, he retained a lively interest in that country, and his later works are full of accounts of Japanese scenes and manners,”³⁹² and thus regarded Wang’s stories with Japanese scenes and ways of life as “something new in Chinese literature”.³⁹³ He further suggested that one story, “Ji Riben nüzi A Zhuan shi” 紀日本女子阿傳事 (A Record of a Japanese Girl, A Zhuan) was extracted from his travel writing.³⁹⁴

When Wang went to Japan, he recorded that once he went to see a drama, named “A Zhuan shiji shimo” 阿傳事跡始末 (The Complete Account of A Zhuan’s Life). The text of the travel diary about this event can be divided into four parts: first, a brief narration of the plot of the play, second, the format and traditions of Japanese drama, third, a comparison between Japanese and Western drama and, finally, a poem written about A Zhuan.³⁹⁵ Turning the drama recorded in his travelogue into a short story, Wang adds more details, thus strengthening the personalities of the characters. For example, the fisherman, Qing Wulang 清五郎, was not an important character in Wang’s travel account, being described in just one sentence, “The fisherman, Qing Wulang who was a chivalrous man, felt pity for A Zhuan and her husband, and thus

³⁹⁰ The original reads, “最後有貫圈之戲，使人手執巨圈當之，女從圈中出，馬從圈下過，而察女雙足，一若未嘗須臾離繡鞞也。斯技也而進乎神矣。” p. 308

³⁹¹ Wang Tao, *Songyin manlu*, p. 308.

³⁹² Henry MacAleavy, op. cit., p. 28.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁹⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 233-235

always gave them financial help.”³⁹⁶ In the story, however, he became a role model of a soulful person. He loved A Zhuan but when A Zhuan wanted to repay his kindness by offering him sex, he refused her. This is contrasted with another man, Jizhang 吉藏, who helped A Zhuan out of selfish desire. After A Zhuan was executed, the author says all the decent girls regarded her as a coquettish person, only Qing Wulang came to collect her body and buried her. On her stele, he expressed his love for her but emphasized that he would not go against virtue to satisfy his own desire.³⁹⁷ The enrichment of this character helps the reader to get more idea of what Wang thought of A Zhuan. Scholars have pointed out that Wang appreciated A Zhuan even though she had many lovers and she killed one of them when he threatened to reveal her secrets.³⁹⁸ However, this argument looks confusing when we examine Wang’s descriptions of A Zhuan, which include passages such as “being a woman of loose morals”, “there were many other scandalous events”, “although she was beautiful, she was ever-changing like clouds and rains, and she loved and hated for no reason.”³⁹⁹ Therefore, A Zhuan can actually be a bad model for Wang’s readers as he wanted to teach them virtues. By giving a more detailed account of the character of Qing Wulang, the author was able to get his message across.

Although scholars have noted the existence of Wang Tao’s short stories with foreign scenes, little research has been carried out on them. One reason is that they regard the contents of these short stories as “superficial”, giving shallow views on

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁹⁷ Wang Tao, *Songyin manlu*, p. 8.

³⁹⁸ Du Jinyan 杜鑫艷, “Huxian guiguai yu yanhua fendai: *Hou Laizhai zhiyi yu Liaozhai zhiyi zai sixian neirong shang de bijiao*” 狐仙鬼怪與煙花粉黛——《後聊齋志異》與《聊齋志異》在思想內容上的比較 (Fox Fairies, ghosts and courtesans: A Comparison of the Content of Later Liaozhai and Liaozhai), *Liaozhai Zhiyi yanjiu*, 4 (2003), pp. 63-64. Also see Dang Yueyi 黨月異, “Xixue dui Wang Tao wenyan xiaoshuo de yingxiang” 西學對王韜文言小說的影響 (The Influence of Western Culture on Wang Tao’s Short Stories), *Journal of Tonghua Teachers College*, 27.5 (2006), p. 66.

³⁹⁹ Wang Tao, *Songyin manlu*, p. 9.

Western things and ideas.⁴⁰⁰ However, the stories are, at the very least, popular enough to warrant compilation and publication. Also, in their historical context, they contain new subject matter and, most importantly, reveal new ways of thinking. For instance, in “Cuituo dao” 翠駝島 (The Turquoise Camel Island), the protagonist, scholar Zhong meets a king in a palace near the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁰¹ When the king, a descendent of the Han dynasty, is questioned about the current situation in China, he sighs at the downfall of the Han dynasty. He then asks Zhong about the method of recruitment and ends up criticising the civil examination as a policy to make people stupid. The author strengthens the king’s opinion by describing how as he talked, his hair and eyebrows stood up and he appeared very energetic.⁴⁰² At the end, scholar Zhong obtained precious ancient books from the king and concentrated on academic works.

At a first look, the plot of “Cuitou dao” is very much the same as Tao Qian’s 陶潛 (372?-427) “Taohuayuan ji” 桃花源記 (The Peach Blossom Spring),⁴⁰³ in which the protagonist accidentally found a paradise inhabited by descendants of previous dynasties. When the descendants heard about the current situation, they all sighed at the ever-changing world. However, taking a closer look at the story, as well as Wang’s life and times, one can come up with a different interpretation. In Tao’s story, the paradise is located in China and the fisherman discovered it by accident, whereas, in Wang’s story, although Zhong’s discovery was still by chance, the trip to the West was initiated by him, the aim being to “explore all the remarkable things in the world”.⁴⁰⁴ The idea underlying echoes with the author’s conclusion, “It is fair to

⁴⁰⁰ Qian Chengyi 錢誠一, “The Preface”, in Cao Qinglin 曹慶霖, Qian Chengyi 錢誠一 and Ding Lei 丁磊 ed., *Baihua quanben hou Liao Zhai zhiyi* 白話全本後聊齋志異 (A Vernacular Edition of A Sequel to the Mysterious Stories of the Chatting Studio) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1995), p. 4.

⁴⁰¹ Wang Tao, *Dunku lanyan* (Shijia zhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 82-84

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁰³ A translation of Tao Qian’s “The Peach Blossom Spring” can be found in Stephen Owen ed., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginning to 1911* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), pp. 309-310.

⁴⁰⁴ Wang Tao, *Dunku lanyan*, pp. 82-83

say that rituals can be sought from uncultivated places, and scholarship can be learned from the barbarians.”⁴⁰⁵ (禮求諸野，學在四夷，其信然歟) Although the idea of seeking rituals from the uncultivated was first enunciated by Confucius, in traditional China this referred to the uncultivated people within China whereas here Wang was representing places outside China. It is significant that the story indicates that it was a Chinese intellectual who realised China’s weaknesses and searched for remedies overseas, in what had previously been regarded as barbarian regions, believing he could acquire knowledge from them, perhaps even about the Chinese classics.⁴⁰⁶ This change of cosmological concepts was very revolutionary at Wang’s time.

Wang’s appreciation of the Western world is shown not only through his introduction of Western technology, but also his descriptions and discussion of Western ideology. Wang particularly appreciated the commercial ideas of the West. “Shuangwei ma” 雙尾馬 (A Double-Tailed Horse) is a typical example, in which the author narrates a story about a Westerner who bought a double-tailed horse from a Chinese person and made a hundredfold profit by showing it around the world.⁴⁰⁷ In the story, the author appreciates the Westerner’s cleverness. He contrasted this with the fate of a three-legged sheep in China, saying, “Although the Chinese find it remarkable, none of them asked for the price. The sheep, therefore, remains in the mud. How unfortunate is it!”⁴⁰⁸ This is obviously a criticism of how Chinese people lacked business ideas. Merchants, and even the thought of commerce, were traditionally despised by Chinese scholars. Among the four ranks of people, merchants were the lowest. Wang, however, gave the reader another example in the story about a Chinese man of letters who, barely able to feed himself in Shanghai, earned enough money for a comfortable life after following a Western businessman

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 842.

⁴⁰⁶ This may be particularly true for Wang Tao who worked with James Legge on the Chinese Classics and discussed astronomy with John Chalmers.

⁴⁰⁷ Wang Tao, *Dunku lanyan*, p. 207-208

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 208.

for a few years. Wang's appreciation of business is quite a revolutionary idea, especially for intellectuals. "Taixi zhuxiju leiji" also exemplifies Wang's advocacy of commerce.⁴⁰⁹ After describing intriguing circus performances, Wang concludes, "Performers like Doubi, Chelini and Wana earned abundant amounts of money with their excellent skills. Chinese performers who possess similar skills can only feed themselves and are unable to help others. Alas, how different are their lives!"⁴¹⁰

Wang's attitude towards the West is also worth noticing in these stories. Although Wang did not hesitate to show how advanced Western technology was, he did not appear to flatter the Western world. In his stories, even foreigners admire Chinese and Chinese culture. In "Meili xiaozhuan", Meili, the Englishwoman, regarded China as a "glamorous country far surpassing Europe", having "beautiful scenery and rich natural wealth, surpassing all other countries", while the Chinese are described as "good looking" and having "colourful and attractive costumes".⁴¹¹ Wang's protagonists on the one hand admire modern technology, yet on the other hand are still proud of being Chinese, although, interestingly, they believe in a combination of Western and Chinese technology.

For instance, in "Haiwai meiren" 海外美人 (Beauties from Overseas), when Lu decided to explore overseas, his workmen suggested building a ship in a Western rather than a Chinese style. The author recorded that Lu's response is to "sneer and laugh at" the idea and said that because his family had a long history of ship building, he could create one himself rather than building one which resembled a Western ship. The ship he made was a mixture of a Chinese and a Western ship: The length of the ship was decided according to the twenty eight stars, the wheels underneath were run according to the twenty four meteorological phenomena while electricity was used inside.⁴¹² Another example is the story of "Fan Yimin" 范遺民. The author starts by

⁴⁰⁹ Wang Tao, *Songyin manlu*, p. 306-310.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁴¹¹ Wang Tao, *Songyin manlu*, p. 249.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

noting how Westerners helped the blind to read, and the handicapped to write and draw. Then he says, “Although Westerners are clever, Chinese who are intelligent are not inferior to them.” He went on to tell the story of Fan Yimin who although born blind, nevertheless learnt calligraphy and poetry.⁴¹³

One reason for Wang Tao’s balanced view is that he had confidence in China, truly believing that China not to be inferior to the West. For another reason, the author, when writing these stories, had to be very careful because most of his readers were Chinese. Even though the door to China had been opened by force after 1841, Chinese still held high opinions of themselves. Working for the Westerners, showing appreciation of Western things might appear merely fawning on the West.⁴¹⁴ Thus, he had to be tactful when introducing Western issues, taking care not to provoke his readers.

I argue that Wang’s short stories are, at the very least, popular enough to warrant compilation and publication. This provides one facet of the general picture of the development of fiction in the late Qing. Looking at the stories discussed in their given historical context, they contain new subject matter and, most importantly, new ways of thinking, which is, in fact, precisely what the “pioneer” Wang Tao was renowned for.

Although these stories with foreign scenes were used by Wang to introduce new learning, new idea and new ways of life to his readers, such opinions should not be exaggerated. After all, Wang was writing to publish, to earn part of his living. Market concerns as a major factor influencing the subject matter of these stories should not be overlooked. Shanghai readers were open to new ideas and values, yet these ideas and values had to be presented in an interesting way. Grand proclamations of modernizing China and intriguing, curious, or even shocking, foreign trivia had to be

⁴¹³ Wang Tao, *Dunku lanyan*, pp. 255-257.

⁴¹⁴ In fact at Wang’s time, in the eyes of traditional man of letters, establishing contact with Westerners was not considered something to be proud of. Henry Macleavy noted how Wang was unhappy to be working in Shanghai for the London Mission Press as he was regarded as a “lackey of the foreigners”. Op.cit., p. 8.

balanced.

4.3 Late Qing Foreign Travel Writing and Wang Tao

After providing a brief overview of Wang Tao's life and literary works, it will be most relevant to address the question: why is Wang Tao worth studying as a significant late Qing foreign travel writer?

From the perspective of research into Wang Tao, it can be seen that Wang's Western experiences not only changed his life, but also affected, most obviously, the subject matter of his literary work allowing him to stand out from most of his contemporaries. His journey to Europe was a watershed in his life. Elizabeth Sinn has given a detailed analysis on how Wang's life was changed in Hong Kong before and after his trip to Europe.⁴¹⁵ He was famous because of his knowledge and experiences of the West. Then, as he became a successful intellectual, he was invited to travel to Japan. Regarding these foreign experiences as the most important events of his life, it was reasonable for him to write of the subject from time to time in different genres. Wang's two travel accounts, *Jottings and My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan*, are the most relevant material for an examination of Wang Tao and his literary works.

Also, travel writings, though accounting for only a small part of Wang Tao's work, are in no way inferior to his other works, but are overshadowed by Wang's editorials, just like his poems and letters. Despite the fact that Wang Tao was not the first Chinese to travel to the West, his works stand out among the intellectual travellers' writings. Zhong Shuhe points out that the travelogues written by earlier travellers of Wang's time have little value in their thoughts and language, since they are confined to terse description. In his discussion of influential intellectuals who had foreign experience, Zhong considers Wang Tao and Rong Hong to be pre-eminent.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Elizabeth Sinn, "Fugitive in Paradise: Wang Tao and Cultural Transformation in Late Nineteenth Century Hong Kong", in *Late Imperial China*, 19.1 (1998), pp. 56-81.

⁴¹⁶ Zhong's original comment reads, "林、羅出身市井，斌、志隸屬八旗，思想見解都無足稱，其

Rong Hong was among the first group of Chinese students to study in the United States, where he stayed from 1827 to 1854, graduating from the University of Yale. Rong, however, did not make any records of his foreign life until his old age. In 1901, he wrote *My Life in China and America* after he had decided to stay in the United States for the rest of his life. Therefore, the book is a memorial but primarily not an example of travel writing recording the fresh impressions of the traveller. In this view, Wang Tao's *Jottings of Roamings* is regarded as the first account of Western travels written by an intellectual.

Compared with earlier travellers, Wang possessed a better knowledge of both Chinese traditions and Western learning. Most travels and missions were on a short-term basis. Wang, by contrast, stayed in Britain for nearly two years. This enabled him to make a detailed and in-depth exploration of the places he visited. Secondly, when compared with other travel writing, including later works, Wang's writings stand out for their wide range of subject matter and subtle use of language. Unlike the envoys and merchants travelling abroad, Wang was not burdened by any government mission or financial needs, and was freer to write about his personal views and feelings. As for his travel diary to Japan, again, it was not the first account of a Chinese travelling in Japan. However, Wang stood out for his special perspective on Japanese history and development and his feelings for its people.

Considering the literary value of Wang's travelogues, both positive and negative comments can be found, however not all came from detailed analysis. For example, Guo Yanli appreciated Wang's poetic language in describing the scenery of Scotland. Zhong Shuhe also praised Wang's descriptive techniques of new objects.⁴¹⁷ On the other hand, there are also dissenting comments. He Peng, for instance, commented,

From the middle of the Qing dynasty, the Chinese gradually produced

載記的價值大抵只在客觀記錄這一方面。說到這段時期涉足西方的具有廣泛影響的知識分子，除了容闈，只能數王韜了。” In *Zouxiang Shijie—Jindai Zhishi Fenzi Kaocha Xifang de Lishi*, p. 141.

⁴¹⁷ Guo Yanli, *Zhongguo jindai wenxue fazhanshi*, p. 1104. Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, p. 141.

more foreign travel accounts. Wang Tao's travel writings of Europe and Japan recount his own journey and describe scenery he saw and customs he experienced. It is a pity that the writings do not have a refined literary quality, there is even some vulgar language.⁴¹⁸

The following chapters will refute this comment by showing Wang's travel accounts to employ a deliberately refined literary style. As for 'vulgar language', He Peng did not elaborate further what kind of language he is referring to. From the term “猥” which is often associated with obscenity, I suspect that he was referring to the passages talking about women of which there are so many in both travelogues. Wang's interest in talking of women should not be taken at face value; rather it can be seen as a deliberate display of his Bohemian character as will be explained later in the thesis.

The following chapters will focus on Wang's travelogues. The first chapter deals with *Jottings of My Roamings*, an account of Wang's journey to Europe. It will be divided into six chapters. Chapter 5 aims to clarify the compilation of the book as it was not written all at one time, as well as other questions related to the different editions of the book. Chapters 6 to 8 focus on two aspects: Wang's reflections of self and the world through his journeys. As mentioned above, travellers are constantly experiencing a process of comparison between home and the places they visit; therefore travel writing is self-reflective. Reflection on self is made possible by the fact that the identity of a traveller is always undefined or transient as he is a stranger to the place he visits. By trying to fit himself into an appropriate position, the traveller has to reconsider his self identity. This is particularly of interest in the case of Wang Tao, as I will point out how he regarded his journey to the West as the most important thing in his life. Different devices are used to make himself the centre of

⁴¹⁸ The original reads, “國人自清中葉後，記域外山川之作多。 如王韜歐遊、扶桑諸已，敘一己遊蹤所至，描繪所見景物兼及謠俗，惜文采不足，語涉猥鄙。” In He Peng, *Kang Youwei wenxue* 康有為文學 (The Literary Writings of Kang Youwei) (Hong Kong: Graduate School of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1968), pp. 66-67.

the travelogue and as a result the travelogue contains a flavour of an self-invented type of autobiography.⁴¹⁹ Besides the reflections of one self, travelling to places with differences from invariably arouse thoughts of one's practices at home. Foreign travel writing provides this reflection with favourable conditions, especially in the late Qing era when intellectuals were anxious to evaluate Chinese traditions. Wang Tao was no exception. Chapters 7 and 8 thus aim to show how Wang constructed the Western world in his perspective and the forces, especially the commercial concerns and his identity as a Chinese intellectual, working behind the scene.

Chapter 9 and 10 focus more on the literary techniques of the travelogue, namely its structure and poetry. The structure of the book is partly related to the form of publication. It is obvious that Wang Tao put great effort into structuring his journey. I also analyze the travels he recorded in book according to the structure of travel elaborated by Eric Leed, namely, departure, passage and arrival to show the complexity of Wang's journeys. The poetry in the travelogue, though not particularly sophisticated, is worth scrutinizing to understand the interactive relationships between poetry and prose, and how by inserting poems, Wang complicated the feelings expressed in prose, implicitly showing readers his mixed feelings.

Chapters 11 to 14 deal with Wang's second travelogue, *A Travel to Japan*, recording a journey which took place in 1879, but was published earlier than *Jottings of My Roamings*. Chapter 11 aims to explore Wang's motivation for writing and publishing the travel diary. As it was published in Japan, relevant information about the publishing house, Hoshi sha 報知社 or Yubin Hoshi 郵便報知 (News Reporting Company), will be useful in discussing the editing of book with which Wang was dissatisfied. Despite this dissatisfaction, Wang did not publish any original copy in China: thus to know more the background of the diary, I will also discuss some essays Wang Tao wrote about aspects of Japan during his journey which do not

⁴¹⁹ The term is borrowed from Wu Peiyi *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) to refer to autobiography writing which the author intended to create a self image he wanted posterity to remember.

appear in the travelogue.

In analysing his diary of Japan, three major aspects have come to my attention. The first is Wang's interest in talking about Japanese history, especially the Tokugawa Shogunate and the new Meiji government. Secondly, it is also noticeable that Wang Tao recorded information about a substantial number of Japanese politicians, scholars, and common people in his diary. Scholars working on Sino-Japanese relations from the cultural aspects have pointed this out already, but few have looked at how the Japanese were portrayed and the implications behind the portrayals. His gaze at Japanese history and the Japanese people will be analyzed in Chapters 12 and 13 respectively. Apart from prose writings, as poetry was regarded as the main way of communication between Chinese and Japanese intellectuals at that time, it will be essential to investigate Wang and his hosts' poems, most of which appear in his travel diary. These poems were diverse in their contents, covering various topics from discussions of politics to comments about a particular meal. I will, however, focus on two important themes of these poems, the *changhe* 唱和 (initiate and response, a kind of poem used in literati gatherings) and *yan* 艷 (romantic) poems, both of which accounted not only for most of the poems in the diary but also among Wang's poems as a whole.

Chapter 5 **Compilation and Editions**

As the exact dates Wang Tao started and finished writing *Jottings of My Roamings* are unknown, the question of whether he wrote in the course of his journey

or at the end of each discrete excursion remains uncertain.⁴²⁰ Only a few episodes can be dated accurately. Episodes 1 and 3, which record Wang's early life in Fuli, were written no earlier than 1887. In Episode 1, Wang said that he had left his hometown Fuli nearly forty years.⁴²¹ Since Wang went to Shanghai in 1849, this episode must have been written during the late 1880s. At the end of Episode 3, Wang mentioned his trips to Fuli in 1882, 1885 and 1887.⁴²² Therefore, it is also very clear that it must have been written after his trip in 1887.

In some episodes, it is clear that the author was writing about his travelling experiences long after his trip. For example, in Episode 4 "Climbing up the Mountains and Gazing into the Distance", after describing his excursion to An Shan prefecture in Jiangsu Province, Wang wrote, "From then on, whenever I went to take an exam, I would climb this mountain."⁴²³ The descriptions of his first trip to An Shan, therefore, must have been written long after this first trip. In Episode 8 "The Masts of Huangpu", Wang writes, "At that time, I wrote four poems to express my feelings. I append them here." At the end of this episode, Wang also recorded that he had been staying in Shanghai for fourteen years from 1849.⁴²⁴ This episode, relating Wang's first visit to Shanghai in 1848, must have been written after he left Shanghai in 1862.

The account of meeting Stanislas Julien (1797-1873) in Sorbonne was recorded during Wang's account of his visit to Paris.⁴²⁵ However, according to Wang's letter to Julien, he did not meet him on his way to Britain and wanted to arrange a meeting after leaving Britain on his journey back to Hong Kong.⁴²⁶ Wang did not explain this.

⁴²⁰ Paul Cohen has claimed that Wang Tao kept a detailed diary during his journey to Europe, however, there is no information to show whether this was the case. See Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ching China*, p. 67.

⁴²¹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings* (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982), p. 35.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p.40.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

⁴²⁵ Wang Tao, "The Vestiges of Paris", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp.86-87.

⁴²⁶ Wang Tao, "Yu Fagou Rulian Xueshi" 與法國儒蓮學士 (A Letter to Scholar Julien) , in *Taoyuan*

One reason could be that Wang wanted to mention his meeting with Julien,⁴²⁷ but he did not want to record his return trip to Paris, perhaps in order to avoid repetition. Therefore, he changed the sequence of events. Other parts of the book do not contain any apparent hints regarding the date of completion.

It is uncertain whether Wang Tao wrote notes during his journeys, indeed the earliest draft of the *Jottings of My Roamings* was not completed until 1870 just before he left Scotland. In 1870, back in Hong Kong, he wrote a letter to Ding Richang 丁日昌 (1823-1882) on behalf of Huang Sheng 黃勝 (1827-1902).⁴²⁸ The letter was designed to pressurise Ding into allowing Wang Tao to help with the translating work managed by Huang Sheng even though Wang Tao at that time was still under the threat of arrest by the Qing government. In the letter, he mentioned his travels to the West and lists his literary works finished in Britain, one of which is *Chengfu manji* 乘桴漫記 (Jottings of Riding on a Raft).⁴²⁹

chidu 弢園尺牘 (Letters of Wang Tao), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), pp.94-96. The original reads, “今者應理君聘，航海西邁，道出貴國京師巴黎。斯未悉所居，未由奉謁，紆軫之情，難以言狀。……返棹時，當經貴國，藉挹芳徽，一吐惘欸，願作平原十日之留。” Cohen also mentioned this in *Between Tradition and Modernity*, p. 72. When Lauren F. Pfister mentioned this issue, he further concluded that the travelogue should be viewed as propaganda written by a reformer. However, he did not explain the idea. See Lauren F. Pfister, translated by Yun Kairong 尹凱榮, “Wang Tao Yu Liyage dui xinrujia youhuan yishi de huiying”, in Wong Man Kung and Lam Kai Yin eds., *Wang Tao yu jindai shijie*, p. 129. Concerning the part about Julien, Wang’s personal intentions should be taken into account rather than other reasons. This will be explained in Chapter 6.

⁴²⁷ This incident also reveals that Wang was proud of his relationships with Westerners and he wanted to show this to his fellow readers. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

⁴²⁸ Wang Tao, “Dai shang Dingguancha shu” 代上丁觀察書 (A Letter to Ding Richang on Behalf of Huang Sheng), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp.90-92. Ding Richang, courtesy name Yusheng 兩生, a native of Guangdong, was an important figure of the Self-Strengthening Movement. He worked for Zeng Guofeng and in 1864 was promoted to become the governor of Shanghai. Huang Sheng, also named Huang Tat-kuen, a native of Guangdong, was among the first Chinese students to study in the United States in 1847. After returning to Hong Kong, Huang had various jobs, including a printing press (in the *Circulation Paper* with Wang Tao) and arranging Chinese students to the United States. He spent most of his life in Hong Kong and in 1883 was honored as a Justice of Peace.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

I believe that *Jottings of Riding on a Raft* later became *Jottings of My Roamings*, largely because of the similarity in the meaning of the two titles, both of which mean jottings recounting a journey. Because of the title of this early version, one can further probe into its meanings and implications, helping to explore the author's feeling about his travel and his motives for writing about it.

Chengfu which means riding on a raft is an allusion to the *Analects* in which Confucius, disappointed by reality, claimed that he would like to ride on a raft and go overseas.⁴³⁰ Wang Tao whose opinions were not accepted by the Qing court might have regarded himself as being in a similar situation as Confucius. At the very least, the title of the travelogue, because of its relation with the words of Confucius, implies disappointment. Considering the nature of his travels, one can see other connections. Wang claimed that his travels were not only for fun or novelty-hunting, but an opportunity for him to meet Western intellectuals and, most importantly, to acquire knowledge. This is in line with the tradition of Chinese intellectual travellers, modelled on Confucius's own travels.⁴³¹ Confucius did not travel for the sake of travel, but went around the states of China to promote his ideas of reform, to learn from other sages, hoping to create a peaceful world. Naquin and Yu analysed Confucius's journeys as a reaction to the chaotic world and his intention to save the world.⁴³² Similarly, when discussing the nature of Confucius's trip, Kwok Siu Tong pointed out that travelling with the purpose of learning and enlightening the world later on became an intellectual tradition.⁴³³ In fact, in the travelogue, Wang Tao always regards himself as a Confucian scholar and by using a title with a Confucian allusion, placed himself within this intellectual tradition of travelling. Chapters 7 and 8 will focus on what, how and for whom Wang suggested ideas to modernize China

⁴³⁰ The original reads, “道不行，乘桴浮於海。” For an English translation, see D.C. Lau trans., *The Analects*, Book V.7, p. 76

⁴³¹ Susan Naquin and Chunfang Yu, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992), pp.15-16.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p.20.

⁴³³ Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüxing: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, pp. 38-40.

during the course of the journey, concluding that Wang Tao's travelogue can be viewed as a process through which he reconsidered, evaluated and eventually discovered his own and China's place in the world. Thus, his journeys are not simply a tour for fun, as the title implies but reflect his interest in articulating ideas, and in particular, the significance of his role as a Chinese intellectual.

It should also be pointed out that the draft version of *Chengfu manji* may not include the last parts of *Jottings of My Roamings*, recording Wang's final days in Britain. In a letter drafted on behalf of Huang Sheng, Wang Tao says,

Just after finishing the draft, all of a sudden, (Wang Tao) declared a wish to return to China. As the schedule was very tight, (Wang Tao) did not have time to copy the drafts.⁴³⁴

Therefore, it can be seen that when the draft of *Chengfu manji* was finished, Wang had not yet left Britain.

Even though *Chengfu manji* is not the same as *Jottings of My Roamings*, it may form at least some parts of *Jottings of My Roamings*, probably those parts dealing with the Western countries, as the episodes about his earlier life were finished at a later stage as explained above.

As the episodes were not completed at the same time, there is no guarantee that Wang was writing his first impressions. In fact, in some cases, it is clear that Wang might alter his initial feelings as he compiled *Jottings of My Roamings*. The most obvious example is the part about Hong Kong. When Wang fled there, he felt very negative towards Hong Kong, writing a letter to his brother-in-law, Yang Xingfu,

The land is infertile and the people are stupid. I can hardly understand their dialect which is the language of the barbarians.....I cannot bear putting my chopsticks on the food here.The rice is so hard that I cannot swallow it and the scales left on a cooked fish sting my tongue.As I am staying alone, I can only speak to the lamp.

⁴³⁴ Wang Tao, "Dai Shang Dingguancha Shu" 代上丁觀察書 (A Letter to Ding Richang on Behalf of Huang Sheng), *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 91.

Throughout the night, I cry so much that my pillow is never dry. I did not have time to put even a book in my suitcase. The mountain winds and the sound of the waves are loud throughout the night. When I listen to these sounds, my yearning for my family and my homeland are intensified till I feel I have lost my soul.⁴³⁵

In a letter to his friend in Guangzhou, Wang also criticised the lack of refined people in Hong Kong, before concluding, “the land is not worth visiting and the people are not worth speaking to.” (地不足遊，人不足語)⁴³⁶ Interestingly, when this letter was appended to *Jottings of My Roamings*, the part criticising Hong Kong was omitted.⁴³⁷

When reading *Jottings of My Roamings*, readers get a very different impression of Wang’s feelings of Hong Kong. First, Wang’s comments have become milder. Although he still mentioned the nearly unbearable “barren mountains, vast sea, stupid people and strange dialect”, he noted that this is the situation when he had “just arrived” (乍至). He described the plantain tree planted in the place in which he lived being “a lovely green” (嫩綠可愛).⁴³⁸ He also wrote about the quiet and secluded mountain scenery, which made him restless and unwilling to leave (為之徘徊不忍去) and commented that he found the sea view refreshing to his mind and delightful to his eyes (可擴胸襟而豁眼界).⁴³⁹

In his letters, Wang criticized Hong Kong people as “stupid” (椎魯) and made up for the most part of merchants who were not worth speaking to. Therefore, he felt

⁴³⁵ Wang Tao, “Ji Wuzhong Yang Xingfu” 寄吳中楊醒逋 (To Yang Xingfu from Wu Province), in *Taoyuan chidu*, p.72-73. The original reads, “風土瘠惡，人民椎魯，語音侏僂，不能悉辨……所供飲食，尤難下箸，飯皆成顆，堅粒哽喉，魚尚留鱗，銳芒螫舌……韜在旅中，顧影無儔，對燈獨語。枕不乾通夕之淚，篋未攜一卷之書。山海風濤，終宵如怒，因此哭親之涕綆縻，思家之心縷結，側耳傾聽，悵然魂越。”

⁴³⁶ Wang Tao, “Ji Suihuan Yu Gong” 寄穗垣寓公 (A Letter to the Esteemed Yu of Guangzhou), in *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 72.

⁴³⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 63.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

very lonely. In his eyes, Hong Kong was a cultural desert. In *Jottings of My Roamings*, however, he gave a different view, describing how the Westerners had sought to build colleges, schools, and museums and provide a clean water supply for Hong Kong.⁴⁴⁰ To him, Hong Kong was no longer a barbarian place but a modern city. He concluded that living there gave one a leisurely and relaxing mood even as a traveller.⁴⁴¹ Thus, it can be seen that Wang had a completely different view of Hong Kong in his letters and in *Jottings of My Roamings*.

Although letters can also be manipulated for publication purpose, the motivation for doing so is less marked than is the case with travel writing. This is because letters were, for Wang Tao, used as a vehicle to express his feelings while *Jottings of My Roamings* has more complex objectives than simply the expression of his feelings.⁴⁴² Furthermore, Wang talked about the annual sacrifice ceremony of Tunghua Hospital in his account of Hong Kong. However, Tunghua Hospital was established in 1870 and only started operating in 1872 when Wang was elected as a committee member (*xieli* 協理) and he wrote a preface for its establishment.⁴⁴³ In *Jottings of My Roamings*, the descriptions of the places he visited may or may not reflect his first impressions so much as what he wanted readers to think both of the place and of him. This will be further discussed in later sections.

Concerning the completion date of *Jottings of My Roamings*, there are three main reasons for fixing it to around 1887 to 1889. In discussing these three reasons, I will also mention some information related to the editions of the text in order to draw a clearer picture; some parts may overlap with the passages about the different editions of the book.

Firstly, the author's preface was written in 1887. In this preface, Wang outlined his travels, and the content of the book, expressing his pride with regard to his trip.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 59-65.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, p. 65. The original reads, “此亦旅舍之閑情，客居之逸致也。”

⁴⁴² Wang Tao, “The Preface”, in *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 11-12.

⁴⁴³ Wang Tao, “Chuang Tonghua Hospital xu” 創建東華醫院序 (A Preface to the Establishment of the Tonghua Hospital), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 24-25, in *Xuxiu suku quanshu*, p. 614.

He also mentioned hiring someone to draw pictures for the book.⁴⁴⁴ Since the pictures were drawn according to the title and the text, the book would have been completed by that time. It is, however, notable that according to Wang's preface, there should be eighty pictures, in which case there should be eighty episodes. This version was never published. Zhong Shuhe explained that Wang may have included his trip to Japan as he writes about it in the preface.⁴⁴⁵ The difference in writing format may explain why Wang Tao decided not to include his trips to Japan.

Secondly, Wang listed *Manyou suibi tushuo* 漫遊隨筆圖說 (Jottings of My Roamings with Pictures) in his "Annotated Bibliography of Taoyuan" written in 1889.⁴⁴⁶ In the annotation, Wang gave a brief introduction regarding the content of the book. The book includes his trips to Shanghai, Guangdong, Europe and Japan, and mentioned his recent trip to Shandong. Zhong Shuhe's analysis is probably based on this annotation. However, this version was, also, never published, although the edition published by Dianshi zhai 點石齋 (Stone Touching Studio) used the title *Manyou suibi tushuo*.

Thirdly, the last episode "Attending Various Banquets" contains a note under the title stating that it was published in 1889.⁴⁴⁷ Despite having no further information on the publisher, this helps to determine that Wang had completed the last episode of the book at least by 1889. As the book was published by the Dianshi Studio in 1890, the latest date of completion cannot exceed 1890.

There are three extant editions of *Jottings of My Roamings*, namely the original manuscript, the Dianshi zhai edition and the Xiaofanghu zhai edition.

The original manuscript is now stored in the Shanghai Library. Although a manuscript is meant to be the earliest version of a book, the manuscript of *Jottings of My Roamings* does not contain any information on the date of compilation. It is

⁴⁴⁴ Wang Tao, The Preface, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 32.

⁴⁴⁵ Zhong Shuhe, "The Preface", *Jottings of My Roamings and A Travel to Japan*, p. 27.

⁴⁴⁶ Wang Tao, "The Annotated Bibliography of Wang Tao", in *Taoyuan wenlu xinbian*, p. 382.

⁴⁴⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, (the manuscript), stored in Shanghai Library.

divided into three *juan* with a total of fifty one episodes and the author's preface at the beginning. The first *juan* contains eighteen episodes recording Wang's early life in Fuli until he reached Cairo. The second *juan* contains seventeen Episodes recording Wang's trips in France and England and ends with Wang arriving at Dollar. The remaining sixteen Episodes, which form the third *juan*, are accounts of the towns and cities of Scotland. From Episode 47 to the end, Wang records that he went back to England and prepared for his departure. So, the manuscript is not illustrated as the pictures in the later editions were not drawn by Wang Tao.

The second edition was serialized from 1887 to 1889 and published as a book in 1890 by *DSZHB*, a leading lithograph printing press, set up by Ernest Major, a British businessman who founded *Shen bao* in 1872. *Dianshi*, which literally means touching a stone, comes from a Chinese saying "dianshi chengjin" 點石成金 (turning stone into gold), referring to the change of words, in other words, a Midas touch. It was initially a printing company, mainly printing books. In 1884, Major established *DSZHB*, an illustrated paper. It was published every ten days and consisted of eight lithographic illustrations with commentaries. The illustrated paper mainly concerned leisurely pursuits but also contained a lot of information about the West.⁴⁴⁸ This could be why the company published *Jottings of My Roamings* for Wang Tao. Wang's relations with *Shen bao* and *DSZHB* and how this shed light on analyzing Wang's writings will be discussed in Chapter 7.

This is the only illustrated edition as *DSZHB* was the leading publishing company for lithographically pressed pictures.⁴⁴⁹ This edition of *Jottings of My*

⁴⁴⁸ More information about *Dianshizhai huabao* can be found in Li Xiaodi 李孝悌, "Zouxiang shijie haishi yongbao xiangye: guankan *Dianshizhai huabao* de butong shiye" 走向世界，還是擁抱鄉野——觀看《點石齋畫報》的不同視野(Going to the World or Embracing the Villages: Different Perspective of Looking at *Dianshi Zhai Magazine*), in *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 3 (2002) <http://www.cp.com.cn:8246/b5/www.cp.com.cn/emd/17/newsdetail.cfm?iCntno=227> 4th October, 2007.

⁴⁴⁹ Rudolf Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginarie: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai Huabao*", in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspaper*

Roamings is also divided into three *juan* but with a different arrangement of the Episodes. The first *juan* contains twenty Episodes, from Wang's account of his life in Fuli to Episode 20 "A Brief Description of the Scenic Spots of Paris". The second also has twenty Episodes from Episode 21 "Vestiges of Paris" to Episode 40 "A Record of a Trip to the Shore". The third *juan* has only ten episodes, omitting the last episode recording the last part of Wang's travel to London. In addition, this edition contains some mistakes. For instance, the episode about Ceylon is placed before that of Penang which does not accord with Wang's itinerary.

The version copied by Wang Shiqi was published in 1891.⁴⁵⁰ Wang's motive for compiling *Xiao fanghu zhai yudi congchao*, a collection of gazetteers and travel writings, was to broaden readers' horizons: he emphasized content rather than literary value, and on occasions abridged sections accordingly.⁴⁵¹ Most of the foreign travel writings he collected are found in volume nine of the book. The text of *Jottings of My Roamings* in this collection is the same as the *DSZHB* edition, both lacking the last episode. Therefore it could be a copy from the *DSZHB* version. As a copied text, it does not contain the author's preface, titles or any pictures. Wang Shiqi indented the first line to indicate the start of an episode. Most research of Wang Tao is based on this text.⁴⁵²

The edition used in this report is not confined to any edition; instead I collate the three editions, and the modern version edited by Zhong Shuhe is also used as a reference. Concerning the division of episodes, I follow that of the manuscript because it appears to be the most reasonable arrangement.

1870-1910 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. 119.

⁴⁵⁰ Wang Shiqi, *Xiao Fanghu Zhai Yudi Congchao*. p. 1.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3. The original reads, "此書擴見廣聞，無藉藻麗，稍為刪節，欲窺全豹，具有原書。"

⁴⁵² For example Henry Macaleavy, Paul Cohen, and the translation mentioned below use Wang Shiqi's version of *Manyou suilu*.

Chapter 6 The Expressions of Self

6.1 Introduction

The expression of self, together with closely related to the trend of subjectivism and individualism,⁴⁵³ is an essential element of research into late Qing (1840-1911)

⁴⁵³ Leo Ou-fan Lee, “The Solitary Traveller: Images of the Self in Modern Chinese Literature”, in

literature as it is always regarded as a distinct feature of pre-modern and modern Chinese writings.⁴⁵⁴ Traditionally in China, it was the “common feature and not the uniqueness of an individual that draws attention”,⁴⁵⁵ until the notion of self expression first assumed great significance among the May Fourth writers.⁴⁵⁶ The idea, however, had begun to develop quite a long time before the May Fourth period, with Jaroslav Prusek, for example, seeing its emergence as early as the late Ming period.⁴⁵⁷ Starting from the late Qing period, drastic changes took place in literature and literary criticism, and this trend became more prevalent.⁴⁵⁸

Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature, ed. Robert E. Hegel and Richard C. Hessney, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p.283.

⁴⁵⁴ For example, Kirk A Denton, *The Problematic of Self in Modern Chinese Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), chapter 1 and Robert E. Hegel, “Introduction: An Exploration of the Chinese Literary Self.” In *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature*, pp. 3-30.

⁴⁵⁵ Robert E. Hegel, “Introduction: An Exploration of the Chinese Literary Self.” In *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature*, p. 6.

⁴⁵⁶ The most typical example is Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896-1945) who suggested in a book introducing modern Chinese prose that its most prominent feature is a strong expression of one’s personality, and the effect is that “when reading the works of modern writers, the writer’s affiliation, character, likes and dislikes, thoughts, beliefs and habits are vividly exhibited in front of the readers.” See Yu Dafu, “Introduction”, in *Zhongguo xinwenxue: sanwen erji* 中國新文學大系:散文二集 (A Collection of Chinese New Literature: Prose vol. 2) (Shanghai: Shanghai liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1935), p.5. The original reads, “現代的散文之最大特徵，是每一個作家的每一篇散文里所表現的個性，比從前的任何散文都來得強。……我們只消把現代作家的散文集一翻，則這作家的世系、性格、嗜好、思想、信仰，以及生活習慣等等，無不活潑地顯現在我們的眼前。” When Yu expresses these opinions, he is contrasting traditional and modern prose, which is why he emphasizes the expression of the self as the most important characteristic. (ibid, pp. 1-20) Another example can be found in Wendy Larson’s *Women and Writing in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) in which she refers to Lu Yin’s 廬隱 (1899-1934) words from “Chuangzao de wojian” 創造的我見 (My Views on Literary Creation), (*Xiaoshuo yuebao*, no. 7, 1921 July, pp. 16-24, here p. 19) and concludes that, “the essence of art is subjectivity and (she) insisted on the validity of representing individual experience.” (p. 124).

⁴⁵⁷ More information can be found in Jaroslav Prusek, *The Lyrical and the Epic: Studies of Modern Chinese Literature*, ed. Leo Lee. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 1-28. There is no definite period referred to as Late Ming, the most common calculation being from 1550 to 1644.

⁴⁵⁸ More details can be found in Guo Yanli , *Zhongguo jindai wenxue fazhanshi* 中國近代文學發展

Leo Lee has asserted that traditional Chinese travel writings lack a prominent self image of the traveller, the obvious cause of the journey, stating that “the proper place to begin our examination of the images of the self” should be Liu E’s 劉鶚 (1857-1909) *Lao Can youji* 老殘遊記 (The Travels of Lao Can), which was written between 1904 and 1907.⁴⁵⁹

In fact, travel literature is perhaps the best textual material for researching self expressions, as it is by nature self-reflective. When travelling in an unfamiliar environment, the traveller encounters material things and cultures of the other. Being a traveller is equivalent to being a stranger whose identity is transient and cannot be fully and clearly defined.⁴⁶⁰ This feeling of being a stranger inevitably urges the traveller to compare and contrast his own culture with the other. In the course of this contact, the traveller’s own culture is often used as guidelines to explain his new experiences.⁴⁶¹ In this way, the traveller will question and reflect continuously on his self identity during the journey.⁴⁶² The greater the distinction between home and the place of travel, the greater the motivation for reflection. In the pre-modern period, the Chinese were rarely interested in travelling overseas; as a result most travel writings deal with travels within China. During the Late Qing, however, drastic changes within the country gave rise to an enormous amount of Chinese foreign

史 (A History of the Development of Late Imperial Chinese Literature), (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 1-58. Reading the development of prose, see Ren Fangqiu 任訪秋, “Zhongguo jindai sanwen gezhong liupai zuojia zuopin de butong fengmao” 中國近代散文各種流派作家作品的不同風貌 (The Different Styles of Different Prose Writers in Late Imperial China), in *Zhongguo jindai wenxue zhengming* 中國近代文學爭鳴 (The Flourishing Literature in Late Imperial China) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1989), pp. 68-82.

⁴⁵⁹ Leo, Oufan Lee, “The Solitary Traveller: Images of the Self in Modern Chinese Literature”, p. 284.

⁴⁶⁰ Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 15.

⁴⁶¹ Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁴⁶² Kwok Siu Tong has analyzed how traveling can arouse reflections of self identity. For more information see Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüxing: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, pp. 74-76.

travel writing.⁴⁶³ In order to learn from the West and Japan, Chinese intellectuals, envoys, merchants, and students went travelling or studying abroad. Their travel accounts contain not only information about those they visited, but also their individual responses to countries with customs and traditions distinct from those found in China. Using the culture of the other as a mirror, travellers were able to reflect their own cultural traditions and self identity both as an individual and as a Chinese.

Wang Tao's *Jottings of My Roamings*,⁴⁶⁴ finished in 1889 is one of the earliest intellectual foreign travel accounts about the West, it appears to be a typical example of the prominence of self image in travel writings. The expression of self in Wang's work is so strong that the book even has a flavour of autobiography. This chapter aims to give a textual analysis in order to show how the traveller himself plays the most important role in the book.

6.2 The Autobiographical Characteristics of *Jottings of My Roamings*

6.2.1 Prologue

Often written in first-person voice, it has been asserted that most Chinese travel

⁴⁶³ Most of these accounts are recorded in Wang Xiqi's *Xiao fanghu zhai yudi congchao* Vol. 11. During the 1980s, Zhong Shuhe edited and compiled forty seven of these accounts into *Zouxiang shijie congshu*.

⁴⁶⁴ Ian Chapman translated the title of the book as *Jottings of Carefree Travels*. See Ian Chapman "Wang Tao: Selections from *Jottings of Carefree Travels*", *Renditions* 53 and 54 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2000), pp. 164-173. However, "carefree" suggests the meaning of pleasure and free from worries, which may not match with what can be deduced from the book. Although Wang was proud of and felt happy about his travels, in between the lines, his grief permeated the book, as will be discussed in this section. Therefore I do not use Chapman's translation. *Man* 漫 has the meaning of being carefree, but when associated with *you* 遊, it can also mean a boundless roaming as the expression 汗漫之遊 suggested. In the Preface of the book, Wang emphasized the long distances he traveled in the West and Japan, which is in line with the title of the book. Thus, I translate the title as *Jottings of My Roamings*.

writings are autobiographical in nature.⁴⁶⁵ However, the image of the traveller does not feature prominently in most pre-modern Chinese travel writing. It should be pointed out that a lack of prominent self image does not mean that the traveller has not expressed his feelings in the writing. The main focus is the expression of the traveller's self image. Leo Lee commented,

In general, it may be said that in either extreme [poetic descriptions of natural beauty and encyclopaedic accounts of environmental and geographical data] the role of the traveller, which is the author's undisguised or vaguely disguised self, does not assume any kind of romantic prominence.⁴⁶⁶

He points out the two most common subject matters in traditional Chinese travel writings: natural beauty and geographical data. Foreign travel accounts written by Late Qing intellectuals, however, make a breakthrough in that their main source materials were not based on the study of nature but involved the discussion of city lives, advanced Western machines and systems.⁴⁶⁷ This is more anthropocentric than traditional works. Secondly, while most traditional Chinese travellers journeyed “for a chance to retreat into Nature”,⁴⁶⁸ the Late Qing travel writers, including independent travellers, sought both personal enlightenment and remedies to save China. However, this teleological purpose sometimes makes the writings look more utilitarian than aesthetic. Laughlin even regards some of those writings as early examples of reportage.⁴⁶⁹ Wang Tao's *Jottings of My Roamings* can be distinguished from both traditional travel writings and those of his contemporaries. On the one

⁴⁶⁵ James M. Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)*, (Stuttgart, Germany: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1989), p.107.

⁴⁶⁶ Leo Lee, “The Solitary Traveller: Images of the Self in Modern Chinese Literature”, in *Expression of Self in Chinese Literature* ed. Robert E. Hegel and Richard C. Hessney, p.284.

⁴⁶⁷ Regarding travel literature, I limit its meaning to travelogues written by intellectuals, excluding historical accounts or geographical gazetteers that merely gave data without personal responses.

⁴⁶⁸ Julian Ward, *Xu Xiake (1587-1641:) The Art of Travel*, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁹ Charles A. Laughlin, *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 37-44.

hand, it describes natural scenery, both within and outside China; on the other, it reveals the author's interests in modern Western cities, cultures and systems without neglecting the aesthetic demands of literature. Most importantly, it has the element of modern literature—the expression of self. In other words, the traveller, Wang Tao himself, played the most active role in the journey instead of the scenery or itinerary.⁴⁷⁰ Indeed, *Jottings of My Roamings* is, in many ways, a portrait of Wang Tao. However, it should also be noted that the self expressed in literature is not necessarily the self in reality. This chapter will analyze the self Wang expressed in the travelogue.

As far as the literary element of an essay that deals largely with the facts of one's life is concerned, Louis A. Renza points out that “in selecting, ordering, and integrating the writer's lived experiences according to its own teleological demands, the autobiographical narrative is beholden to certain imperatives of imaginative discourse.”⁴⁷¹ In other words, the selection of events is the major concern in discussion. As a travel writer, one may think that Wang would only write about his journeys. Indeed, most travel writings start with the traveller leaving home and going on the road, and “there is no necessity for travellers to provide a retrospective overview of their life in the manner of the biographer.”⁴⁷² However, *Jottings of My Roamings* does start with such an overview.

In the preface, Wang concluded his life as “Even in the prime of my life, I was not famous, let alone now that I am old.”⁴⁷³ (余也壯而無聞，老之已至), a view

⁴⁷⁰ Feng Guanglian, Liu Zengren and Xu Pengxu, *Zhongguo Jin Bainian Wenxue Tishi Liubianshi* 中國近百年文學體式流變史 (A History of Modern Chinese Literary Genres) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1999), p. 282. Zhuang Yanyu, “Kang Nanhai *Lieguo youji yanjiu*” 康南海《列國遊記》研究 (A Study of Kang Nanhai's *Travel Diaries of Various Western Countries*), p. 46.

⁴⁷¹ Louis A. Renza, “The Veto of Imagination: A Theory of Autobiography”, in *Autobiography: Theoretical and Critical*, James Olney ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 268-295, here, p.269.

⁴⁷² Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1980), p.203.

⁴⁷³ Wang Tao, “Preface”, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 29.

echoed at both the beginning and the end of the book. In the first three episodes, Wang wrote about his early days in his hometown, Fuli. The book started with the sentence “I was born in Fuli” and was followed by his memories of the duck pond, lotus and plum blossoms, drinking parties, monasteries, small shops and the sounds of the pine trees. Although the writer remembered his hometown with affection, there were also hints of his bitterness for “not being famous” and “not being understood by others”.⁴⁷⁴ In Episode 1, when writing of joining drinking parties, he said, “I was always the last to be invited but the first to arrive.”⁴⁷⁵ In Episode 2, he mentioned that after his friend Ziyang died, he could not find a bosom companion (同志者) with whom he could share his love for plum blossoms.⁴⁷⁶ In Episode 3, he recorded that when he heard the sound of pine trees, he “was so bewildered and filled with unbearable sadness, that I felt my body had nothing to rely on and nowhere to go.”⁴⁷⁷ These accorded with his frustration at being unsuccessful and lonely, expressed in the preface. Then, in Episode 4, he wrote about how he went to Lu prefecture for the civil examination when he was sixteen, representing the start of his life journey.⁴⁷⁸ The book ended as Wang was about to return from Britain to Hong Kong. He records his friend Zhan Na giving a talk to British students about Chinese scholarship and the interaction of different cultures. Finally, Wang added his comment, “This is wonderful. I am just afraid that time will not wait for me.”⁴⁷⁹ This last sentence exuded a sense of grievance of old age, echoing the discontented feelings about his life expressed in the preface.

Furthermore, when comparing the aforementioned content with his “Autobiography of the Old Man of Taoyuan”, one can find many similarities in terms of the discussion of his early life, his trips to the West and Japan and how he cared

⁴⁷⁴ Wang Tao, The Preface, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., “Gazing at the Lotus of the Duck Pond”, p. 34.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., “Visiting the Plum Blossoms in an Ancient Villa”, p. 37.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., “Listening to the Pine Trees at Baosheng”, p. 39.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., “Climbing up the Mountains and Gazing into the Distance”, p. 40.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., “Attending Various Banquets”, p. 170. The original reads, “美哉！恐時不我待也！”

for the outlook of the state but was not appreciated by others, although the preface of *Jottings of My Roamings* does not talk about his family.⁴⁸⁰

A closer look at the preface provides further elucidation. Wang talked about his two motivations for writing the book, first to record his travels during his life; second, expressed through his conversation with a friend, to broaden his readers' horizons. Concerning the first point, Wang mentioned three books from which he derived inspiration, namely *Hong Xue yinyuan* 鴻雪姻緣 (The Predestined Relationship between Swan and Snow) by Lin Qing 麟慶 (1791-1846), *Huajia xiantan* 花甲閑談 (Idle Talks of the Elderly) by Zhang Weiping 張維屏 (1780-1859) and *Gaiyu Conglu* 咳餘叢錄 (Anecdotes Written in a Filial Son's Spare Time) by Hu Sichun 胡斯筭.⁴⁸¹ These books, written in the Qing dynasty, recorded not only the authors' journeys, but also their daily lives in prose, poetry and pictures. Wang's selection of these works as models gives readers a hint that he was not only concerned with his travels, but also with his life. However, instead of giving a list of the events in his life, Wang was highly selective in the recording of his travels and the presentation of his self image.

Two-thirds of the book deal with his journey to Europe which only counted for two years of his life. The emphasis on his Western trip was highlighted and explained in the preface. Wang regarded his trips to the West and Japan as the most important events of his life through which he was able to feel most proud of himself. When he mentioned his life in China, the tone is dismal for he wrote of himself as “莫飽侏儻” (one of the ever hungry people from the countryside), “難供朝夕” (difficult to survive for one day), “饑驅徒切” (suffering from hunger), “莫有知余者” (no one

⁴⁸⁰ Wang Tao, “Taoyuan laomin zizhuan”, in *Taoyuan Wen Xinbian* 弢園文新編 (Newly Edited Essaid of Wang Tao), (Beijing: xinhua shudian, 1998), pp. 367-372.

⁴⁸¹ The woodblock print version of Lin Qing's book was published in 1847 in Yangzhou. See *Hongxue yinyuan tuji* (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1984). There are two hundred and forty episodes, recording Lin's life from young to old, each with its own commissioned illustration. The book was reprinted by Dianshi zhai edition in 1896. For an English translation of the book, see Yang Tsung-han, “Lin Ch'ing's *Tracks in the Snow*”, *East Asian History*, 6 (1993), pp. 105-142.

really understands me) and how he was criticized by others.⁴⁸² In short, it can be concluded with his phrase “余窮於世” (I was not successful in the world).⁴⁸³ But when he was in Europe and Japan, he felt he was treated with great respect. Besides describing what he saw, he picked several dramatic scenes and elaborates on them in the preface. Once, he gave a speech at Oxford University, talking about the interaction of Chinese and Western culture and the Way of Great Unity. He noted that “the students appreciated my speech greatly as they had never heard of this notion.”⁴⁸⁴

Another example is when Wang walked on the roads in Britain and the police drove away the children who were laughing at him. Moreover, whenever he asked the way, people would accompany him and not leave him alone until he reached his destination. The most dramatic scene was when an elderly person in a village in Britain took off his hat, and greeted him and told him that he wished to follow Confucius.⁴⁸⁵ Wang recorded it in the form of dialogue, hoping to give the impression that the words came from the person’s mouth. Wang also declared in a straightforward way that he found his trip to the West “enjoyable” and something to be “proud of”.⁴⁸⁶ He even said, “What made me feel delighted was that I was the first to travel to the West,” and “I was the first Chinese to have these experiences, which were unusual for literati at home.”⁴⁸⁷ Therefore, from the preface, it can be inferred that Wang’s reason for writing about his travels was mainly because those journeys gave him a sense of self-importance that he had never obtained from the civil examination system because of his repeated failures. This explains why Wang tends to make his self image so conspicuous in the book.

⁴⁸² Wang Tao, The Preface, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 29-32. The original criticism reads, “即文章小技，不滿於鄉里悠悠之口，何況其他？”

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

6.2.2 The Traveller as Portrayed in *Jottings of My Roamings*

Before going into details of how Wang, as traveller, plays the most important role in *Jottings of My Roamings* by expressing himself, one should first understand that the text should be viewed against the background of a frustrated life, one full of setbacks and adversities. As mentioned above, like many other young Chinese males, Wang's ultimate ambition was to pass the civil examination and obtain an official post; literary or other accomplishments were considered secondary. Unfortunately, after passing the preliminary stage, he failed the exam many times. Out of pride or self confidence, he criticized the system and said that he would never again take the examination.⁴⁸⁸ However, the fact is that he still tried many times even after getting a job in the London Mission Press.⁴⁸⁹

In the depth of Wang's heart, his greatest misfortune was his repeated failures at the examinations and his regret was barely softened by time. This is the reason why a sense of bitterness spills over into the preface and episode of *Jottings of My Roamings*. Feeling self-pity on the one hand, having high opinions of himself on the other, it becomes reasonable and possible for Wang to write his life story with memorable, and sometimes dramatic, scenes and tableaux with himself holding centre stage. He was desperate to present to his contemporaries and subsequent generations an image of who was someone important but had not been recognised by "the world". Although Wang used the word *shi* 世 which literally means the world, he did stress that he was esteemed in the West and Japan; therefore, *shi* will be understood to refer to China or, to be specific, the Qing court.

Wang's self image portrayed in the *Jottings of My Roamings* is multiple. In fact, Stephen Owen has pointed out that the vision of the self can be divided into two

⁴⁸⁸ Wang Tao, "A Letter to Brother-in-Law Yang Xingfu", in *Taoyuan chidu* 弢園尺牘 (Letters of Wang Tao), pp.2-3.

⁴⁸⁹ Zhang Zhichun, *Wang Tao nianpu*, pp. 19-68.

aspects: “roles” and “a much more contradictory and unsteady being.”⁴⁹⁰ Whereas “roles” refers to fulfilling one’s social role, the other aspect goes beyond social restrictions. Owen’s observation, although written as part of a discussion of poetry, can also be used here to explain the multiple nature of the expressions of self. As for Wang Tao, it is obvious that on the one hand he wanted to fulfill his duty as an intellectual by consistently giving suggestions on how to strengthen China, while on the other hand a life full of failures and setbacks made him turn to thoughts of becoming a recluse. This “contradictory and unsteady” nature of the self expressed in *Jottings of Roamings* will be demonstrated below.

A Recluse

The first facet of Wang is not too different from traditional literati who failed to obtain an official position. Following the traditional Confucian teachings, intellectuals were expected not to become rebellious even though they could complain (怨而不亂).⁴⁹¹ The teaching of Dao provides them with the alternative choice of being aloof from the world. The most famous recluse in Chinese history is Tao Qian, who, despising the corrupted society in which he lived, returned to the countryside and lived as a recluse till the end of his life. Wang, having failed the exams, can reasonably be thought of as acting in the same way. Going one step further, he presented himself as a recluse before going on to talk about the civil examination, pretending that he was not interested in official positions at all.

Besides proclaiming that he preferred the life of a recluse, for instance stating in his poems that he wanted to play with seagulls and buy fields,⁴⁹² Wang skilfully used allusions and various symbols to imply his will. This is most apparent in the first three episode of his collection.

In Episode 1, after stating that he was born in Fuli, Wang immediately turned to

⁴⁹⁰ Stephen Owen, “The Self’s Perfect Mirror: Poetry as Autobiography”, in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the T’ang* ed. Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 86.

⁴⁹¹ Sima Qian, “Wu taibo shijia” 吳太伯世家 (A Chronicle of Marquis Wu), in *Shiji*, p.1452.

⁴⁹² Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 42, 126, and 157.

history, introducing a famous man of letters, Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙, a Tang poet from the 9th century who was also a native of Fuli. Lu was talented but looked down upon worldly success. According to the Song dynasty work, *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Anecdotes in Tang Poetry), he was a genius man of letters who despised the world and did not try to get an official position. Instead, he went travelling with his friends and hated to talk to mundane people.⁴⁹³ Wang referred to several events of Lu's life in the episode. First, he describes Lu as *liangjie gaofeng* 亮節高風 (having great moral courage and virtue) and being respected by the natives of Fuli.⁴⁹⁴ He also mentioned one story which shows Lu's Bohemian personality: a rider from the official post station who was passing by Lu's house killed one of Lu's ducks with a slingshot. Lu told him his ducks were precious because they could talk, so killing them could result in persecution. The rider was scared and offered to compensate. After Lu got the money, he laughed at the rider and told him that the only word his ducks could say was their name. The rider was furious and Lu eventually gave him back the money.⁴⁹⁵ Although Wang did not give the story in full, it was expected that readers at that time would be familiar with the allusion to Lu Guimeng. Despite Lu's talent and virtue, his literary works survived only because they were found by accident in the stomach of his statue. Wang sighed—"I believe that whether people

⁴⁹³ Ji Yougong 計有功 (fl. 1121-1161), *Tangshi Jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Anecdotes of Tang Poetry) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 962-963. The original reads, "龜蒙，三吳人也。幼而聰悟，文學之外，尤善談笑，嘗體江、謝賦事，名振江左，居於姑蘇，藏書萬餘卷，詩篇清麗。……中和初，遭疾而終。……龜蒙少高放，從張搏遊，歷湖蘇二州辟以自佐。嘗至饒州，三日無所詣。刺史蔡京率官屬就見之，龜蒙不樂，拂衣去。不喜交流俗，不乘馬升舟，設蓬席、茶竈、筆牀、釣具往來。"

⁴⁹⁴ Wang Tao, "Preface", p. 33.

⁴⁹⁵ Ji Yougong, *Tangshi jishi*, p. 963. The original reads, "龜蒙居震澤之南，巨積莊產，有鬥鴨一欄，頗極馴養。一旦，有驛使過，挾彈斃其尤者。龜蒙詣而駭之曰：『此鴨能人語。』少頃，手一本手本云：『待附蘇州上進，使者斃之，奈何！』使人恐，酬以橐中金。龜蒙始焚其章，接以酒食。使者俟其稍悅，方請人語之由。曰：『能自呼其名。』使人憤且笑，拂袖上馬。復召之，還其金，曰：『吾戲耳。』"

are famous or unknown is pre-destined.”⁴⁹⁶

Although one can argue that Wang mentions Lu only because his hometown is named after Lu’s sobriquet, Master Fuli, the fact that Wang chose to introduce Lu and the way he selected Lu’s life events can, at the very least, show that Wang had a special feeling for his fellow townsman. Wang, like Lu, had the same unconventional personality and did not have an official position (though for different reasons). Instead of playing tricks on officials, Wang showed his Bohemian character by frequently mentioning his interest in both courtesans and ladies from decent families. He is so candid about his interest that one even suspects that he deliberately mentions it in order to show how unconventional he is. In fact, Wang’s comment about destiny was not only meant for Lu, but also for himself.

Whether by coincidence or not, the first three episodes contain conspicuous symbols of the traditional Chinese *junzi* 君子 (gentleman)—lotus blossoms, plum blossoms and pine trees. In Episode 1, Wang said he thinks that lotus blossoms are *junzi* among all the flowers as they have a clear fragrance, lasting charm, faultless virtue and pure colour, all of which resemble the appearance of reclusive and virtuous men.⁴⁹⁷ Wang appreciated lotus blossoms so much that an allusion to them in an unsuitable simile is offensive to him.⁴⁹⁸ Throughout the episode, he emphasized

⁴⁹⁶ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 33.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., “Gazing Lotuses at the Duck Pond, p. 35. The symbol of lotus blossom as a virtuous man originates in Zhou Dunyi’s 周敦頤 (1017-1073) *Ai lian shuo* 愛蓮說 (On the Love of the Lotus Blossom), which compares lotus blossoms with the *junzi*, praising the flower’s independence and purity. See Zhou Dunyi, *Zhou Lianxi ji* 周廉溪集 (Works of Zhou Lianxi) (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1937), pp. 139.

⁴⁹⁸ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings* p. 35. Wang refers to a story about Zhang Changzong (Liulang), who was the favourite of Wu Zetian. An official of Wu, Yang Zaisi compared Zhang’s face with a lotus blossom. The original reads, “易之兄司禮少卿同休，請公卿宴其寺，酒酣，戲曰：「公面似高麗。」再思欣然，翦縠綴巾上，反披紫袍，為高麗舞，舉動合節，滿坐鄙笑。昌宗以姿貌倖，再思每曰：『人言六郎似蓮華，非也；正謂蓮華似六郎耳。』其巧諛無恥類如此。” See Song Qi 宋祁 and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1999), p. 4099.

his love for lotus blossoms, inventing special ways to eat and use them and still thinking about them forty years after leaving Fuli.

The meaning of plum blossoms is two-fold in that it symbolises a man who stands against difficult conditions of the world while at the same time remaining aloof from worldly matters. The earliest examples of praise for plum blossoms can be found in the Six Dynasties, when poets were amazed by how different plum blossoms are from other flowers, since they bloom in snow.⁴⁹⁹ Because they are so enduring, plum blossoms are sometimes compared with martyrs who die for their country. The second symbolic meaning of the plum blossoms comes from Lin Fu 林逋 (967-1028), a recluse, who was famous for living surrounded by cranes and plum blossoms.⁵⁰⁰ His poetic description of plum blossoms, “the sparse shadows are cast horizontally across the clear water, and dim fragrance floats towards the dusky moon” (疏影橫斜水清淺，暗香浮動月黃昏) became a standard phrase when mentioning plum blossoms and the image of a recluse.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ Typical examples are He Xun’s 何遜 (d. ca. 572) “Yong mei” 詠梅 (A Praise of Plum Blossoms) and Yin Keng’s 陰鏗 (fl. mid 6th century) “Xue li meihua” 雪裡梅花 (Plum Blossoms in the Snow). He Xun describes the plum blossoms as not being afraid of the snow. The original reads, “銜霜當路發，映雪擬寒開。” Yin also has a similar view as the line reads, “春近寒雖轉，梅舒雪尚飄。” Later, in the Tang Dynasty, Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678-740) also wrote a poem about plum blossoms, praising their resistance in difficult circumstances. More information can be found in Deng Guoguang and Qu Fengxian ed. *Zhongguo huahui shici quanji* 中國花卉詩詞全集 (A Complete Collection of Chinese Poems of Plants) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1997), vol 1, p. 3, 4, and 8. Later, in the Southern Song Dynasty, Lu You wrote the lines, “unintentionally competing with other flowers in Spring, the plum blossoms let others envy them. Even when they fall and are grounded into dust, they are still fragrant.” (無意苦爭春，一任群芳妒。零落成泥碾作塵，只有香如故). See Lu You, “Busuanzi” 卜算子 (To “the Diviner”), in *Lu You ji* 陸游集 (Works of Lu You) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), p. 2471.

⁵⁰⁰ Lin Fu, “Shanyuan xiaomei” 山園小梅 (Small Plum Blossoms of the Mountainous Garden), in *Lin Hejing Ji*, 林和靖集 (The Works of Lin Hejin) (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1974), p. 18.

⁵⁰¹ Lin Fu’s contemporary Wang Qi 王琪 wrote a poem about plum blossoms and indicate the widespread influence of Lin’s praise of it. The last two lines of the poem reads, “只因識得林和靖，惹得詩人說到今。” In *Zhongguo huahui shici quanji*, Vol 1, p. 32.

In Episode 2, Wang talked about how he and his friends feasted on and appreciated plum blossoms. Through the conversation between Wang and his friend Zhang Ziyang, readers are given the impression that they are so unconstrained that they were aloof from worldly worries and as pure as plum blossoms. The place where they feasted, “Chu Zhai” 樗齋 (Ailanthus Studio), placed near Qiushui ting 秋水亭 (Autumn Flood Pavilion) is also worth noticing. The two names directly linked to *Zhuangzi*: “Autumn Floods” being the title of a chapter in the work and the ailanthus also alluded to.⁵⁰² Clearly, the owner of the villa chose these names deliberately. The ailanthus appears in “Xiaoyao you”, in which Zhuangzi compares the plant with a useless person as ailanthus is not straight enough to make any furniture. Zhuangzi said that although in the eyes of ordinary people, ailanthus was useless, and it was for this reason that ailanthus is able to grow without any hindrance or harm. The author here advocated the idea of “wuyong zhi yong” 無用之用 (the use of being useless).⁵⁰³ Thus, gazing at plum blossoms in the Ailanthus Studio becomes a strong symbol of a recluse who is not appreciated by the world.

The symbol of the pine tree first appears in *Lunyu* 論語 (The Analects), in which Confucius said, “Not until the coldest time do I realise that pine trees and cypress trees are the last to wither.”⁵⁰⁴ (歲寒，然後知松柏之後彫也) Pine trees, famous for enduring coldness, are then compared with a virtuous man standing strong against difficulties, just like plum blossoms.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰² Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi jijie* 莊子集解 (Collected Explanations of the Zhuangzi) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1992), pp. 5, 99-108.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁰⁴ *Lunyu yizhu*, p. 102.

⁵⁰⁵ The earliest example can be found in Liu Zhen’s 劉楨(d. 217) poem written during the Three Kingdom period. Part of the poem “Zheng congdi” 贈從弟(For M Cousin), praising the endurance of pine tree, reads, “亭亭山上松，瑟瑟谷中風。風聲一何盛，松枝一何勁。冰霜正慘淒，終歲常端正。豈不罹凝寒，松柏有本性。” In Ding Fubao ed. *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 (Complete Poetry of the Han, Three Kingdoms, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), p. 263.

In Episode 3, Wang recorded that when he was young he followed his father to live in the studio of Mr. Shi, where he was overwhelmed by the sound of pine trees. He also mentioned one of his acquaintances, Jiang Busong, who told him that the sound of pine tree could inspire one's mind. Near the end of the episode, he showed his regret that all the trees later died or were cut down for firewood.⁵⁰⁶

Wang Tao chose to mention the lotus blossom, plum blossom, and pine tree at the beginning of his travel writings; although on the surface they had no strong relationship with the rest of the book, these three symbols were so well-known to Chinese literati that it was impossible for either the author or the readers to be unaware of them as a self-allegory or self-comparison to the author.⁵⁰⁷ To place these allegories at the beginning of the book, Wang evidently regarded that presenting himself was more important than simply recounting his travels, and also, demonstrated his will to portray himself as a recluse.

Being a recluse means being liberated from worldly matters, especially appraisal by other people. Wang, though expressing his strong will to be a recluse, was not a real recluse. On the contrary, despite his failure to gain an official position, he did not or cannot completely ignore the world, he still cared about the state and

⁵⁰⁶ Wang Tao, "Listening to the Pine Trees at Baosheng", *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 39-40

⁵⁰⁷ The use of precious objects for self-allegorization or self-comparison can be traced back to the traditional interpretation of Qu Yuan's works, especially the *Li Sao*. Wang Yi 王逸 in his *Chuci zhangju* 楚辭章句 (Section and Sentence Commentaries on *The Songs of the Chu*) comments, "The writing of 'Encountering Sorrow' takes the method of *xing* from the *Poetry* (*The Book of Songs*), and draws out categorical correspondences as comparisons. Therefore, beneficial birds and fragrant plants are used to correspond to loyalty and integrity; noxious birds and foul-smelling objects are used as comparisons to slander and deceit. The Divine Beauty and Fairest One equal the lord; intimate consorts and beautiful maidens are used as analogues to virtuous officials. In dragons and phoenixes is invested the ruler; whirlwinds, clouds and rainbows are used for petty men." Translation from Pauline Yu's *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 105. (《離騷》之文，依《詩》取興，引類譬喻。故善鳥香草以配忠貞，惡禽臭物以比讒佞。靈修美人以媲於君，宓妃佚女以譬賢臣。虯龍鸞鳳以托君子，飄風雲霓以為小人。)。 See Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 ed. *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補註 (Supplementary Notes of *The Songs of Chu*) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), p. 12.

how other people thought of him. This forms another two facets of Wang's self-image in *Jottings of My Roamings*.

A Patriotic Intellectual

As an intellectual during the Late Qing period who witnessed the waning of the state, Wang felt the same sense of crisis as those who wanted to save China. In spite of not being appreciated by the Qing court, Wang did not lose his desire to contribute to the state. His concern for the state permeates his travel writings, especially when recording his experiences outside China. For instance, when he wrote about Hong Kong, he talked about how Westerners had transformed Hong Kong from a barren land to a city, how they had set up colleges to educate and recruit an elite class, and finally how he felt pity that this city did not belong to China.⁵⁰⁸ When he travelled around South East Asia, he sighed at the fall of the states that had once been China's buffer states but were now annexed by the West.⁵⁰⁹ In episode about France, he discussed the museums and cultural activities that China lacked.⁵¹⁰ In episode about Britain, he described in great detail the tax systems, the clean avenues, the planning of the cities, the armaments, education for both men and women, the railways, the copyright law and the incentive policy for inventions.⁵¹¹

He was greatly concerned with things which he felt them indicated whether a country was strong or not.⁵¹² At that time, the elite class in China had already

⁵⁰⁸ Wang Tao, "My Sojourn in Hong Kong" and "Roamings Around the Island", *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 59-65.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., "Mooring in Singapore", p. 67, "I Try to Bathe in Penang", p. 70, "A Banquet in Aden", p. 73, "Stopover at Cairo", p. 75.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., "An Overview of the Scenic Spots of Paris", "Vestiges of Paris", "Watching Drama in Paris", "A Spectacular View of the Louvre Museum", "Visiting the New Museum", "A Carnival of Swings" pp. 82-98.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., "The British Museum", pp. 103-105, "A Record of the British Customs", pp. 109-112, "A Brief Description of the British Systems", "Miscellaneous Records of Travels in Britain", "A Short Records of My Travels" and "Sophisticated and Remarkable Implements", pp. 111-123.

⁵¹² Lü Wencui 吕文翠 gave a specific example of Wang's discussion of railways. She advocated the idea that Wang emphasized the military importance of railways in mopping up an uprising because he had thought of the upheavals in China, especially the Taiping Rebellion. See Lü "Wan Qing Shanghai

realized that the West was far more advanced in technology, especially concerning armaments. During the Self-Strengthening Movement (1860-1894) one of the most important objectives was to strengthen the army. Wang fully acknowledged that, but also realized that social systems, such as education, are also essential to a strong country. Thus, compared to accounts by his contemporary travellers, Wang also emphasised cultural and social aspects. He observed:

The British are by habit honest and produce a wealth of goods. The rich people lead luxurious lives whereas the poor work hard. People compete with one another to develop new skills; therefore, there are few lazy people. What I envy most is that people there are modest and sincere. People, whether nobles or commoners, seldom quarrel with one another. Immigrants from other countries living there are never cheated. Because they have a harmonious relationship with the natives, they seldom feel anxious.⁵¹³

People are so elegant and kind that they compete with one another to receive travellers from afar. There are no problems with checking in at the customs or resulting from the questioning by the officials. People are never suspected to be villains simply because of their exotic clothes and languages. Inside the city, goods are not labelled at two different prices, while on the street, people do not pick up things that belong to others. These are enough to show Edinburgh's tolerant government policy and lofty prosperity.⁵¹⁴

de kuawenhua xinglu: Lun Wang Tao yu Yuan Zuahi de Taizi youji” 晚清上海的跨文化行旅：論王韜與袁祖志的泰西遊記 (Trans-cultural Travel in Late Qing Shanghai: On Two Travelogues of Wang Tao and Yuan Zhuzhi). In *Zhongwai wnxue* 34.9 (2006), p. 35.

⁵¹³ Wang Tao, “A Record of the British Customs”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp.111-112. The original reads, “英國風俗醇厚，物產蕃庶。豪富之家，費廣用奢，而貧寒之戶，勤工力作。日競新奇巧異之藝，地少慵怠游惰之民。尤可羨者，人知遜讓，心多慇誠。國中士庶往來，常少鬥爭欺侮之事。異域客民旅居其他者，從無受欺被詐，恒見親愛，絕少猜嫌。”

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., “The Old Palace of Edinburgh”, p.132. The original reads, “遠人之至其地者，無不競相延接，雅意殷勤。關無譏察之煩，吏無詰訶之擾，從無以異服異言而疑其為宄為慝者。入其境，市不二價，路不拾遺，是足以見其寬大之政、昇平之治矣。”

This is a country which values principles of conduct, not just powerful armies; a country built on compassion and sincerity, not treachery and brute strength, and a country which places kindness and ethics before wealth and might. This is why Europe's nations endure while others fall into decay. Though Britain is on the northern corner of Europe, it has been free of enemy invasion for over a thousand years; and this is but one benefit of many. I say this not to flatter Westerners, but because it is true."⁵¹⁵
(Translated by Ian Chapman)

He was also particularly inspired by the fact that Western women could receive an education. In *Jottings of My Roamings*, several British ladies are mentioned. Not only are they beautiful, but they are also described as “clever” and “talented”, knowing culture and the arts in depth. What impressed Wang Tao most was that they even knew how to appreciate Chinese culture. Unlike Chinese women, Western women did not seem to shy away from male guests. Wang was astonished by that and he explained his appreciation:

They (the women) sat with us at the same table, travelled with us by coach, joined in the drinking and merriment and otherwise mixed freely, totally uninhibited by distinctions between men and women. The beauty of their countenance was matched by their purity of heart, their virtue and chastity by their book learning and proper conduct. Their dignity and correct behaviour ensured that no one dared affront them."⁵¹⁶ (Translated by Ian Chapman)

Such human qualities are indispensable for the construction of a strong country

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., “Miscellaneous Records of Edinburgh”, p.135. The original reads, “其國以禮義為教，而不專恃甲兵；以仁信為基，而不先尚詐力；以教化德澤為本，而不徒講富強。歐洲諸邦皆能如是，固足以持久而不蔽也。即如英土，雖偏在北隅，而無敵國外患者已千餘年矣，謂非其著效之一端哉？余亦就實事言之，勿徒作頌美西人觀可也。”

⁵¹⁶ Ibid. The original reads, “食則並席，出則同車，觥籌相酬，履舄交錯，不以為嫌也。然皆花妍其貌而玉潔其心。秉德懷貞，知書守禮，其謹嚴自好，固又毫不可以犯干也。”

and they are what Wang wanted to introduce to the Chinese readers as “broadening one’s horizons” and constitute another aim of the book I will discuss what Wang considered as an ideal country that China should be modelled upon in the next chapter. The emphasis here is Wang mentioned these military, social and political issues because saw himself as an intellectual who took up the responsibility to serve the state.⁵¹⁷

A Cosmopolitan

Besides hoping that China could be as strong as Western countries, Wang also revealed his inspiration regarding the interactions between the two cultures. Wang always looked forward to the sharing of cultures between the Chinese and the Westerners. This is what he called the “Great Unity” (大同).⁵¹⁸ He emphasized this idea three times in the book, placing it at the beginning, in Episode 26 in the middle of book, and at the end.

In the preface, Wang highlighted an incident during his trip to Britain, first prepared giving readers some background. He wrote, “what made me feel delighted was that I was the first to travel to the West. Neither officials nor famous literati had ever had this opportunity.” It is obvious that he was proud of what he has achieved. Then he went on to give an example. Wang gave a lecture at Oxford University where he was courteously treated. He said, “I presented them (the students) with a discussion of similarities and differences in cultures and suggested that the highest Dao would be the Great Unity. Students appreciated my speech greatly as they had never heard of this notion.”⁵¹⁹ Not bothered by repetition, Wang mentioned the event again in Episode 26, directly quoting his speech advocating similar thoughts.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., “The Preface”, p. 33.

⁵¹⁸ The “great unity” advocated by Wang Tao is different from the traditional idea which is a description of a peaceful society. Wang’s idea is closer to that of cosmopolitanism, which looks for similarities between different cultures. Further information about Wang’s idea can be found in “Yuan Dao” 原道 (The Origins of the Dao), in *Taoyuan wen xinbian*, pp. 1-2.

⁵¹⁹ Wang Tao, “Preface”, *Jottings of My Roamings.*, p. 32.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., “A Short Rest in London”, p. 99.

At the end of the book, the idea comes up again through Wang's mentioning of his friend Zhan Na. Zhan gave a talk to a group of students, again looking forward to a harmonious relationship between China and the West, vigorous interaction between cultures and technologies and an effective system of communication between people in the world. Wang was very appreciative of the sentiment.⁵²¹ Apart from being proclaimed directly at the beginning, the middle and the end of the book, the idea of a "great unity" also permeates elsewhere in the book when he records how Westerners appreciated his chanting of poetry and his scholarly works.⁵²² Wang believed he was playing a significant role in promoting the idea of the sharing of cultures. This is shown by the way Wang presented the related events.

The most common way in which Wang showed how Westerners appreciated him is by describing an occasion when a large audience saw him perform as an important cultural ambassador, introducing Chinese culture and literature. Apart from the speech given at Oxford University where students are described as “擊節歎賞，以為聞所未聞” (greatly impressed as they had never heard of this) and “無不鼓掌蹈足，同聲稱讚，牆壁為震” (none of them did not clap their hand, or stamp their feet, they applauded me together till even the walls were shaken), in Episode 17, Wang recorded how he impressed others during a banquet on a ship. An extraordinarily beautiful young lady was interested in Wang, gazing and smiling at him. After quoting other people's words describing him as a talented intellectual, he said, “the girl was even happier and so excited that she asked them (other people) to request me to sing a song.” Finally, he agreed to chant a poem “to purify the mundane tune” of the instruments that had just been played. He was so good at chanting poems that “the pitch of my voice was high and sonorous spreading out deeply like the sound of metals.” He received applause from all the audience and the lady was so enchanted by him that she pressed him to drink, asked for his calligraphy

⁵²¹ Ibid., “Attending Various Banquets”, p.170.

⁵²² Ibid., “Miscellaneous Records of Edinburgh”, p. 135, “Traveling in Aberdeen”, pp. 141-142, “Traveling Twice in Dundee”, p. 148, “Sailing back from Britain”, p. 159.

and did not want to put it down until Wang gave it to her as a gift.⁵²³

Another typical example comes in Episode 47 when Wang gave a talk in Edinburgh about the teachings of Confucius. Instead of recording what he had said about Confucius, Wang mentioned the last part of his talk when he intoned Chinese poems and prose following a request from a female member of the audience. He describes his own voice as “melodious, sonorous and passionate”, resembling “the sound of gold and stone or a sudden change of weather.” The audience was greatly impressed and as a result “everybody in Edinburgh knew the teachings of Confucius” and a fellow Chinese regarded him as the one who had brought “the way of the Confucius to the West”. Wang’s concluding remarks on the event are illuminating: “Although I did not really deserve these words, they were close to what I had done.” (雖不敢當，抑庶幾焉) Copious examples, such as people begging for examples of Wang’s calligraphy and poetry, inviting him to banquets and asking him to take photos, all indicating his popularity, fill the book.⁵²⁴

Not only does Wang think of himself as playing a leading role in spreading Chinese culture in Britain, he also considers himself to be trying hard to build up the relationship between the two nations. When Wang was in Edinburgh, a letter claimed to have been written by Zeng Guofan was published in a British newspaper. The letter displayed a hostile attitude towards Westerners, even threatening war. Then Wang said, “Commoners and officials, who felt suspicious that there might be war, came to ask me about the issue, and I explained to them.” After listening to Wang’s explanation that the letter was a forgery, “the rumour stopped”.⁵²⁵ Showing such a heightened regard for himself, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Wang was showing off.

As Wang was interested in women, he cared how they look at him. While most were enchanted by his literary talents, Wang would go into detail about those who

⁵²³ Ibid., “A Banquet in Aden”, pp. 73-75.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., “Sailing back from Britain”, pp. 157-160.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., “Miscellaneous Records of Edinburgh”, pp. 137-138.

were educated and appreciated him as a scholar. For instance, in Episode 43, he introduced Miss Aili.⁵²⁶ This young lady was not only good looking, but most importantly she was artistic and clever enough to appreciate intellectuals. Wang said, “Although she was young, she showed respect to intellectuals. When she heard her father and Legge discussing people, she singled me out and regarded me as a genius whom she greatly admired.”⁵²⁷

He chanted a poem for her and by the next day she had composed a melody for it. She also taught him the correct fingering for the piano and corrected his pronunciation of the Western alphabet. When Wang was unable to express himself, Aili could speak for him as she “was so sensitive that she could use her eyes to listen and her eyebrows to speak, instead of just using her mouth.” (別有會心，能以目聽，以眉語，而不徒在口舌間也) This is the only lady Wang regarded as being able to “fully understand my thoughts”. (無不適如余意之所欲出)⁵²⁸

As a bridge between the Chinese and Westerners, Wang was keen to display his Western contacts to his readers. This is indirectly presented in the episodes about his life in China and becomes obvious in the parts about his trips to the West, as mentioned above.

In the episodes written before Wang’s arrival in the West (i.e. before 1868), some trivia gave readers hints of the ideas outlined above. First, it should be pointed out that at that time, establishing contact with Westerners was not considered something to be proud of among Chinese intellectuals. On the contrary, people looked down upon those who worked with Westerners. Henry Macleavy noted how Wang was unhappy to be working in Shanghai for the London Mission Press as he was regarded as a “lackey of the foreigners”.⁵²⁹ However, it is obvious that by the time Wang wrote the book, his attitude had changed dramatically. When he described

⁵²⁶ Ibid., “Traveling Twice in Dundee”, p. 147.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p. 148. The original reads, “年雖幼，雅重文人，聞其父及理君品評人物，而獨道余為曠世逸才，益深欽佩。”

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Henry McAleavy, *Wang T'ao 1828?-1890. The Life and Writings of a Displaced Person*, p. 8.

Shanghai in Episode 8, he said that he was refreshed and impressed by the city's Western buildings and atmosphere. He also realized how ingenious Westerners could be when he visited the London Mission Press.⁵³⁰ The same impressions were described when he writes about Hong Kong.⁵³¹ In Episode 9, he recorded that he travelled to Dongting River with Henry Medhurst and William Muirhead, addressing them as the "two gentlemen".⁵³² When he met his fellow Chinese, talking about their trips, he added a sentence, "I had brought some Western wine and drank it with them. All of them regarded it as a good wine and showed their appreciation." (余携有洋酒出以飲之，稱為佳釀，讚歎莫名).⁵³³ This sentence, in terms of content, is of no significance in Wang's trip, but Wang added the line in order to show that he could impress other Chinese because of his special knowledge of, and relationships with, foreigners. Therefore, when he was talking about Western technology in later episodes, he was not only describing what he had seen, rather, his tone was one of introduction and explanation, as he regarded himself as someone who knows more about the West than others, and as being in a position to "broaden the readers' horizons".⁵³⁴

In the episodes about his Western trip, apart from impressing Western commoners as discussed in the above passages, Wang also emphasized that he was appreciated by scholars. Apart from students of Oxford University, Wang mentioned intellectuals, most of whom were friends of James Legge, and intelligent and beautiful women. For example, when Wang travelled to Aberdeen, he went to visit the clergyman Zhan (John Chalmers 1825-1899), whom he described as "knowing a lot about Chinese language and etymology" and "good at the studies of the ancient calendar"⁵³⁵. Thereafter, he recorded Zhan's comments on Wang's books about the

⁵³⁰ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 51.

⁵³¹ Ibid., "My Sojourn in Hong Kong", p.59, "Roamings Around the Island", pp. 63-64.

⁵³² Ibid., "Embracing the Remarkable Scenery of Moli", p. 53.

⁵³³ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., The Preface, p. 33.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., "Travelling in Aberdeen", p. 141.

Spring and Autumn Annals, such as *Chunqiu shuorun kao* (A Survey of the Calendars of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) and *Chunqiu rishi bianzheng* (A Discussion of Solar Eclipses in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), “he (John Chalmers) thought they were great works that could serve as guides for studying ancient calendars and solving problems. These books enabled readers to find out clearly the dates within the two hundred and forty two years of the Spring and Autumn period” and “Zhan (Chalmers) said, ‘This book should be better than the one written by Chen Siyuan.’”⁵³⁶ Although Wang appeared to be modest, the fact that he recorded John Chalmers comments showed that in the depth of his heart, he felt that he deserved the praise.⁵³⁷

Wang was so proud of his relationship with Westerners that sometimes he even changed the chronology of an event. The account of meeting Stanislas Julien (1797-1873) in *Jottings of My Roamings* is recorded during Wang’s visit to Paris.⁵³⁸ However, according to Wang’s letter to Julien, he had not met him on his way to Britain and had wanted to arrange a meeting after leaving Britain on his journey back to Hong Kong.⁵³⁹ In fact, as Wang’s narration finishes at the beginning of his return trip to Hong Kong, he should not have included his meeting with Julien, which happened after he had left Britain. However, Wang chose to change the order, placing the meeting before his trip to Britain when he was in France. I suspect that the reason for this manipulation is because he was so keen to include this incident in his account, in order to underline how famous he was.

Although being a recluse and an aspiring passionate intellectual may seem to be contradictory, they are, on the contrary, two complementary sides of Wang. On the

⁵³⁶ Chen Siyuan 陳泗源, a scholar of the ancient calendar, lived during the reign of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty.

⁵³⁷ Wang Tao, “Traveling in Aberdeen”, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 141-142

⁵³⁸ Ibid., “Vestiges in Paris”, pp.86-87.

⁵³⁹ Wang Tao, “Yu Faguo Ru Lian xueshi” (A Letter to Stanislas Julien), in *Letters of Wang Tao*, pp. 94-96. The original reads, “今者應理君聘，航海西邁，道出貴國京師巴黎。斯未悉所居，未由奉謁，紆軫之情，難以言狀。……返棹時，當經貴國，藉挹芳徽，一吐悃欵，願作平原十日之留。”

one hand, the traveller was full of a great desire to contribute to the state or even the world, while on the other hand, his failure in the examinations remained a major source of embarrassment throughout his life. It was only through his trip to the West and his contact with Westerners that Wang was able to build up his confidence again. By chanting Chinese poems, giving talks on Chinese culture to Westerners and introducing Western technology and culture to the Chinese, Wang was able to demonstrate his significance to his contemporaries and posterity. This is in line with his claim in the Preface of *Jottings of My Roamings* to record his experiences so that they would not “pass with the wind and dust, and eventually become mere dreams and bubbles”.⁵⁴⁰

6.3 Conclusion

Ian Chapman states that *Jottings of My Roamings* is “rare among early accounts in being dominated by human beings rather than machines and institutions.”⁵⁴¹ However, from the above analysis, we can go one step further by stating that in this travel account, it is not the trip of Wang Tao or the people he met during the journey that dominate but the traveller himself. In fact, the traveller’s preoccupation with the self goes beyond the enumeration of events and situations: the book paints a self portrait rather than just an account of an exotic journey. Instead of recounting factually what happens to him, Wang liked to present events in a dramatic way in order to make himself stand out. Thus, the book is written in a mimetic rather than narrative style, adding a flavour of fiction to the semi-documentary prose.

The domination of the traveller’s expression of self is in line with his objective to record his life events. From the preface, it is clear that Wang regarded his overseas journeys as the most important achievements of his life. Before his trip to the West, he was very much the same as any traditional Chinese literati who failed in exams

⁵⁴⁰ Wang Tao, “Xu” 序 (The Preface), *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 29.

⁵⁴¹ Ian Chapman, “Wang Tao: Selections from *Jottings of Carefree Travels*”, *Renditions*, 53 (2000), p. 165.

and wanted to be a recluse. However, owing his disputes with the Taipings and more importantly, because he was living in the dynamic Late Qing period, Wang had new opportunities that his predecessors had not enjoyed. During his journeys, through continuous interaction with other cultures and reflections of his self identity, Wang Tao found his role, first as an intellectual focused on state affairs and ways to strengthen his homeland, and eventually as a cosmopolitan intellectual whose concerns were much broader. He saw himself not as a passive receiver of the “superior” West, but an active participant in the process of bringing about understandings between different cultures.

Chapter 7 Sketches of a Remarkable World I

Our texts are not mirrors which we hold up to the world, reflecting its shapes and structures immediately and without distortion. They are, instead, creatures of our own making.⁵⁴²

Derek Gregory and R. Walford

⁵⁴² Derek Gregory and R. Walford, “Introduction: Making Geography”, in *Horizons in Human Geography* (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 1-7, here p. 2.

7.1 Introduction: Re-representing the World

Besides creating a strong and vivid self image and making a record of his life in order to prevent it vanishing, Wang Tao, like many Chinese intellectuals of the late Qing period, wanted to introduce his fellow countrymen to the new worlds he had experienced. Regarding himself as a disciple of Wei Yuan, Wang Tao made it clear that one of his aims in publishing *Jottings of My Roamings* was to “broaden one’s horizons”.⁵⁴³ Lauren Pfister even suggested that *Jottings of My Roamings* was a tool to “promote” Wang’s ideas about reform.⁵⁴⁴ However, this view is too simple, overlooking the complicatedly hybrid content of the travelogue. It is debatable as both the extent of this intention and its effect require further examination. This comment regarding Wang’s intentions, however, can be applied to certain objects, events described and Wang’s attitude as revealed in the travelogue: some objects can be easily identified as more closely related to thoughts of reform while others are less so. Sometimes, Wang Tao directly voiced his advocacy for reform, for instance, when looking at a cannon in a museum in Edinburgh, he concluded,

If China were to adopt the same method to make cannons, it could defend itself against its foreign enemies. How wonderful this would be! It is a pity that the government does not send people to Britain to learn these new methods.⁵⁴⁵

Here, practical measures of reform were written down: Wang Tao discussed the importance of building cannon and training experts in the West, whereas events, such as magical performances or extraordinary people were considered to be less relevant, if not totally irrelevant.

Pfister’s comment also presupposes that Wang Tao had his readers in mind. If

⁵⁴³ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 32

⁵⁴⁴ Lauren Pfister, Yun Kaiyong trans., “Wang Tao yu Liyage du xian yujia youhuan yishi de huiying”, in Wang Man Kong and Lam Kai Yin eds., *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, p.129, footnote 21.

⁵⁴⁵ Wang Tao, “A Visit to the Museums”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 135. The original reads, “倘我國仿此鑄造，以固邊防而御外侮，豈不甚美？惜不遣人來英學習新法也。”

Wang's aim was to promote his reform ideas, he must have had an audience, for or against the reform ideas, in mind. In the preface, Wang commented that he would like his work to provide material for discussion and to open people's eyes to things that were "yi" 異 different (presumably different from China): it is unsurprising that he would introduce something sensational and remarkable.⁵⁴⁶

As a whole, Wang considered the Western world to be different to, and more ideal than China. In this travelogue, the West appeared a mythical place, full of many strange and unimaginable objects and people. Whenever he generalized his feelings about Western cities, Wang sought allusions from metaphors of an immortal world. The first example was when Wang recalled his first trip to Shanghai, commenting that he felt "the atmosphere refreshed all of a sudden" once he reached the city's port area. In the midst of the foggy sea, he saw the Shanghai International Settlement. He then uses allusions associated with an immortal land to describe the Western apartments: "as secluded as in the clouds" (縹緲雲外), like "spiritual mountains beyond the seas, that one can see but not reach"(幾如海外三神山, 可望而不可即).⁵⁴⁷ Later when he visited the London Mission Press, he regarded the factory as "a world of glass" (琉璃世界).⁵⁴⁸ When he went to London, he stated that he had reached another *dongtian* 洞天 (cave paradise).⁵⁴⁹ He felt more and more

⁵⁴⁶ Wang Tao, "Xu", *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 32.

⁵⁴⁷ The three spiritual mountains generally refer to foreign lands over the oceans where the inhabitants enjoy longevity. The story started when the first emperor, Qin shi Huangdi, appointed Xu Fu to find ways to transform humans into immortals. Xu Fu suggested searching overseas in the three spiritual mountains, later regarded as Japan. For more information see Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮, "Xu Fu dao le Riben ma?" 徐福到了日本嗎? (Did Xu Fu get to Japan?) and "Xu Fu, Riben de Zhongguo yimin" 徐福, 日本的中國移民 (Xu Fu, a Chinese immigrant in Japan), in *Gudai de Zhongguo yu Riben* 古代的中國與日本, (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1988), pp. 64-106, and in *Riben de Zhongguo yimin* 日本的中國移民, edited by Zhongguo Zhong-Ri guanxi shi yanjiuhui (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 1987), pp. 29-66.

⁵⁴⁸ Wang Tao, "Mast of Huangpu", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 50.

⁵⁴⁹ "Dongtian" is a Taoist term for paradise, literally "cave paradise", the emphasis, however, is more on "tian" which indicates light behind the cave. Wolfgang Bauer concludes that the term later on became a signifier of a foreign land. In Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*,

“refreshed” when he arrived at new cities one after another.⁵⁵⁰ What were the factors contributing to this kind of feeling? The author then explained by referring to the marvellous things he saw.

Before analysing the sketches drawn out in Wang’s travelogue, there are two aspects which need to be pointed out and will be elaborated on during the course of analysis. Firstly, the book was serialized in *DSZHB*, a successful illustrated paper of the late Qing period, which was a by-product of *Shen Bao* owned by Ernest Major who had introduced the illustrated newspaper to China. Profit was one of Major’s main concerns and *DSZHB* had to survive competition among the media in Shanghai by showing unique things that would appeal to its readers. Considering the question of readers’ perception inevitably leads to the fact that whatever the reader may find attractive and extraordinary, such matters may not be necessarily be considered to be extraordinary by the author himself. This could be a reason why Wang devoted long passages to writing about foreign women and entertainments as these themes had proved popular among his readers.⁵⁵¹

Secondly, although most foreign travelogues of the Late Qing period claimed to stick strictly to the truth, scholars were sceptical about such declaration, commenting that,

While most of these geographical writings maintain the claim of truth, the distinction between fact and fiction was not always clear. Indeed, sometimes the line may be intentionally blurred.⁵⁵²

Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910-1998) also pointed out that many of these works,

translated by Michael Shaw (New York: The Seabury Press, 1976), pp. 192-194. However, here Wang might be using its original meaning as he describes the world at the end of a cave as “an ever luminous country” (長明之國). In “A Short Rest in London”, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 98.

⁵⁵⁰ The “refreshing” feeling is fully demonstrated in “A Glass Building” in which Wang Tao traces his itinerary and makes a conclusion regarding his experience. In *Jottings of My Roamings*, p.101

⁵⁵¹ The popularity of these topics was proved with the success of his three short story collections. For more information, refer to the chapter on Wang’s literary works.

⁵⁵² Hu Ying, “Re-configuring *nei/wai*: Writing the Woman Traveller”, in *Late Imperial China*, 18.1 (1997), p.75.

even those written by conscientious scholars, revealed “the travellers’ leave to lie” (his original phrase).⁵⁵³ In fact, no matter whether travel writers have claimed to be telling the truth, travel writing can never be entirely “objective” or “factual”. Trevor Barnes and James Duncan pointed out that this kind of “naive realism” or “objectivism” should be challenged as “it is humans that decide how to represent things, and not the things themselves”.⁵⁵⁴ If so, even the material found in gazetteers and travel guide books, which were once considered to be just presenting facts with no influence from the author’s attitude or emotion, cannot be considered unproblematic, not to mention travel literature. The theory can be suitably applied to travelogues written by the late Qing travellers which contain vivid re-imaginings of the travellers’ memory: a re-representation of the world. In examining the reconstruction of places visited, and how the world of the traveller is re-represented in texts, another concept articulated by James Duncan and Derek Gregory can help to point out that this act of reconstruction is similar to translation,

Travel writing is an act of translation that constantly works to produce a tense ‘space in-between’. Defined literally, ‘translation’ means to be transported from one place to another, so that it is caught up in a complex dialectic between the recognition and recuperation of difference.....In re-presenting other cultures and other natures, then, travel writers ‘translate’ one place into another, and in doing so constantly rub against the hubris that their own language game contains the concepts necessary to represent other language game.⁵⁵⁵

In the process of translating one culture to another, as in the translation of language,

⁵⁵³ Qian Zhongshu, “Preface”, in Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: Jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha xifang de lishi*, pp. 1-2, here p.1.

⁵⁵⁴ Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, “Introduction: Writing Worlds”, in Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan eds., *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1-17, here, p. 2

⁵⁵⁵ James Duncan and Derek Gregory, “Introduction”, in James Duncan and Derek Gregory eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-13, here, p. 4.

meanings and also values will be changed. While some meanings and values of the visited country will be lost, the culture of home will be infused. Therefore, “the space of translation is not a neutral surface and it is never innocent; it is shot through with relations of power and of desire.”⁵⁵⁶ Whether all this is done self consciously or not by the travellers, Duncan and Gregory do not mention. The important point, however, is that the journey is re-represented in the writing of personal travel experiences.

Wang Tao’s *Jottings of My Romainings* can be viewed within the above theoretical frame. More than this: by examining the compilation of this book, we know that the account is a composite. Editing, rewriting and compiling the travel journal twenty years after the actual journey, the account is progressively distanced from what it was. The previous chapter has shown that Wang’s diary, letters and short stories contain text parallel to the travelogue. Added to that, Wang’s close relations with the publisher, *DSZHB* further complicated the text, because of the question of market interest in Western and sensational materials. All these imply that the composite text is fractured and contains a series of different spatialities. Hence, Wang’s reconstruction of his memory of the journey is obvious.

The argument is divided into two parts, showing the world sketched in the travelogue in two different facets: the first concerns the novelty-hunting nature of the writing which was not uncommon in other *DSZHB* publications. The second part is based on Pfister’s view of the travelogue as a deliberate composite aiming at promoting some kind of political idea. These two facets, although different in nature, do not contradict each other. Also, in the travelogue, they are narrated separately but interwoven. The line to draw between the two facets is also sometimes blurred. For example, when Wang Tao is talking about brilliant intelligent and independent foreign women, it is hard to tell whether he only recounted it out of sheer personal or (and) readers’ interest, or whether he was trying to promote his ideas on equality in education, or both. It is only for the convenience of discussion that I propose to look at the subject matter from two perspectives.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

Another important point to address is Wang Tao's role in reporting his journey. If travel and travel writing can be seen as a process of translation, we cannot overlook the translator. In other words, how Wang positioned himself, whether as an insider, a tourist or an anthropologist, affects the way he saw and reported the West and the places he visited. I will argue that Wang Tao saw and presented himself as an informed insider who had spent enough time to understand how the Western world worked. He reported the Western world in an authoritarian voice, stating, for instance, this was the British way of doing things or that was the true character of Western people.⁵⁵⁷ He never posed questions or queries: he was the one person who understood all about this exotic realm, and knew all the answers. What he needed to do for the audience at home was just explaining everything. His claim to "open one's eyes" showed that he regarded himself a master of the Western subject for his readers. Yet, he was also conscious of being a Chinese intellectual and constantly made it clear that he was observing things useful to China. Therefore, besides being an insider, the author inevitably had the viewpoint of an outsider. His narratives and discussions come from a position that takes Western customs, ways of life and rules seriously and yet from time to time, he distanced himself from Western people, in order to avoid being identified as one of them. This approach and position of the author affected the way he described the places to which he travelled: I see this as his struggle to equalize China and the West (Britain), and this will be further elaborated on in the next chapter.

7.2 A Remarkable World: Uncanny and Miraculous Objects and their Descriptions

It is not difficult to find a large amount of description of strange and miraculous objects, actions, scenery and even people in *Jottings of My Roamings*, such as hilarious circus performances, Western drama, shadow plays, animals that were

⁵⁵⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 106, 112, 114, 132, and 135.

enemies living harmoniously together in a cage, blood shed in Holyrood Palace that was still obvious even after hundreds of years, and human embryos in the Surgeons Hall in Edinburgh.⁵⁵⁸ These things are, by their nature, not closely related to Wang's intention of marketing ideas of reform. Furthermore, they are also not the common "qi shan yi shui" 奇山異水 (remarkable mountains and uncommon rivers) which appeared in much traditional travel writing. They are not even commonly seen in the official foreign accounts of the Late Qing envoys. It is worth noticing that Wang wrote about these topics vividly on many different occasions.

Other than describing the Western cities as "another world", Wang frequently used immortal allusions as a trope to describe Western performers, and Western performance. For example, he described French actresses as wearing *wuzhu* 五銖 dresses,⁵⁵⁹ which were extremely thin and light, and only worn by immortals in Chinese legends. To make it further clear that the actresses were "immortals", Wang said, "I almost thought that she was the Immortal Buxu 步虛, who left her jade and pearl-made Palace, and came to earth."⁵⁶⁰ Wang then used a Buddhist allusion, describing the stance of a dancer as resembling a lotus flower, a typical image of the Bodhisattva in Chinese painting and literature. Western dancing was said to be similar to "tianmo xianrui" 天魔獻瑞 (Immortals presenting good omens) and Western music was like "juntian guangyue" 鈞天廣樂 (Music of Heaven).⁵⁶¹ Both relate to mythical allusions. *Tianmo* is a Buddhist term referring to immortals that tempted humans. Later it was used as a tune title during the Yuan dynasty, the dancers dressing up like Bodhisattva and performing during Buddhist ceremonies,

⁵⁵⁸ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 87-89, 95-98, 130-132, 135.

⁵⁵⁹ For example, in Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858)'s "Sheng nü si" 聖女祠 (The Hall of the Goddess), *wuzhu* clothes are worn by the Goddess. In *Quan Tang shi*, p. 6184.

⁵⁶⁰ Wang Tao, "Watching Drama in Paris", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 88. Buxu, used to describe a Taoist Immortal who can float in the air, is first mentioned in *Han Wudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳 (A Biography of the Private Life of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty), in *Siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v. 1042, p. 14.

⁵⁶¹ Wang Tao, "Watching Drama in Paris", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 88.

maintaining the term's strong religious element.⁵⁶² *Jun tian guang yue* refers to the music played in Heaven, that was heard by King Jian 簡 of Zhao 趙 when he fainted for five days.⁵⁶³ Similar descriptions can be found in “The Grand Dancing Party” in which the imagery of female immortals and lotus flower again appear.⁵⁶⁴ These allusions help to build up the “mythical” nature of the performances.

It is, then, no surprise that the performances were often described as “*shen miao*” 神妙 (miraculous and intriguing), “*guanggui luli*” 光怪陸離 (strange and varied) and “*buke siyi*” 不可思議 (unimaginable).⁵⁶⁵ Wang Tao did not just give readers dry and vague generalizations, instead, detailed descriptions were written to enable visualization. A typical example can be found in “Watching drama in Paris”: when describing the female singers, words and phrases containing sensuous experiences are applied. The bright and colourful yet strange costumes, the shiny stage light, the snowy skin of the singers, the music as melodious as the tune “Rainbow Robe and Feather Coat” (霓裳羽衣), the stage effect of falling petal like rain and fragrant mist are all woven together, bringing the performance to life.

Wang Tao was so keen on strange and miraculous things that sometimes they appeared in a seemingly random way, unconnected with either the previous or the following paragraph. For example after describing the different places he visited in Glasgow, he suddenly added a line about a fat woman he saw there, saying how abnormally heavy she was.⁵⁶⁶ Another example is when he returned to a hostel after visiting Zhan Na 詹那, an Englishman and a big fan of Chinese culture; he suddenly described his horse being able to understand his words.⁵⁶⁷ He even reported events

⁵⁶² More information see Wang Ting 王頌 “Tianmo wu de chuanbo ji yuanyuan” 天魔舞的傳播及淵源 (The spread and origins of Tianmo Dance), in *Menggu shi yanjiu*, No. 8, 2005, section 4, (<http://www.eurasianhistory.com/data/articles/a02/1416.html>).

⁵⁶³ Sima Qian, “The History of Zhao”, *Historical Records*, Vol. 43, p. 1787.

⁵⁶⁴ Wang Tao, “The Grand Dancing Party”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 155-157

⁵⁶⁵ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 84, 88-89, 97, 102.

⁵⁶⁶ Wang Tao, “A Record of My Wandering”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 150.

⁵⁶⁷ Wang Tao, “Visiting the Attractions Again”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 167.

that he had not personally witnessed. For instance, Wang gave a vivid description of an exhibition of remarkable things organized by the French emperor in a new museum in Paris.⁵⁶⁸ He wrote about how marvelous objects were sent from various countries displaying a collection of the most delicate and amazing trifles of the time. How the French emperor appointed officials to write appraisals for each object, and how the owners of the most remarkable objects were rewarded was recorded in detail. Most interestingly, Wang described the facial expressions of the French emperor when his exhibits were also included in the list of awards, how the prince received awards on behalf of his father, the emperor, and how the emperor displayed his great happiness in spite of his best intentions to remain aloof.⁵⁶⁹ This description, in particular, seems to come from a close observation dependent on seeing the most subtle change in the emperor's facial expressions.⁵⁷⁰ However, looking back to the beginning of all those descriptions, Wang stated that he had only heard about it from his guide.⁵⁷¹ Therefore, telling his own feelings and experiences may not have been of primary importance; instead, writing things that are likely to excite readers more closely reflects Wang's concerns.

All of the above has shown that Wang Tao was devoted to writing about strange, miraculous Western objects and events. This could be what Wang Tao thought of the West; it could also reflect what Wang Tao saw as the image of the West in his readers' minds and his desire to recreate that image to suit their taste. Indeed, looking at literary works published in Shanghai in the 1890s, one can quickly spot that Western and uncanny subjects were the most popular.

Before the serialization of *Jottings of My Roamings*, another professional editor, Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827-1898) published his poems written during his journey to

⁵⁶⁸ Wang Tao, "Visiting the New Museum", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 94. The original reads, "一時悅豫之情，殆流露於不自覺焉。"

⁵⁷⁰ In fact, this episode was so vividly written that scholars have seldom pointed out that Wang was in fact recounting what he heard. For example Zhong Shuhe thought that Wang was present at the World Exhibition. In *Zouxian shijie: Jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, p. 151.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid, p. 93.

Europe and the United States in *Shenbao*.⁵⁷² Yuan's was able to gather many responses from the intellectual circles. His travelogue, *Tanying lu* 談瀛錄 (A Record of the Seas) was published in 1884 and republished in 1887.⁵⁷³ For uncanny subjects, Wang Tao's own works provide the best example. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Wang's short stories which contain elements of the "liao zhai" 聊齋 style (the symbol of mysterious stories) and Western subjects (some of the paragraph and ideas come directly from *Jottings of My Roamings*), were serialized in *DSZHB* over three years which was enough to prove their attractiveness. By 1887, Wang Tao had experienced his popularity, not only among intellectuals, but more importantly, among the general readers of Shanghai. Wang Tao must have been aware that both *qi* 奇 (unusual/extraordinary) and Western subjects were the core of marketability in Shanghai. An illustration published in *DSZHB* showing a Western dog playing a piano can help to demonstrate the impression and interest of a miraculous and mythical West that Shanghai readers had during the 1880s and the 90s. (See Illustration 1)⁵⁷⁴

Comparing Wang's descriptions of France and the popular culture of Shanghai

⁵⁷² *Shenbao*, on 25th April, 26th April and 5th May 1883 published many poems written for Yuan's forthcoming journey. Throughout the journey, Yuan's poems were published, see 17th and 19th October 1883, and received many responses in China. When Yuan came back to Shanghai, poems were presented to congratulate him. See *Shenbao*, 23rd January, 5th February, 1884. The reasons for his popularity are three fold. Firstly, the subject matters, novel Western objects and people were always attractive to curious Shanghai readers. Secondly, much accomplishment was owed to him being a descendant of Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), a leading literatus of the mid Qing dynasty. Thirdly, Yuan was an experienced editor, working for *Shanghai xinbao* 上海新報. He was on good terms with the editors of *Shenbao* and *Zilin Hubao* 字林滬報 which always published his works. In 1893, when he was seventy, he was invited to be the chief editor of *Xinwen bao* 新聞報.

⁵⁷³ The first edition was published by Tongwen shuju in 1884. The second edition was published by Guan Keshou zhai shuju in 1887.

⁵⁷⁴ The illustration "Xi quan tanqin" 西犬彈琴 (A Western Dog Plays Piano) was published in *DSZHB*, the 2nd month, 1895. A very similar illustration (especially the three characters and the screen around the piano) can be found in the *Graphic* (17th November 1888) showing a lady playing piano: in *DSZHB*'s version, the lady was replaced by a dog.

enables one to have a clearer view. Wang's record of France is dominated by descriptions of entertainment. Out of the seven episodes relating to France, five are entirely focused on different forms of entertainment. Activities in bars, flirting with courtesans, shows in theatres, circus performances, an exhibition organized by the French emperor and a swing carnival, as well as entertainment from highbrow to lowbrow, were brought to the eyes of Shanghai readers. In contrast with the descriptions of Britain, France was portrayed as a big playground where men and women, emperor and people enjoyed themselves with different activities. Wang Liqun regards Wang Tao as exploring comprehensively all aspects of France, namely politics, economics and education, thus enabling him to reflect on the reforms that should be implemented in China.⁵⁷⁵ I argue that this view simply neglects the chunks of paragraphs focusing on what was considered to be entertaining in France. The first and last thing he mentioned in Marseille was the coffee shops and the flirting of the men and the bar girls. When describing Paris, two essays are entirely devoted to the *you wan* (playing) places and the performances there.

With reference to the above discussion, it is also relevant to point out that the reasons for the different descriptions of France and Britain are more complex, relating not only to what he actually saw in the two countries, but also what he knew about and felt towards them. The differences between the descriptions of France and Britain are apparent: France is described in an entertaining way with all kinds of magical performances, while Wang focuses more on statecraft matter when writing about Britain.

The first reason can be the length of stay that had affected Wang's impression of the two countries. Wang stayed in France for at most a couple of weeks, whereas he spent two years in Britain. The length of traveling is vital in analyzing the traveller's view and reflections. When Kwok Siu Tong distinguished the differences between

⁵⁷⁵ Wang Liqun, "Wang Tao bi xia de Faguo xingxiang" 王韜筆下的法國形象 (The Image of France in Wang's Works), *Journey of University of Science and Technology of Beijing*, 23.2 (2007), and pp. 123-127.

lüyou and *xingyou*,⁵⁷⁶ he noted that a tour always results in novel-seeking whereas a trudge enables the travellers to have more reflections on their own cultures and the culture of the other. Wang's travel in France is more like a tour covering a short period of time.⁵⁷⁷ Similarly, Urs Bitterli divided encounters between cultures into "contact", "collisions" and "relationships". "Contact", being the shortest, often results in a rather superficial account, "with insufficient understanding of the context and the historical implications".⁵⁷⁸ Wang's impressions of France came from the "contact" in which he was interested primarily in the sensational and novel objects rather than the essence of French culture.

Secondly, in contrast to the first point, although Wang's first hand contact with France was limited, his impression of France was built on a lot of secondary information that he acquired through English newspapers when he wrote *A Record of Franco-Prussian War* (1871). Wang's impressions of France were never as positive as those he held of Britain. For him, Britain appeared to be a better model for modernization as he suggested in the travelogue, "Britain was the wealthiest among European countries."⁵⁷⁹ In comparison, he commented that the French were lustier, whereas the British followed the old honest traditions. France military parades were regarded as "showing off", whereas British parades were praised as a precaution for national defence. This point is of particular interest when looking at Wang's ideas for a strong country and will be analyzed in the next chapter.

7.3 The Readership of Shanghai

From the above analysis, if Wang Tao wrote this travelogue merely to promote his ideas of reform, he would have commented solely on military developments,

⁵⁷⁶ For a discussion on Kwok's ideas and his translation of *xingyou*, see Introduction.

⁵⁷⁷ Kwok Siu Tong, *Lixing: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, pp.74-76.

⁵⁷⁸ Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), Introduction and pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷⁹ Wang Tao, "Miscellaneous Records of My Travels", in *Jottings of Roamings*, p. 117.

education systems, legal system and city planning, as many envoys did. The market was what made the text a hybrid of grand proclamations of reform and interesting descriptions of sensational objects of the West. I suggest further examining the voluminous descriptions of curious and entertaining objects in terms of the interests of the readers of Shanghai—the main market for *DSZHB*.

Shanghai was not an important city prior to its opening as a treaty port after 1841. Run by a council formed by Western landholders, however, the Shanghai International Settlement quickly developed into a place that was considered to be optimal for the businessmen. The environment of the International Settlement was also completely different from other cities of China. There were many new and Western material objects, such as the telephone, the street lamp, and public gardens with which the Chinese were not familiar. These new things provided interesting subject matter, and guide books were written to introduce the new way of life in the settlement.⁵⁸⁰ Entertainment featured prominently and “restaurants and theatres as well as tea and courtesan houses eagerly and successfully explored this time/space”. Catherine Yeh has pointed out that by 1860 “Entertainment had become one of the city’s main attractions for wealthy retirees and active businessmen.”⁵⁸¹ She even compared Shanghai’s situation with Paris as both cities were famous for popular culture and entertainment which provided the main source of income. Shanghai emerged to become a “playground”, and the Paris described by Wang Tao had a similar image. Although the scenes of theatre performance, courtesan houses, coffee

⁵⁸⁰ Examples of these guide books include Ge Yuanxu’s 葛元煦 *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of My Travels in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989). The book was finished in 1876 when Ge, a native of Hangzhou who moved to Shanghai in 1861, aimed to provide newcomers with a guide so that they would not feel lost. See Ge’s preface and Yun Zuzhi’s preface of the book, pp. 6-7. Other examples include Zuo Tao’s 鄒弢 *Haishang dengshilu* 海上燈市錄 (The Lantern Markets of Shanghai) (Shanghai: 1885), and Chen Qiao’s 辰橋 *Shenjiang baiyong* 申江百詠 (A Hundred Poems of Shanghai) (Shanghai: 1887).

⁵⁸¹ Catherine Yeh, “Shanghai Leisure, Print Entertainment, and the Tabloids, *xiaobao*”, in Rudolf Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspaper 1870-1910*, pp. 210-203.

shops and Western restaurants had become a common part of the city life in Shanghai, it would still be interesting to see what a Western city and its kinds of entertainment were like. In fact, Paul Cohen suggested that the most important achievement of Wang Tao's journey to Europe was his actual experience of living in Western countries and his contacts with Westerners,⁵⁸² which few people, even after twenty years of his travel, would be able to know. Events like swing performances or exhibitions organized by the French Emperor are, of no question, intriguing for readers even nowadays. Introducing sensational and curious objects or events, in itself, was also an entertainment, in the form of printing papers. As early as the 1870s, the printing press, *Shen Bao*, had already seized the opportunity to make its illustrated papers both educational and entertaining.

What was the perception of the Shanghai readers of this printed form of entertainment? What were the strategies *DSZHB* adopted to meet these expectations?⁵⁸³ Nanny Kim describes *DSZHB* as having “a readership with enough of an open and positive interest in current and interesting—including Western—affairs, that light elements of it could even be their leisure time.”⁵⁸⁴ Indeed, while stressing the educational purpose of the illustrated paper, one should not neglect its entertainment value. In fact, the editorial in *Shen Bao* advertising *DSZHB*, stated that the materials selected were aimed at providing good-natured banter (雅謔)

⁵⁸² Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in late Ch'ing China*, p. 73.

⁵⁸³ Concerning the question of readership and *DSZHB*'s strategies to suit the market taste, it is helpful to point out that the target reader of *DSZHB* is not necessarily the same as the real reader. With the difficulty in acquiring data from the actual readers of the time, here, the rendering of the readers, perceptions to certain topics is based on the analysis of the content and presentation of *DSZHB*. The editors' perceptions were not necessarily the products of a reified Chinese culture of the time. However, the content and presentation of the illustrated paper can be seen as an intentional representation designed to attract people to buy, projected by a group of editors who had a well-developed understanding of what was likely to be profitable.

⁵⁸⁴ Nanny Kim, “New Wine in Old Bottles? Making and Reading an Illustrated Magazine from Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai”, in Rudolf Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspaper 1870-1910*, p.179.

and topics for discussion for lower class people (助科頭跣足之傾談).⁵⁸⁵ The argument is even better illustrated in a statistic showing the proportion of different topics published by *DSZHB*, in which strange and miraculous objects and people covered a significant amount of each issue, undermining any suggestion that they were included as “filler material”.⁵⁸⁶ To the readers, pictures of a monstrous babies or six-legged pig were of interest, as was the obese woman in Glasgow or the mummies in the British Museum.⁵⁸⁷ They shared a similar novelty status.

This argument becomes clearer when looking at the illustrations published together with *Jottings of My Roamings*. As the last episode, “Attending various banquets” was probably not serialized in *DSZHB*, there were only fifty illustrations in the *DSZ* version.⁵⁸⁸ Right from the beginning of publication, *DSZHB* adopted a picture-text format. As its name *huabao* (pictorial paper) states, the pictures are probably of more importance to the whole business, and thus revealed more about the press’s assumption of readers’ taste than the text. A number of professional painters joined the *DSZHB*, including the most famous Wu Youru 吳友如, who did most of illustrations for Wang’s short stories until he left Shanghai in 1886, and then Tian Zilin 天子琳 and Zhang Zhiying 張志瀛 did the illustrations of the travelogue. Although different painters had their own styles, they shared in common the agenda of showing the readers interesting and sensational objects and events.

As picture, unlike text, could only depict a particular moment, the painters had to choose which part of the traveling episode they would like to focus on, thus their choice and their way of illustration could be very telling. The pictures about Wang’s travel within China were relatively easy to paint as the characters and scenario would

⁵⁸⁵ *Shenbao*, 26th June 1884.

⁵⁸⁶ Ye Xiaoqing, “*Dianshi Zhai Huabao zhong de Shanghai pingmin wenhua*” 點石齋畫報中的上海平民文化 (Popular Culture in Shanghai), *Ershi shiji* 1 (1990), pp. 36-47.

⁵⁸⁷ Wang Tao, “A Record of My Wanderings”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 150.

⁵⁸⁸ According to Wang Tao’s preface, however, the painters of *DSZHB* had drawn him a total of eighty pictures, probably including his *Fusang youji*, as an initial plan. These pictures and *Fusang youji*, however, were not serialized in *DSZHB* or anywhere else.

have been familiar for the painters. For Wang's episodes about foreign lands, the pictures were dominated with buildings, probably what the painters could observe in Shanghai. However, they had their own ideas of the West. For example, in the illustration "The Old Palace of Edinburgh", the painter portrayed the Scottish palace as a Chinese palace, and a monument on Carlton Hill as a Chinese pagoda. (see Illustration 3)⁵⁸⁹ The painters would choose what attracted them or what they considered to be attractive to readers. For example, when illustrating Wang's visit to the British Museum, the author described many artifacts in the museum, but the painter was clearly attracted to a few interesting points and depicted them in his own way. The illustration was composed of several buildings, one with a huge fish inside, the other with a cow, probably in response to Wang's descriptions of a specimen of a whale and a unicorn. (See Illustration 4) Similarly, when illustrating Wang's visit to Edinburgh, in which he talked about the University of Edinburgh and a museum with all kinds of strange objects, the painter chose to accentuate the whale's skeleton that filled the entire playground (which should be the painter's imagination of a museum). (See Illustration 5) In an illustration of Wang's visit to York where he met a group of merchants, discussing the ways to ban the opium trade, the painter, however, was more interested in Wang's relations with some playful ladies who tricked him with chili powder.⁵⁹⁰

The painters of the travelogue clearly read through the text as in many illustrations, they put in every little detail of the visit, but at the same time, they had their own interpretation of the text and their concern of their own interests and the interest of the readers.⁵⁹¹ From the examples above, it is clear that they tended to

⁵⁸⁹ Wang Tao, *Jotting of My Roamings*, p. 131.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 104, 134, and 161.

⁵⁹¹ Lin Lili described the phenomenon as "tensions between pictures and texts". In "The Popularity of Images about the West in the Late Qing Dynasty—Beginning with the Tension and Difference of the Illustration in Wang Tao's Jottings and Drawings from Carefree Travels", a paper presented at the 2008 Hangzhou International Symposium on Sinology and Sino-Foreign Relations and Exchanges, 24-27th October, 2008. Also see Chen Shiru, "Youyi yu aimei: Wang Tao *Manyou suilu* de celüe

choose objects that would be likely to strike readers with awe. Wang's comments on how China should modernize by adopting certain Western measures were not revealed in the painters' works.

7.4 *Woyou* or Armchair Travelling: Publishing Travel Related Topics with Ernst Major

The idea of *woyou* 臥遊 (armchair traveling) was also an eye-catching concept in both *Jottings of My Roamings* and *DSZHB*. In the preface to the travelogue, Wang mentioned a friend who quoted the term *woyou* when suggesting that he should publish his travelogue. The term *woyou* alluded to Zong Bing 宗炳 of the South and North Dynasties who was too ill to pursue his interest in travelling. He demanded a display of various pictures of different places.⁵⁹² He could then “travel” to all those places without leaving his bed. The idea of travelling while reclining, or armchair travelling, was revived in an editorial in *DSZHB*.⁵⁹³ *Woyou* is of particular interest when viewing *DSZHB* and its forerunner, *Yinghuan Tuhua* 瀛環圖畫 (Global Illustrations), also a product of *Shen Bao*.⁵⁹⁴

Scholars have suggested that traditional Shanghai woodblock prints already revealed interest in contemporary matters and scenes. Illustrations of places and objects that were new and curious, for example, the Wusong 吳淞 Railway, the Shanghai International Settlement and Nanjing Road in Shanghai were published

shuxie yu guankan zhidao” 游移與曖昧——王韜《漫遊隨錄》的策略書寫與觀看之道 (Oscillation and Ambiguity: The Strategy of Composition and the Way of Observing in *Selections from Jottings of Carefree Travels* by Wang Tao), in *Feng Chia Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 13.12 (2006), pp. 107-129, here, pp. 112-113.

⁵⁹² Shen Yue, *Song shu* 宋書 (The History of the Song Dynasty), p. 2279.

⁵⁹³ *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, no. 178 (mid-February, 1898).

⁵⁹⁴ Nanny Kim pointed out that the idea of *woyou* in *DSZHB* was the best way to introduce extraordinary things to its readers. She says, “during the life of the *DSZHB*, *woyou* became the term for ‘armchair traveling’. In “New Wine in Old Bottles? Making and Reading an Illustrated Magazine from Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai”, in Rudolf Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspaper 1870-1910*, p.194.

earlier than *DSZHB*.⁵⁹⁵ Ernest Major simply tapped into the business of the illustrated printing of places and objects of interest. *Global Illustrations*, set up in 1876, was Ernest Major's first attempt to publish an illustrated paper. It included picture of places in both China and the West.⁵⁹⁶ In September 1876, a map of East Asia was printed as a supplement to the illustrated paper. Rudolf Wagner saw it as fulfilling the readers' interest to "travel through East Asia with the eyes and fingers".⁵⁹⁷ When Dianshi Zhai was a lithography printing studio, in 1879, it printed illustrations of the wonders of Shanghai as a supplement to *Shen Bao*.⁵⁹⁸ In 1884, being an illustrated paper, *DSZHB* continued to serve as a medium both to disseminate new information and to provide entertainment. As mentioned above, the West had always been a heated topic in Shanghai: after printing local (Shanghai) and regional (East Asia) illustrations, perhaps, illustrations serving as a means to *woyou* the West would be expected to be a popular topic. Although there is no proof that the "friend" mentioned in the preface is Ernest Major or indeed anyone from *DSZHB*, by considering the strong link between *Shenbao* and Wang Tao, it is still no coincidence that *DSZHB* would take an interest in serializing and publishing *Jottings of My Roamings*.

Nanny Kim further analyzed the notion of *woyou* from the reader's perspective, suggesting that armchair travelling was one of the best ways to introduce new things to readers as it offers "possibilities to test new or extraordinary things in a noncommittal way", and "is a very gradual form of getting used to the foreign world breaking into China."⁵⁹⁹ In other words, while reading about new and novel things

⁵⁹⁵ Huang Ke, "Shishi fengsu huapai de fayuan", 時事風俗畫派的發源, (The Origin of Political and Customarily Illustrations), in *Wenhui Bao*, 6th Oct, 1996.

⁵⁹⁶ For more information see Rudolf Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginarie: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper Dianshizhai Huabao", in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspaper 1870-1910*, pp. 111-113.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 112.

⁵⁹⁸ *Shenjiang shenjing tu* 申江勝景圖 (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1884).

⁵⁹⁹ Nanny Kim, "New Wine in Old Bottles? Making and Reading an Illustrated Magazine from Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai", in Rudolf Wagner ed. *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and*

from other places, readers found no need either to leave their homeland physically, or to break away from their way of life psychologically. In line with *DSZHB*'s strategies of publishing sensational and extraordinary things, *Jottings of My Roamings*, full of aspects of "foreign-ness", was issued as a supplement to *DSZHB*, as a strategy to attract readers.

After understanding the forces working behind the scene, it is easy to explain why the author was so interested in recording strange objects, entertaining shows and mythical events. After all, although Western issues were generally interesting topics for discussion, Catherine Yeh noted that what readers found most interesting may not have been those "grand proclamations on China's need to modernize" but "trivial matters".⁶⁰⁰ Yeh's idea can be borrowed here as an exact description of the subject matter found in Wang Tao's travelogue. Her perspective sheds light on the understanding of Wang's interest in recounting his visits to museums. The idea of a museum, itself was new to him and his readers. He first mentioned one in his account of Hong Kong, but only very briefly: this may have been because it was no match for the museums he visited in Europe, but nevertheless, was a landmark of a Westernized city. Wang was aware of the intention of Britain "showing off" in setting up museums and collecting things from all around the world. His subtle feelings for this imperialistic intention, however, are downplayed by his motivation of novelty-hunting and the educational value he saw in those museums.⁶⁰¹ In fact, his amazement (and the amazement he expected from readers) towards the collections alone serves to explain why he devoted so many words to a long list and vivid descriptions of the collections, sometimes even a whole essay. While official travel writings at that time are sometimes described as "novelty-hunting", Wang's case is further complicated by a consideration of the market factor, which spurred Wang to add more sensational, chic and even shocking materials to order to enrich his records

City in Early Chinese Newspaper 1870-1910, p.194.

⁶⁰⁰ Catherine Yeh, "Shanghai Leisure, Print Entertainment, and the Tabloids, *xiaobao*", p. 203.

⁶⁰¹ Wang Tao, "The British Museum", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 106

and attract readers. Thus, the nature of the book should be examined against the background of the dissemination of interesting information and the culture of entertainment in Shanghai.



Illustration 1 A Western Dog Plays the Piano (DSZHB, Li 8. 1905)



Illustration 2 The original picture changed “A Western Dog Plays the Piano” (London Graphics, November 17, 1888)

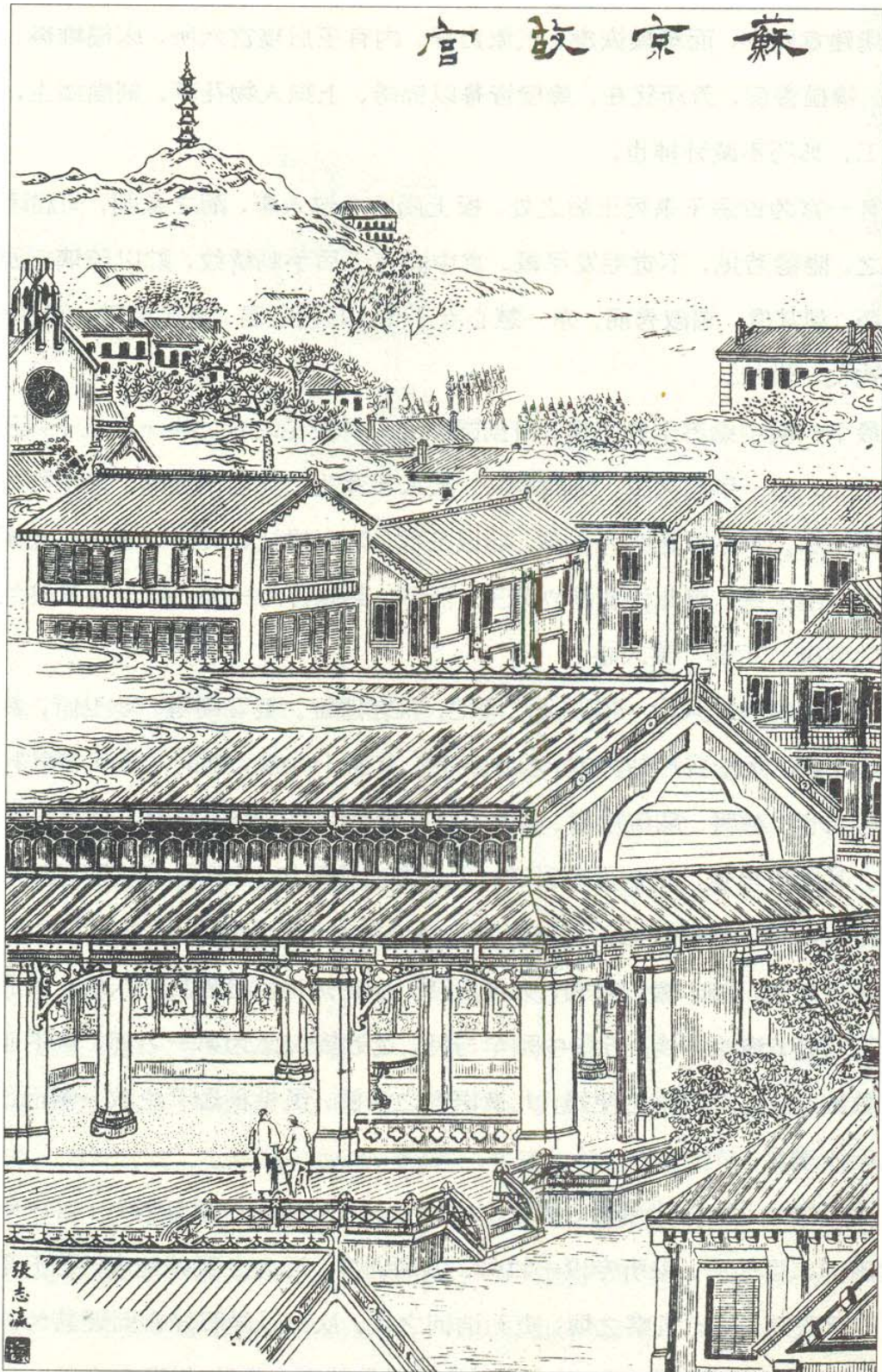


Illustration 3 The Old Palace of Edinburgh

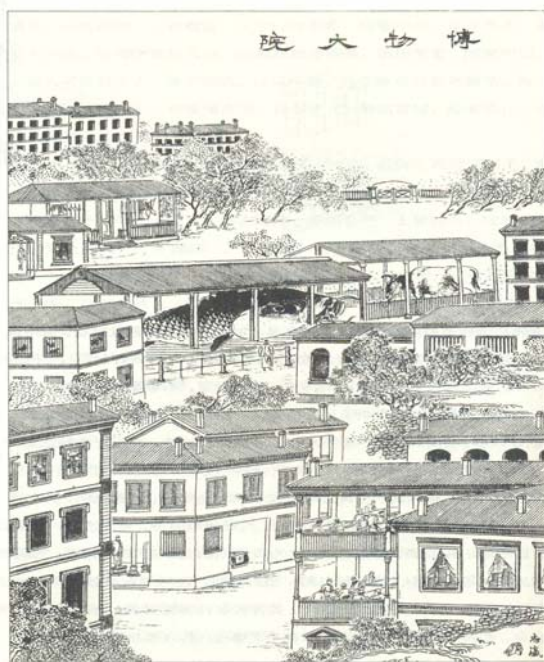


Illustration 4 Visiting the British Museum

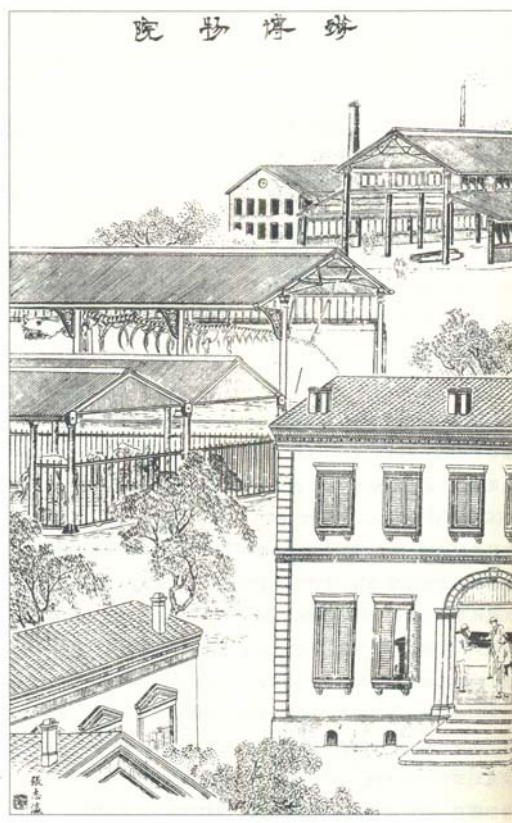


Illustration 5 Visiting Museums

(Illustrations 3-5 are reproduced from Wang Tao, *Manyou suli, Fusang youji*, p. 130, 103 and 133)

Chapter 8 Sketches of a Remarkable World II

8.1 Fragments of an Ideal World

In the previous chapter, I questioned the validity of looking at *Jottings of My Roamings* as a proposal for reform, for although there is no doubt that Wang did discuss about his reform ideas, he did so in a most discursive style. Apart from the market factor that partly inspired the author to include descriptions of interesting objects in between the calls for reform, the narration of a travelogue depends on what comes before the eyes of the traveller. The mode of narration ensures that Wang was unable to elaborate on his reform ideas step by step in the same way that he did in his editorials and letters. Opinions and arguments interwoven into narration of journeys provide the main layout. Rather than articulating the needs for, and measures of, reform, the travelogue approaches the question in another way—depicting fragments of Wang Tao’s imagined ideal world.

Researchers suggested that when describing France and Britain, Wang was trying to piece together an idealized country, a role model, for China.⁶⁰² This, however, seems to suggest that Wang’s ideal world was equal to the Western world, and that he considered everything in the West to be ideal. It would be mistaken to suggest that Wang Tao advocated “complete westernization” when constructing his idealized society. In *Jottings of My Roamings* and other works, Wang had always regarded himself as a Confucian scholar and Chinese values were applied when he explained his experiences in the West. For him, westernization was never the ideal option for the modernization of China. Secondly, as mentioned above, travel writing

⁶⁰² Wang Liqun, “Wang Tao bi xia de Faguo xingxiang” 王韜筆下的法國形象 (The Image of France in Wang’s Works), in *Journey of University of Science and Technology of Beijing*, 23.2 (2007), pp. 123-129. “Manyou Suilu zhong sui suzao de Yingguo xingxiang” 《漫遊隨錄》中所塑造的英國形象 (The Image of Britain in *Manyou Suilu*), in *Journey of University of Science and Technology of Beijing*, 21.1 (2005), pp. 76-82. See also Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: Jindai zhishi fenzi kaochao xifang de lishi*, 150-154.

is never merely the revelation of facts. When discoursed into texts, what is revealed depends not on the facts, but on how the author frames his experiences. For *Jottings of My Roamings*, which was not written all at one time, it is also possible that Wang used some of his later thoughts as a lens to look into his earlier journeys. Therefore, the reconstruction of his journey and the Western world from his recollections was influenced in some complex ways by his thoughts from the start of his journey until the travelogue was finally published.

Because Wang did not advocate complete Westernization and the ideas revealed in the travelogue were not based entirely on his immediate impressions of the West, the West depicted in the travelogue embodied both traditional Chinese, and what the author considered to be adoptable Western values. One of the objectives of this chapter is to show how both Chinese traditions and “new” Western values can be found and synthesized in Wang’s descriptions of his ideal modern world.

The presence of both Western and traditional Chinese discourses can be explained from two perspectives. Wang Tao already had considerable contact with Westerners when he worked in Shanghai and Hong Kong, and had stayed in the West for two years, so he had a much deeper understanding than those who just stayed for a short period. The relatively long period of time enabled interaction that was more profound allowing for comparisons and reflections of both his cultural identity and the culture of the West. As Eric Leed pointed out during the course of contact, travellers inevitably compare and contrast their own culture with the other even though Leed thought it was difficult to discern the actual advantage of doing so.⁶⁰³ Here, the theory of travelling as translation is helpful: very often travellers will use their own culture as guidelines to explain their new experiences (a process of comparison), thus, “translating” the new, unfamiliar experiences by means of an old and known discourse.⁶⁰⁴ This also explains why Chinese discourse is present. This

⁶⁰³ Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 68.

⁶⁰⁴ I have discussed some relevant points of this theory in the introduction of the previous chapter, in

phenomenon does not exist only in Wang's travelogues. It was Wang's attitude towards Chinese values that made him outstanding. The fact that his confidence in Confucian values was not blinded which was not because of his identity as a Chinese, but rather through an invariable comparison with the Western values he encountered. Based on his profound knowledge of Chinese learning and his personal experience of the current situation in China, Wang was able to make meaningful comparisons and selectively acquire useful Western ideas.

In addition, since Wang's objective in writing the travelogue was primarily to introduce the new, Western world, both materially and spiritually, to Chinese readers, a new discourse to describe the West was required. Compared with his contemporaries, he had a more detailed and in-depth observation and discussion, especially about Western values. He observed many things his contemporaries had hardly noticed, but which were of utmost importance for Wang's political ideas.

8.2 A Peaceful World

For Wang Tao, a peaceful and serene country was neither only desirable environment for literati, nor a symbol of a strong government, but most importantly a secret dream that had haunted him since he left his hometown Fuli. Reading the first few episodes of *Jottings of My Roamings* leads one to notice that such a strong attraction may have come from his memory of his early life: a destroyed dream world that he inevitably recalled again and again in his later life.

McAleavy has noted that when Wang recounted his earlier life the tone is full of affection.⁶⁰⁵ This impression comes from the stage Wang set at the beginning. His personal experience is joined with that of the surrounding by juxtaposing the scenery (mostly the architectural detail of the place) with human gestures. Fuli was described as a lovely quiet town, full of refined interest for the literati; however, the tone is also one of disappointment. The lovelier it was in Wang's memory, the more he felt

which I outlined a few theories that will frame the discussions in these two chapters.

⁶⁰⁵ Henry McAleavy, *Wang T'ao 1828?-1890. The life and writings of a displaced person*, p. 1.

disappointed when he was deprived of it. Wang's memory of his hometown is narrated in a repeated pattern of pleasure followed by the pain of loss. It was this pain that drove him to seek a similarly idyllic, home-like life during his journeys, most obviously in his accounts about Britain.

From the beginning Wang brings out the idea of fate, that the survival of people's fame, literary works, or in fact everything people treasured depended on nothing but an unpredictable destiny. Lu Guimeng, a Bohemian literatus of the Tang dynasty, was mentioned in the first episode of the travelogue. Although talented in literature, Lu's work only survived by sheer luck. Thus, Wang comments that, "whether people are famous or unknown is pre-destined".⁶⁰⁶ This poignant tone provides a background for the peaceful town of Fuli, in which Wang had enjoyed all sorts of literary interests. The final part of this episode returned to a sad tone to echo with the beginning. A story of ducks and Lu Guimeng was mentioned to show that, again, whether things would survive depends on fate. The originally ignorant ducks became an "innocent trifle" of literati because Lu had made a joke about them. The versatile nature of one's life was accentuated twice in this episode which inevitably led the readers to anticipate the short-lived nature of the enjoyable life being described. Interestingly, throughout the narration, there is no indication that Wang was writing from his memory, he made it sound like an on-going state of affairs. The memory, rather than looking like a chronology, is a motionless one. It is fixed in the space—Fuli. He described events as "each year", "in summer, there are", "there are gatherings every three days". There were no signs of past versus present, until the last sentence that linked his memory to the present.⁶⁰⁷ Only then do readers realize that the happy moments have all gone. The sudden twist dramatized Wang's pain in losing the kind of life he had enjoyed in Fuli forty years ago and echoes with the unpredictability of life expressed throughout the episode.

The same story of unpredictable destiny reappears in the next two episodes.

⁶⁰⁶ Wang Tao, "Gazing at the lotuses of the Duck Pond", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 35.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 35-37.

Wang enjoyed parties with his friends in Plum Blossom Villa. However, at the height of their pleasure, interruptions came one after the other. First, Wang's friend died, and thereafter he found no one with the same interests as him. Then, all the plum trees that were regarded as virtuous immortals were destroyed in great floods. Wang himself was forced to go to Shanghai. The final blow was the loss of the only memento —the painting of the villa, mentioned at the beginning, was burnt during the Taiping Rebellion.⁶⁰⁸ The same story of a broken dream is repeated in the third episode. Two instances of repetition are easily spotted because of ambiguity in Wang's narration of time. After describing interesting details of the *yuanxiao* 元宵 (lantern festival) celebration, Wang turns to history and ponders an imagined picture: "At that time, blossoms fell haphazardly like rain, inspiring the audience." Wang continues, "Now this place was used to provide tea for lay people."⁶⁰⁹ The readers realized the word "now" actually refers to the past after reading the next anecdote, in which even these places for lay people no longer exist. Wang's friend, Jiang Busong, with whom Wang Tao had meditated, was killed by the Taiping rebels. The monastery was left in ruins, and most grievous of all he commented that "nobody cares".⁶¹⁰

His affection then turned to a feeling of nostalgia, revealing not only his love for Fuli, but also the kind of idle and peaceful lifestyle he missed. However, this does not mean that he desired to become a recluse aloof from worldly affairs. Like many other Chinese literati, his desire to be a recluse only appeared when he needed a vehicle to vent his frustrations over his failures. Indeed, in the travelogue, the concept of "returning home" is only mentioned when he voices such disappointments.⁶¹¹ For Wang Tao, such thoughts were temporary and romantic.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁸ Wang Tao, "Seeking out Plums in an Ancient Villa", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 35-38.

⁶⁰⁹ Wang Tao, "Listening to the Pine Trees at Baosheng", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 38-40.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 100, 157, and 158.

⁶¹² Bauer used Tao Qian's "Peach Blossom Spring" to explain one aspect of his idea of "the world behind the caves". Unlike the previous Taoist influenced paradise, Tao's paradise was close to the real

Thus I argue that it was the lifestyle of the recluse in a memory firmly attached to Fuli that he enjoyed rather the true existence of a genuine recluse. After Wang Tao was suspected of treason and forced to flee to Hong Kong, there was little hope of him embracing that kind of life again. Even as early as after he left Fuli and went to Shanghai, he knew that he could never return to the past again. Throughout the narration of the first three episodes, the feeling of affection is intermingled with pain. Imperfections often appear at the height of happy moments. It is because of these imperfections and pain that when Wang went on his journeys, the image of a peaceful paradise, where people could live a leisurely life, free to talk about what they felt, or simply be themselves, reappeared to him. This allure seeps into other episodes of the travelogue, so that although Wang, like his contemporaries, was amazed by the well-planned Western cities, he always showed an unusually deeper interest in the countryside and seaside of Britain and above all, the carefree life of the British. This is a distinctive feature because the leisurely lives of Western commoners were not a regular subject matter in the travel writings of the time when travellers were most concerned with cities, arsenals, and factories. Only Li Shuchang wrote about British people enjoying holidays in Brighton or corridas in Spain, and found them significant enough to record.⁶¹³

world, inhabited by real people. In addition, it had been part of the real world, not one that had evolved out of imagination. In Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness: Recurring Themes in Four Thousand Years of Chinese Cultural History*, pp. 189-191. However, because it had disappeared already, it is only there in one's recollection, thus giving it a temporary and romantic aspect.

⁶¹³ Guo Yuheng, *Zhongguo sanwen shi* 中國散文史 (A History of Chinese Prose), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 588. Mei Xinlin, Yu Zhanghua, *Zhongguo youji wenxue shi* 中國遊記文學史 (A History of Chinese Travel Literature), (Beijing: Xuelin chubanshe, 2004), p. 409. Yin Dexiang, "Meiwen haicong xingxiang shuo: Li Shuchang 'You Bulaiduan ji' de xingxiang xue jiedu" 美文還從形象說: 黎庶昌《遊卜來敦記》的形象學解讀, in *Masterpiece Review*, 3 (2006), pp. 78-81. The original text refers to Li Shuchang, "You Bulaiduan ji" 遊卜來敦記 (A Travel to Brighton), in *Zhuozunyuanyuan congkao*, 拙尊園叢稿 (Collected Works of Zhuozunyuanyuan), Vol 5, (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), pp. 385-386 "Dou niu zhi xi" 鬥牛之戲 (Corrida), in *Xiyang zazhi* 西洋雜誌

When passing through Dunfermline, Wang was delighted by the breathtaking scenery. He recorded an intriguing comment he made to James Legge's third daughter, Marian when she asked him whether the scenery was better than that of Jiangnan. Wang certainly felt proud of the scenery of Dengwei and Moli which he had described in detail in previous essays, but he added, "it is a pity that there (in China) is nobody to appreciate that. As far as geographical location is concerned, it is better here."⁶¹⁴ Wang Tao did not further explain what he meant by this comment, especially, the second sentence about geographical location which appeared odd as Wang had already claimed that both places were equally beautiful. By juxtaposing the comment with earlier episodes about his earlier life, however, a meaningful interpretation can be made. Because of the differences in location, even though there was beautiful scenery in China, no one appreciated it. According to his earlier descriptions of the places in the book, it might be that Jiangnan was adversely affected by battles between the Qing court and the Taiping rebels, as had happened to his hometown, Dengwei, Moli and Nanjing. Houses were burnt down, scenes were bleak. Even in the midst of happiness, Wang could not help thinking about the death.⁶¹⁵ It might also be because Chinese people, especially men of letters, were heavily burdened with the internal upheavals and external invasions with the result that they had neither had the time nor inclination to appreciate beautiful nature. In fact, when the concept of "xiuxian" 休閒 (leisure) was first introduced in Shanghai, the editor of *Youxi bao* 遊戲報, Li Boyuan 李伯元, struggled hard to justify it as intellectuals of the time were expected to deal with more serious subjects.⁶¹⁶

(A Sketch of the West), eds. Yu Yueheng and Zhu Xinyuan (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 122-124.

⁶¹⁴ Wang Tao, "The Old Palace of Edinburgh", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 130.

⁶¹⁵ Wang Tao, "Embracing the Spectacular Scenery of Moli", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 54.

⁶¹⁶ Li Boyuan's editorial can be found in A Ying, *Wanqing wenyi baokan shulüe* 晚清文藝報刊述略 (A Brief Survey of Literary Magazines of the late Qing) (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958), p. 66. Another editorial "Benguan qianju Si malu shuo" 本館遷居四馬路說 (On the Removal of our Press to Si Malu) was also written to refute the criticism of there being too little news of politics in the

Wang had more reasons to appreciate the carefree life he found in Britain. When visiting Leith in Edinburgh, he described how people enjoyed sea bathing along the city's shores and spent their evenings in the public parks, talking about whatever they liked and to whoever they wanted, with no consideration of race and with no taboo subjects.⁶¹⁷ This phrase appears to be in sharp contrast with Wang's experience in China. When talking about the reason for his exile, he referred to "a disaster of words".⁶¹⁸ It is no coincidence that Wang Tao emphasized taboo in this case. When describing British customs, Wang pointed out several times that the British were friendly to foreigners and never discriminated against people of a different race. When considering the situation of the Qing dynasty, a foreign dynasty, in which *huayi zhibian* had always been a taboo, especially when racial problems were involved in the internal uprisings in the nineteenth century, such as the Taiping Rebellion.⁶¹⁹

Certainly, leisurely life was not unique to Britain. When Wang Tao discussed the British way of life, he employed images of traditional Chinese paradise and even resembled the practices that enabled an idyllic pastoral life in Britain to that of ancient China, a legendary period that Chinese intellectuals had always considered to be a model society. This, however, does not necessarily prove that Wang Tao, like some scholar-officials at the court, suggested that Western modernity had originated in China. For those who suggested such an idea, their real intention was to justify their advocacy of learning from the West. As for Wang Tao, from his writings, he

press. In *Youxi Bao*, 2nd October, 1897.

⁶¹⁷ Wang Tao, "A Record of a Trip to the Shore", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 140.

⁶¹⁸ Wang Tao, "My Sojourn in Hong Kong", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 58. The "disaster of words" (語禍) refers to Wang's disputes with the Taipings when he was accused of treason by the Qing court. Refer to Chapter 4.

⁶¹⁹ The Taiping Rebellion was led by a group of Hakka people from Guangdong province. They condemned the Qing government as a foreign (non-Chinese) power, and called for the overthrow of the Manchus. The Taipings cut off their queues in order to show they were ethnically different from the Manchu. For more information see Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son: the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, (London: Harper Collins, 1996).

justified learning from the West by enlisting the strength of the West and analyzing the causes for this strength. Also, with his more open-minded readers in Shanghai, Wang did not need such a strategy. Therefore, rather than suggesting the mentioning of ancient China as a rhetoric device to convince his readers to support reforms, it would be more reasonable to think that Wang was “translating” the British countryside life into what Chinese readers could best understand.

Wang visited a court in Edinburgh and praised the jury system, commenting “following the ancient practice of China, I sighed at the preservation of the old customs”.⁶²⁰ When describing pasture land in a suburb of London, he wrote “the British need neither to keep an eye on their livestock, nor to worry about thieves” because they were “honest”. Also, “people there are modest and sincere. People, whether nobles or commoners, seldom quarrel with one another.”⁶²¹ However, according to Wang Tao it was a pity that in China at that time, such traits were not common. He concluded his impression of Edinburgh by stating,

People are so elegant and kind that they compete with one another to receive travellers. There are no troubles of checking at the customs or questioning by officials. People are never suspected to be villains because of their exotic clothes and languages. Inside the city, no goods are labelled at two different prices. On the street, people do not pick up things which belong to others.⁶²²

Again, there was neither conflict nor suspicion. Prices were stable and people were honest. According to Wang, such were the results of emphasizing and practising *li* 禮 (rituals), *yi* 義 (righteousness), *ren* 仁 (benevolence), and *xin* 信 (trust), the very criteria of the traditional romantic imagination of a Chinese utopia. The ideal society described in the Confucian Classics, *Daxue* 大學 (The Great Learning), was one in which

⁶²⁰ Wang Tao, “Miscellaneous Records of Edinburgh “, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 137.

⁶²¹ Wang Tao, “A Record of British Customs”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 111-112.

⁶²² Wang Tao, “The Old Palace in Edinburgh”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 132.

The entire empire is owned by the public

People value trust and harmony

They hate to throw useful things away but never hoard.

Plots could not be carried out. Robbery and upheaval did not occur, and consequently the outer gates (of house) did not have to be locked.⁶²³

Even in the world where *xiaokang* 小康 (small peace) was practised, people still valued ritual and righteousness as guidelines for their lives.⁶²⁴ Concerning the hospitality of the Westerners appreciated by Wang Tao, one finds a similar description in Tao Qian's "Peach Blossom Spring".⁶²⁵ Written against the background of the chaotic state of the Eastern Jin dynasty (316-420), Tao portrayed the ideal society as a secluded place found by a fisherman who had lost his way. The people there were cut off from the outside world, knowing nothing about the changing dynasties and therefore having a harmonious and peaceful life. Society was orderly and all the people were well cared for. They were aware that their carefree life depended on their secluded location, hence their asking the fisherman to keep things secret. The author describes the people in the paradise not only enjoying life themselves, but treating outsiders well, competing with one another to prepare a sumptuous meal and inviting the outsider to their homes one after the other.

Images from the Chinese Classics were used by Wang Tao as analogies to explain his experiences to his Chinese readers. However, living in the ever-changing late Qing period, Wang was only but too conscious that the traditional Chinese utopia could no longer exist.⁶²⁶ During the process of identifying his own culture and

⁶²³ Annotated by Yuan Yuan, "Liyun" 禮運, in *Liji* 禮記 (The Book of Rituals), (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan, 1991), p.43. <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/handy1/> 23 July 2008.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ A translation of Tao Qian's "The Peach Blossom Spring" can be found in Stephen Owen ed., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginning to 1911* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), pp. 309-310.

⁶²⁶ This is a prominent idea of Wang Tao that China could no longer satisfied with no interaction with other countries: instead, in order to strengthen China, it was necessary to know more and communicate with others. Other than expressing this notion in his essays, Wang's short stories, such

absorbing new elements from other cultures, Wang contrasted the elements of Chinese traditions with those that he had seen in the West.

Despite similarities, the peaceful society he describes in the travelogue has fundamental differences, compared with traditional ideas of utopia. Instead of being isolated, Wang recognized and urged interaction between disparate cultures. When he was in Scotland, he wrote an essay arguing the importance of “change” (變) in China, stating that contact with foreigners would not harm China, and that the Chinese should not seek to avoid learning from others. His ideal world was not one without any connections with the outside world, rather it should establish itself among other countries, so that it would be able to provide its people with a peaceful life. Wang Tao did not just want a secluded utopia hidden behind a cave, but a country playing an important role on the international stage, interacting with other cultures, advancing in scholarship and learning. Using the example of Britain, Wang showed how a peaceful country can be developed by having a strong national defence, an effective communications system, an advanced technology and most importantly, a well educated mass of people.

8.3 A Strong Country

Military Strength

Wang recognized the importance of a rich and strong country for providing people with a peaceful life. Co-existing with the romantic paradise-like life was military, technological and economic superiority. When visiting Scotland, right after showing his appreciation of the peaceful life in the Scottish villages, Wang turned to describe a military parade, commenting,

Although it is peace time, the government does not want to abandon

as “Cuituo Dao” 翠駝島 (The Jade Camel Island) revealed that the Chinese should take an active role in cultural exchange and seek to learn from other culture’s forte. For more information see Chapter 4.2 Wang’s Literary Works.

military training. This is a way of preparation. Although Elie is as small as a chessman or a tiny ball, its naval defense is still strong, to say nothing of other places.⁶²⁷

Travel writing is always self-reflective. What travellers react to most are always the most heated topics being discussed at home, especially when they aim at writing for the general public. Mary Pratt found out how the tide of natural science during the eighteenth century influenced European travelogues which typically discussed floral and fauna, treating them as the centre of narration.⁶²⁸ As China was opened up by the West using brute force, there is no surprise that Chinese intellectuals' first concern was always military strength. The primary aim of the Self Strengthening Movement (1861-1894) was to build a modern and mighty military force. Travelogues of that period contain enormous information about arsenals, weapons, battleships and military trainings of the West. Although presented this topic in a different way, Wang Tao certainly noticed the contrast between Western and Qing military forces during the Taiping Rebellion when the Qing force was reinforced by the Changsheng jun 長勝軍 (Ever Victorious Army) equipped with Western weapons. In fact, in his autobiography, he claimed that he was the one to advocate the use of Western training for the Chinese army.⁶²⁹ Throughout *Jottings of My Roamings*, Wang's intention in emphasizing the importance of military force can easily be spotted.

When describing the scenery of Hong Kong, particularly the residential areas in Pok Fu Lam 薄扶林, he said that the houses were built like forts. He regarded the design of the area as a demonstration of the British emphasis on military strength.⁶³⁰ This description immediately reminds the readers of the Humen 虎門 fortress he

⁶²⁷ Wang Tao, "A Record of a Trip to the Shore", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 140.

⁶²⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Trans-culturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1-37.

⁶²⁹ Wang Tao, "An Autobiography of the Old Man of Taoyuan", in Pan Zhenping ed., *Taoyuan wenlu xinbian*, pp. 368-369.

⁶³⁰ Wang Tao, "Roaming in Hong Kong", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p 65.

described in the previous episode. The association is linked with the word “yi” 亦 which means “also”.⁶³¹ Not only did the British defend the strategic points, but even the residential areas “also” looked like forts. The question naturally follows: how about the Qing government? Unfortunately, Humen fortress, a strategic point for the defence of Canton fortified by Lin Zexu before the outbreak of the Opium War, was left in ruins and abandoned after Lin’s dismissal.⁶³² The drastic contrast in the attitudes of the two governments was shown by a simple and oblivious juxtaposition of Humen and Pok Fu Lam.

Wang’s detailed descriptions of forts, canon, rifles, and weapon museums were typical subject matters for late Qing travellers. There is no doubt that by describing British awareness of the importance of military force, Wang was urging China to strength its military force. What is more interesting is his ambivalent attitude towards the expansionist foreign policy of the West, as the colonization policy (of both Britain and France) inevitably clashed with the traditional Chinese value of a peaceful relationship with neighbouring countries. Many of his views about expansionism can be examined against his descriptions of the British colonies, and his different attitude towards Britain and France.

To be able to see how Wang Tao looked at the natives of Southeast Asians, French and British, it is helpful to compare them with how he wrote about the Chinese he saw overseas. When travellers encounter a different environment, they will continuously compare their own culture with the other. Sometimes, instead of quickly assimilating with the other culture, they will cling on to their own. A typical example is the existence of Chinatowns in Western cities. Similarly, when Wang Tao recounted his journeys overseas, he sought to use the Chinese he met, as mirrors for comparing with other inhabitants. Differences in the descriptions of Chinese in South East Asian countries and Britain are worth noticing in the discussion of Wang’s attitude towards Western imperialism.

⁶³¹ Ibid. The original reads, “西人於居家，亦講求武備如此。”

⁶³² Wang Tao, “Recording My Travels in vestiges of Guangzhou”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 61.

The Chinese people Wang met in Britain, whether successful or not, serve mainly as a vehicle to convey Wang's longing for home. For example, Zhan Wu, a Chinese businessman in Aberdeen, seemed to have a good life in Britain. Wang pays attention to the colourful and sophisticated embroidery on Zhan's wife's clothes, hinting to the readers that they are in good condition. Despite his success, however, Zhan Wu planned to go back to Shanghai.⁶³³ A Chinese from Fujian Wang met in London, however, had lost all his money in Britain. Wang urged him to go home.⁶³⁴ In describing these Chinese, Wang shows no hints of comparison. His emphasis is on their identity as "guest", because the West could never be regarded as their home.

Narratives of this subject, however, were completely different in episodes in Singapore and Penang. Wang told the readers that most of the many Chinese inhabitants in Singapore were leading successful lives, occupying the flat lands while the natives lived in the deep forests. Singaporean natives were marginalised as a group of superstitious people "good at incantations", making birds fall and taming tigers,⁶³⁵ while the Chinese, like their counterparts in China, were a highly cultivated group of people, who still lived according to Chinese customs.⁶³⁶ In Penang, the comparison was even more obvious. After recounting his trips to brothels and the shore to see how the Penang natives caught coins thrown by the Europeans, Wang went on to talk about the tens of thousands of Chinese living in Penang. He mentioned a representative of them—Mr. Xu, a refined wealthy man. Immediately after the description, Wang continues to talk about the natives being "so primitive that they had hardly evolved from the apes". He naturalized them so that they seemed to be not different from were just one other species he mentioned among the "strange birds and small apes of Malaysia."⁶³⁷ As they were people with no reason and virtue, Wang "drove them (and they go) away" at will, showing his assumed authority over

⁶³³ Wang Tao, "Traveling in Aberdeen", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p.143.

⁶³⁴ Wang Tao, "Attending Various Banquets", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp.168-169.

⁶³⁵ Wang Tao, "Mooring in Singapore", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 67.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Wang Tao, "I Tried to Bathe in Penang", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p.70.

the natives. Native people in Ceylon are described as “eating fruit from the trees and like cave-dwelling animals” who still upheld the practice of “eating fur and drinking blood.”⁶³⁸ In short, they appeared to be savages.

The episode in Penang is particularly helpful for discussion because Wang recorded three groups of people, the natives, the Europeans and the Chinese, and at the end of the episode, he evaluated the relationships between the three.

The Southeastern small states listed in *Zhifang waiji* paid tribute annually to China as a regular practice.⁶³⁹ Since the mid-Ming period, as they were regarded as the gateway to the East, they were occupied by the European countries, which either annexed or picked away at them till none was left as a vassal state of China. I happened to speak of this with Beide and we both sighed. It was said that the former chieftains of countries like Singapore are now used by the British as mere figureheads. How unbearable! We sighed at such vicissitudes.⁶⁴⁰

Here, Wang traces back the local history, claiming China’s power over these countries. From Wang’s descriptions of the natives, it is clear that he looked at them from a top down view, thus naturalising and justifying their tributary status to China. When visiting Ceylon, he pondered over China’s past glories when Zheng He had demonstrated the power of the Ming dynasty overseas. However, all these places were at that time occupied by the West. The Western people, especially the British, were seen as invaders, stealing these tributary states from China. In his description of these native people, his attitude was generally indifferent. On one occasion, the Malaccan children were portrayed as a plaything of the Europeans and himself, grinning and begging money from them. They made some exciting moves to impress the Europeans and fought with one another for the coins the Europeans threw to

⁶³⁸ Wang Tao, “The Buddhist Vestiges in Ceylon”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 73.

⁶³⁹ *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (An External Record of Cosmography) is a geography book written by Giulio Alenio 艾略儒 (1582-1649) in the late Ming period.

⁶⁴⁰ Wang Tao, “I Tried to Bathe in Penang”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p.70.

them.

The depiction of the natives as playthings, beggars, servants, and hawkers implied their subordinate status to the Chinese and Europeans. These people served as the background to the main story, all with no personal character to be distinguished from one another. They were silent, and none could speak up for himself. This is different from Wang's record of the West, in which even a circus performer, someone not respected by Confucian scholars, was quoted, claiming his pride at his skills, and words of bar girls were recorded to display appreciation of Wang's cultural talents.⁶⁴¹

In short, Wang argued for China's ownership of these countries based on history, cultural superiority and even racial superiority. The discourse of imperialism is clearly present when he recounted his journeys through the countries of South East Asia all the way to Egypt. The only disappointment for him was that the Qing government was not strong enough to maintain China's prestigious past, with the result that these countries were now invaded and controlled by the British. Either ways, these countries were of a lower status.

While supporting the idea of a strong imperialist China so that the small buffer states would come under China's control again, on other occasions Wang expressed his disapproval of an expansionist policy. Although both countries gave prominence to their military strength, Wang expressed differing views towards France and Britain. Whenever he mentioned any military issues pertaining to Britain, Wang showed a positive attitude. However, in Paris, after listening to how the French emperor used the open space of a museum for a military parade, he said, "The emperor of France wanted to show off his enthusiasm for military force even when he was relaxing. One can imagine his war-like nature."⁶⁴² The phrase *qiongbing duwu* 窮兵黷武 (exhausting the army to show off military power) conveys a strong negative connotation, if not an outright condemnation. This idea of showing off one's military

⁶⁴¹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 123. For more analysis, see Chapter 6.

⁶⁴² Wang Tao, "Visiting the New Museum", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 93.

power by starting war was often been criticised throughout Chinese history.⁶⁴³ However, only France among Western countries was criticized for that.

In fact, Wang appreciated Britain far more than France. As described in the previous section, France is portrayed by Wang as a centre of entertainment, its people as playful and luxurious, whereas the British are described as “hard working”, “practical” and respectful of “old traditions”. The novelty-seeking tone of the episodes written in France might be a result of the short period of time Wang spent there, whereas he stayed nearly two years in Britain; one can assume that his observations of France to be superficial.

However, while that can be the case, the text here is further complicated as Wang included analysed and critical remarks on French foreign policy. By looking into Wang’s later works about France may provide further hints. The descriptions of France include both Wang’s impressions of his initial contact and further research into French current affairs after he returned to Hong Kong in 1871 when the Franco-Prussian war broke out, and France was defeated by Prussia. Wang wrote *Pufa zhanji*, and later on, *Fa zhi* 法志 (A Short History of France). In these two books, Wang took a critical approach of the failure of France, judging it to stem from political and social reasons. The war-like nature of the French emperor and the lack of public support were considered to be the main reason for the defeat.⁶⁴⁴ When discoursing his memory and reconstructing his travels, Wang reminded readers that he had never been impressed by the expansionist policy of the French government even when France was at its prime time, and hence, France, according to Wang’s

⁶⁴³ For example in Sima Qian’s *Shiji*, the failure of the Qin Dynasty is attributed to the exhausting of its armed forces. The original reads, “秦貴為天子，富有天下，滅世絕祀者，窮兵之禍也”. p. 2959. In Chen Shou 陳壽, *San Guo zhi* 三國志 (The History of the Three Kingdoms), General Lu Xun 陸遜 accused King Hao 皓 of Wu 吳 of exhausting his army without any gains and compared him with the tyrants Xia Jie 夏桀 and Shang Zhou 商紂. (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1987), p. 1359.

⁶⁴⁴ Xin Ping, *Wang Tao pingzhuan* 王韜評傳 (A Critical Biographical Study of Wang Tao), (Shanghai: Huatong Daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp. 105-116.

descriptions, should not serve as a model for China.

Looking at the case of France, it can be seen that for Wang, military expansion was not the correct method for strengthening a country. In fact, when talking about how to make a country strong, Wang always referred back to Chinese traditions. In the previous section, I have already given some examples of how he compared Britain with the ancient ideal Chinese society. When reading another essay talking about the strategies of Britain, it is clear that Wang was impressed by the power of Britain over the world, especially as the means by which such power had been achieved was not through military force, but by advocating *ren* (benevolent) and *yi* (righteousness), and treating disputes with neighbours fairly. He even compared the governance of Britain to that of King Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 and King Wen 文 of Jin 晉 whose rule was based on strong military power to work towards a peaceful world. Wang continued his analysis saying that the British people were supportive, helping their government in any disputes with countries in the Far East. Wang's conclusion was relevant because at the end he turned to the idea of “chunwang chihan” 唇亡齒寒 (when the lips are gone, the teeth will feel cold), a metaphor implying that when the buffer states were occupied, China would be in danger, thus urging the Qing court to hold on to its buffer states.⁶⁴⁵ This is the same policy he advocated in the travelogue, emphasizing the importance of having the support of those tributary states. In his travelogue, Wang's central argument for the states belonging to China was China's cultural and racial superiority over them. In this essay, he used the same logic, that because of their *ren*, *yi*, *gong* 公 (fair), *zheng* 正 (just) nature, the British were supported.⁶⁴⁶ It can be deduced that Wang regarded righteousness in policy as the key factor of a country's success, an idea commonly found in Confucian thought. Without these virtues, even the strongest military power is subject to failure, as was proved in the case of France.

⁶⁴⁵ Wang Tao, “Lun Yingguo bu qi shutu”, 論英國不棄屬國 (A Discussion of Britain not giving up her Colonies), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 7, p. 25, in *Xuxui siku quanshu*, p. 600.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol 7, p. 24, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, p. 599.

Education as the Foundation of the State

In contrast to his caution in talking about military issues, Wang found it much more comfortable to praise whole-heartedly the British education system, and the British government's encouragement of science and commerce. Such comments are not simply examples of praise, but can also be viewed as rhetorical critiques evaluating political and social aspects at home, urging the government at home to learn.

When recording the libraries and museums in Britain, Wang pointed out that they were established for educating people of all social status, rich or poor.⁶⁴⁷ The British government was very concerned that young students should receive an education. Wang adds, "even low class labourers are literate".⁶⁴⁸ Widespread education available was not only available for the benefit of individuals, but, more importantly, served as a means of recruiting able people for the state. When he visited Oxford University and the University of Edinburgh, he was amazed at the strict but practical system of education and how the system was able to produce talented people to serve the state, and to preach and carry out the essence of *Dao*.⁶⁴⁹

Concerning the subjects worthy of study, direct comparison is often made to show Wang's preference. When talking about the subjects the British learnt, he said, "The British stress the importance of science, including astronomy, geography, electricity, heat, air, optics, chemistry and the study of force and are not interested in literature" as those subjects "have many practical functions" when compared with literature.⁶⁵⁰ Here although China is not mentioned, it is understood by the readers, especially readers of Wang's time, that Chinese young people only learnt how to write the eight-legged essay. The idea of advocating more practical subjects became more obvious when Wang was invited to see the examination of students of the

⁶⁴⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of Roamings*, p. 108, 111, 118.

⁶⁴⁸ Wang Tao, "A Record of British Customs", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 111.

⁶⁴⁹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of Roamings*, p. 99, 133.

⁶⁵⁰ Wang Tao, "The Sophisticated and Remarkable", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 122.

University of Edinburgh. He observed that the students had to study a variety of subjects, with the result that “Those who only know one subject therefore cannot match them.” This idea contrasted strongly with the traditional education view that those who excelled in Confucian studies could effectively cope with all aspects of issues. Broadening the curriculum and admitting that Confucian studies alone were insufficient, as Paul Cohen claimed, account for the differences between the traditional call for able men and Wang’s idea.⁶⁵¹ Here, by analyzing how the subjects offered at the University of Edinburgh, such as mathematics, military strategy, astronomy and so on, could be relevant to the current world, Wang compared the “British intellectuals have practical knowledge” (英國學問之士，俱有實際) which “they can practise in the real world.”(可實見諸措施)⁶⁵² with the Chinese who were only examined for the eight-legged essay which was based on state-prescribed Confucian values.

Indeed, education was always the utmost concern of Wang Tao when talking about reform, this concern, as shown above, was not only apparent, but central to his records of his visits in Britain. Widespread education, education as a kind of recruitment and the introduction of a variety of practical subjects were the core of Wang’s theory of education.

Education as an effective means of recruiting able people was much emphasized in order to help China modernize: “the most urgent policy for our state at the moment, is first to administer well people’s livelihood, then the national defence, and the key to these is to store up able people”.⁶⁵³ These able people not only included specialists in military strategies and technology, but also people who understood the changes taking place in the world. In fact, this was a major reason, Wang argued for the

⁶⁵¹ Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Qing China*, pp. 161-162.

⁶⁵² Wang Tao, “Visiting the Museum”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 133.

⁶⁵³ Wang Tao, “Dai shang Sufu Li Gongbao shu” 代上蘇撫李宮保書 (A Letter written on behalf to the governor of Suzhou, Li Hongzhang), in *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 82. The original reads, “故今日我國之急務，其先在治民，其次在治兵，而總其綱領則在儲材。”

failure of the Self-strengthening Movement.⁶⁵⁴ In China, what Wang observed was the harmful effect of the civil examination system that resulted in intellectuals having no useful knowledge to face challenging situations. He said of these intellectuals,

They showed no knowledge when asked about economics or military and legal affairs. When (they) going out, (they felt) completely lost. When striding forward, (they) did not discern any direction.⁶⁵⁵

Whether internally, or externally, these people knew nothing about the world, all of which was due to “the burden of the eight-legged essay”. Instead of just making an empty call for recruiting able people, Wang Tao realized that it was the system that needed to be changed. Therefore, he called for the abolishment of the civil service examination system and the implementation of a school education system to replace it. To make this a possible option, Wang advocated the emphasis of both traditional Chinese studies, as well as new and practical subjects, such as geography, science, astronomy and law.⁶⁵⁶ This can be seen as a direct response to what was written in the travelogue about his amazement that the British learnt many subjects instead of one, and that those subjects “could be used immediately after discussion” (坐而言者，可以起而行也).⁶⁵⁷

It is also helpful to point out that from 1887 to 1894, Wang, owing to his fame and knowledge in education, was invited to be headmaster of the Shanghai Science and Polytechnic College. Many of the ideas present in the travelogue were also

⁶⁵⁴ Wang Tao, “Yangwu zai yong qi suo chang” 洋務在用其所長 (The Essence of Foreign Policy is to Use our Strength) and “Banli yangwu zai deren” 辦理洋務在得人 (The Essence of Foreign Policy is Recruiting Able People), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 3, pp. 21-22 and 23-24, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 538-540.

⁶⁵⁵ Wang Tao, “Yuan shi” 原士 (The Origins of Intellectuals), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 1, pp. 7-9, here p. 8, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 503-504, here p. 503. The original reads, “問以錢穀不知，問以兵刑不知，出門茫然，一舉步即不識南北東之向背哉！”

⁶⁵⁶ See Wang Tao, “Bianfa ziqiang: zhong” 變法自強 (中) (Reform and Self Strengthening, the second essay), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 2, pp. 7-9, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 517-518. 503.

⁶⁵⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 133.

revealed in his way of running the college. His policy can be summed up in one of his letters, reporting his ideas about the mission of the college:

I want to enrol students widely to come here and receive an education. (The college will) recruit teachers from both China and the West. Once the students learn Western languages to a standard level, according to their interest and talents, (the college) teaches them mechanical science, astronomy and geography, manufacturing and architecture, electricity and chemistry. It is expected that (the students would be) beneficial to the time and useful to the state. (This is to) store able people for the state in advance so that they can be helpful in the future.⁶⁵⁸

This proclamation can be read in parallel with scattered but similar comments in *Jottings of My Roamings*. Therefore, the descriptions of British education system are not only what Wang Tao had observed twenty years ago, but they were also in accord with Wang's ideal education method, once juxtaposed with Wang's appointment and policies in the Shanghai Science and Polytechnic College. Hence, the descriptions in the travelogue are to be looked at as comments more than observation and as reflections of the author's thoughts about, and criticism of, China's policies.

Advocacy of Commerce and Technology

Another example for this kind of reflection is Wang's advocacy of commerce and technology, a revolutionary idea. Merchants, or even the very thought of commerce, were traditionally despised by Chinese scholars. The teachings of Neo-Confucian scholars even suggested that one should concentrate on the study of *Dao* and not think of earning a living. Wang Tao criticized this as a backward idea.

⁶⁵⁸ Wang Tao, "Cheng Shao Xiaocun guancha" 呈邵筱邨觀察 (A Letter to Shao Xiaocun), in *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 237. The original read, "擬廣招生童前來肄業, 延請中西教讀。訓以西國語言文字, 學業有成, 則視其質性所近, 授以格致機器、象緯輿圖、製造建築、電氣化學, 務期有益於時, 有用於世, 為國家預儲人材, 以備將將來驅策。"

He pointed out that economic development, both at an individual and a national level, was the key to a modernized country, therefore, “(a person) talking about people’s livelihood without a strong economy is someone who does not understand state affairs”.⁶⁵⁹ Promoting economic development meant to encourage people to be released from traditional boundaries and become wealthy as “wealthy people make a wealthy country”.⁶⁶⁰

For him, Britain was powerful because its government knew the importance of commerce. When he visited a mail office, he commented not only on how convenient it was, but also how the British government was able to raise tax from it. When he questioned the railway system in Britain, he admired most the usefulness of the railway in times of military emergence and more importantly, in transporting people and goods in order to facilitate economic activities. When he visited a museum in Edinburgh, he found it amazing to look at a big piece of coal. His immediate reaction was to think of this in terms of economic value, discussing with the head of the museum how China could make use of coal in Shandong to boost the national economy. The image of merchants was also a positive one in the travelogue. For instance, merchants in Hull were portrayed as people concerned not only with personal advantage, but also with the advantages of the state and international affairs. They were rational and fair and condemned the opium trade.

A Fair Legal System

Parallel with the development of economic development was the legal system. At the core of Wang’s reform theory was legislation. He noted how import duty was calculated in Britain and how a consistent legal system could promote the prosperity of a country. For Wang, a fair legal system was essential in order for people to contribute to the state. Wang repeatedly praised the creativity of the British in the

⁶⁵⁹ Wang Tao, “Xing li”興利 (Promoting Wealth), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 2, pp. 14-16, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 520-521. The original reads, “故舍富強而言治民，是不知為政者也。”

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

pursuit of technology and science. Regarding the law of intellectual property as *shanfa* 善法 (a fair law), he pointed out that when this law was practised, people's inventions were protected. Hence, as Wang observed, people would "exhaust their mind, broaden their knowledge, pay every cost they can afford, use every effort they have, and work timelessly" to invent useful objects. No wonder the British were good at making all kinds of things.⁶⁶¹ A little vignette at the end of his description of the law serves as a direct reference to Wang Tao's life experience and his criticism of the Chinese legal system. He sighed, "if one has ingenious skills, even the government cannot use its power to oppress him."⁶⁶² This comment is odd as it deviated from the original topic. Obviously, one of the most amazing aspects of this law of intellectual property was that even the government could not violate it against the common people. This is a direct reference to the author's experience during his early life in Shanghai, where he advocated many useful strategies for the officials. He was not only unappreciated, but also deliberately neglected by the jealous officials. According to Wang, this was the main reason why he was accused of treason.⁶⁶³

In short, going back to Lauren Pfister's comment on the travelogue, we can find several threads of reform thoughts, although they are scattered. When depicting a strong country, the main elements which China needed to acquire were all picked up: strong and modern military training and defence, widespread and practical education, economic development, and a consistent legal system. Wang Tao was willing to recommend them as what China could learn. However, as analyzed above, his view was ambiguous, owing much to his Chinese background and the glories of Chinese history. The effect of his Chinese background on his narrative modes will be further discussed in section 5.

⁶⁶¹ Wang Tao, "Making the Sophisticated and the Remarkable", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 120.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁶⁶³ Wang Tao, "The Autobiography of the Old Man of Taoyuan", in *Taoyuan wenlu xinbian*, p. 368.

8.4 Western Women

Women have always been a common subject in travelogues and one that has been widely discussed by scholars. Eric Leed, for instance, wrote about the woman subject in relation to the arrival of the travellers. Pointing out that the erotics of arrivals or sexual hospitality were made possible because the sessility of women and the mobility of men were historic facts.⁶⁶⁴ Mary Pratt further suggested that in the colonial discourse, gender was often used as a means of expressing domination and subordination: colonial power and the prestige of the Europeans were presented by the sexual licence of European men towards native women.⁶⁶⁵ Emma Teng observed a similar phenomenon in Chinese travel writings to Taiwan during the prime time of the Qing dynasty, where the mentioning of native women was a form of denigration.⁶⁶⁶ This theory can apply not only to Wang's descriptions of the black and ugly Penang prostitutes and the scary Egyptian veiled women traders, but also his comments on courtesans in Hong Kong whose feet were not as delicate as those of women from Shanghai.⁶⁶⁷

As a matter of fact, both Chinese and foreign women were always a topic of concern for Wang Tao, and descriptions of women can be found in both *Jottings of My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan*. His interest in writing about foreign women is two- fold, owing to his personal taste and the question of market popularity. Before the serialization of *Jottings of My Roamings*, Wang had already published several books on courtesans.⁶⁶⁸ His openness on the subject can be seen as his identification

⁶⁶⁴ Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, p. 113.

⁶⁶⁵ Mary Louisa Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, pp. 86-102.

⁶⁶⁶ Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 174. Another feature identified by Teng was how the descriptions of the native women served as a criticism at home. See, p. 176.

⁶⁶⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 60, 68-70, 75-78.

⁶⁶⁸ Wang Tao, *Yingru zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌 (Taipei: Guangwen, 1970), *Hai zou yeyou lu* 海陬冶遊錄 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1989), and *Huaguo jutan* 花國劇談 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1989).

with an abandoned female status as well as a rebellious reaction against the traditional social norms for bohemian literati.⁶⁶⁹ As for marketability, as mentioned in the previous section, Shanghai provided a public sphere for the literati to talk about entertaining issues. Wang's books about courtesans were among the bestsellers of the time. Descriptions of exotic foreign women are common subject matter and rhetorical devices used in both travel writings and fiction. Many of Wang's short stories include foreign female characters, including figures such as Meili, Aili and Zhouxi who were very similar to the women he recorded in his travelogue.⁶⁷⁰ What is outstanding about *Jottings of My Roamings* is not simply the enormous interest Wang showed in Western women, but his distinctive views about women and his reflections on women's role in Chinese society.

While Eric Leed stated that women served as a staple item of travel writings in the West, traditional Chinese travellers did not shown a prominent interest in it. For instance, reading the anthologies of travel literature compiled by Richard Strassberg, Zi Ye and Wei Ping, and considering the analysis of Li Boqi, not many descriptions of women can be found.⁶⁷¹ Traditional records of foreign women are scattered in history records, and later on in fiction, but most of these descriptions were imaginative rather than resulting from observation and experience. For instance, as early as in the Han dynasty, the *Shanghai jing* records a "women's kingdom to the north of Wuxian Mountain".⁶⁷² *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (The History of the Later Han Dynasty) added to this existing description the fact that this women's kingdom had no men.⁶⁷³ Later, the women's kingdom in *Sui shu* 隋書 (The History of the Sui

⁶⁶⁹ Catherine Yeh, "The Life-style of Four *Wenren* in Late Qing Shanghai", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 57.2 (1997), pp. 428-433.

⁶⁷⁰ See a brief introduction of Wang's short stories in Chapter 5.

⁶⁷¹ See Richard Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*, Zi Ye and Wei Ping eds., *Gudai youji jingpin* 古代遊記精品 (Selected Ancient Travel Writings) (Xi'an: Shanxi luyou chubanshe, 1993), and Li Boqi, *Zhongguo gudai jiyou wenxue shi*.

⁶⁷² Richard E. Strassberg ed. and trans., *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 173.

⁶⁷³ In "The History of Dongyi", in *The History of the Later Han Dynasty*, (Taipei: Dingwen shuju,

Dynasty) suggested that people “valued women more than men.”⁶⁷⁴ These descriptions are short and simple. Fiction writers, on the other hand, stretched their imagination of foreign women as they were not bound by any Chinese values. *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (The Journey to the West) records a high number of foreign women, although most of them were disguised in the form of seductive devils and were seen as dangers to one’s path to success.⁶⁷⁵ *Jinghua yuan* 鏡花緣 (Flowers in the Mirror) is another novel in which the idea of a kingdom of women was most prominently elaborated before the late Qing. In the novel, women dressed up like men and took up the role as leaders at home and the state, a reverse of the Chinese tradition.⁶⁷⁶ Despite such a revolutionary imagination, the “good women” in this kingdom were willing to follow the Chinese way.⁶⁷⁷

In short, images of foreign women in Chinese texts were vague and not prominent until the late Qing travellers found it surprising to see how Western women acted. There were two main lines of description. First, late Qing travellers concluded that Western women were very romantic, and did not mind taking the initiative to build up a relationship with men. For example, in Lin Zen’s *Xihai jiyou cao*, Western women were portrayed as people who easily embark on a relationship. Although Wang Tao’s descriptions of Western women were seemingly similar, his appreciation and affection for them were based on their talents and knowledge.

1987), p. 2817.

⁶⁷⁴ In “The Book of the West: Woman Kingdom”, *The History of the Sui*, (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1987), Vol. 83, pp. 1850-1851.

⁶⁷⁵ Refer to the stories of the Western Liang (西梁女國) and the Cave of the Lute (琵琶洞) in Wu Cheng’en, *Xiyou ji* (The Journey to the West), trans. Anthony Yu (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1977), chapter 54-55.

⁶⁷⁶ Li Ruzhen 李汝珍 *Jin hua yuan* 鏡花緣 (Flowers in the Mirror), trans. Lin Tai-yi, (London: Owen, 1965), chapters 32-37.

⁶⁷⁷ Hu Shi 胡適 regarded the novel as the first piece of Chinese fiction to pay attention to women’s issues and the ideas revealed within as revolutionary. See Hu Shi, “*Jinhua yuan yinlu*” 《鏡花緣》引論 (An Introduction to Flowers in the Mirror), in *Hu Shi wencun* 胡適文存 (Works of Hu Shi) (Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1961), p. 404.

Romantic features were not the focus of his attention.

Another line of thought was a criticism of the Western women's different behaviour. It is intriguing to see that when writing about foreign women, Wang did not display much shock. An example from the report of Liu Hongxi, the first Qing ambassador to Europe in 1877, seven years after Wang Tao's trip to Europe, best demonstrates how uneasy Chinese intellectuals felt when they encountered difference in customs concerning gender in the West. He wrote,

The British are the opposite of the Chinese in every way possible. In state matters, the people are above the king; within the family, the wife lords over the husband; as for progeny, female infants are more coveted than male infants;so heaven and earth are in reverse order. Hence customs and habits are, without exception, lopsided.⁶⁷⁸

Here, the gender inversion is picked up to represent the imbalanced, reversed state of affairs in Britain. Liu regarded the upside-down position of men and women not simply as fact, but as having theological significance: the "order" was reversed; and the tradition "lopsided". In other words, things in Britain were not in their proper place. Liu's view is perfectly in line with a quotation from *Yijing* 易經 (The Book of Changes), which states that, "A woman's proper place is the inside, a man's proper place the outside. The proper placing of men and women fulfils the grand principle of heaven and earth", which implies that any deviation from the principle will mean a threat to the balance of things in the world.⁶⁷⁹ In China, women are traditionally considered as subordinate to men. It is especially true when the relationship between a ruler and his officials (jun chen 君臣) was compared with that of husband and wife (fu fu 夫婦), as Liu also revealed in his comments. Later on, regulations about

⁶⁷⁸ Liu Hongxi, *Yingyao siji*, in Wang Xijiji, *Siaofanghu zhai yudi congchao*, vol. 11, p.207. Translation adopted from Hu Ying, "Re-configuring *nei/wai*: Writing the Woman Traveller", p.73.

⁶⁷⁹ In "Jiaren", *Yi jing* 易經 (The Book of Change) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1999), p. 13 The original reads, "家人女正位乎內，男正位乎外。男女正，天地之大義也。家人有嚴君焉，父母之謂也。父父、子子、兄兄、弟弟、夫夫、婦婦而家道正，正家而天下定矣。" <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/handy1/> 1st August, 2008.

women also reflected the fact that women were placed in an unequal position with men. For example, according to the “Three Obediences”, a woman must follow the men in her family, i.e. father, husband and son. Zhu Xi a Confucian scholar in the Southern Song dynasty, suggested that “between man and woman, there is an order of superiority and inferiority.” Women must follow men and “this is a constant principle”.⁶⁸⁰ No wonder Liu found the situation in Britain threatening and showed his disapproval. For this to appear in China would mean the complete crumbling of the social structure. In contrast to Liu, Wang Tao, also a traditionally educated scholar, looked at the same phenomenon but came up with a different conclusion. After meeting with several French and English ladies, he wrote,

Women, like men, start their education when they are young. They learn drawing, mathematics, meteorology, maps, and geography in depth. Many men in China will feel ashamed when compared with them. According to British custom, women are placed in a higher position than men. They can choose their own husbands and live with them for a lifetime, and there are no concubines.⁶⁸¹

On many occasions, British ladies are praised for their knowledge and moral value.⁶⁸² It can be seen that Wang Tao finds no difficulty in appreciating that women can, and probably should, be educated in “practical studies” just like men, and they are in no way inferior to men, or even that men should feel ashamed of themselves because they were not as knowledgeable as women. Wang’s mentioning of the situation shows that he appreciated that China was different. From the tone of his writing, as compared to that of Liu, Wang was not simply open-minded about the phenomenon, but was in fact appreciative.

In *Jottings of My Roamings*, British ladies are portrayed as individuals who are

⁶⁸⁰ Zhu Xi, *Jinsi lu xiangzhu jiping* 近思錄詳注集評 (Annotated Edition of Reflections of Things at Hand), annotated by Wing-tsit Chin (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1992), pp. 505-506. The original reads, “男女有尊卑之序，夫婦有倡隨之義，此常理也。”

⁶⁸¹ Wang Tao, “A Record of the British Customs”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 111.

⁶⁸² Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 135.

educated and display independent thinking. For example, Aili, the eldest daughter of Wang's friend in Dundee, was not only talented in singing and drawing, but also open-minded enough to appreciate intellectuals. After listening to the discussion between James Legge and her father, she "picked up" Wang Tao as the most adorable intellectual. Wang used the word "du" 獨 (alone) not only to emphasize his importance, but also the independent thinking of Aili as she made her own choice.⁶⁸³ Zhouxi, Wang's friend in Edinburgh, went for a walk with Wang Tao. When Wang showed his care for her, she proudly told him that she was able to walk for a long time without feeling tired because her "foot are as big as yours", "not three-inch lotus flowers that can hardly move". Then she put her words into practice. She stood up and walked so fast that Wang Tao could not keep up.⁶⁸⁴ When she accompanied Wang Tao to a restaurant several times, she was thought by others to be Wang's lover. Wang was very embarrassed and clarified that they were just friends. However, Zhouxi said, "Don't you know that I am a Chinese?"⁶⁸⁵ She tried to express her appreciation towards Wang Tao, as it was rare for a Chinese woman to accompany a man in public space. She is portrayed as a person with an independent character, and not too shy to express her opinions or put her thoughts into practice.

For Wang Tao, his relationships with these ladies were built on mutual appreciation. While Wang Tao chanted the "Song of the Lute" to Aili, she was not only able to appreciate the poem, but also gave him something in return. She memorized the rhythm of the poem and composed a melody for it. Wang appreciated the melody and described it as being able to "stop the clouds and encircle the beams".⁶⁸⁶

In short, British women are portrayed as intelligent, versatile, and knowledgeable. By praising them, Wang idealised them to his fellow countrymen, as perhaps, a role

⁶⁸³ Wang Tao, "Travelling Twice in Dundee", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 147-148.

⁶⁸⁴ Wang Tao, "Travelling the Third Time in Edinburgh" in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 152-153

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 148.

model for all, not just women. However, the descriptions of women in the travelogue are limited when compared with Wang's later short stories of foreign women. Although the British ladies he described in his travelogue were knowledgeable, self-determined, having their own ambitions and professions, and their mobility not necessarily conditional upon their male counterparts, to some extent they were still confined to their immediate localities. None of them travelled afar or gave any views and actions on state affairs. Perhaps Wang expected more from women. When he wrote "Meili xiaozhuan", it is clear that he projected his ideal image of an individual (woman).⁶⁸⁷

Meili, an English woman, after experiencing an unhappy marriage in London, went to China and married a Chinese man. For some scholars, such as Wang Xiaowen, the most intriguing part of this story is that an English girl would marry a Chinese man and admire Chinese culture from the bottom of her heart. He further suggested that Wang Tao intended to use the admiration of Meili for a Chinese man as a way of balancing the unequal status of China in the world.⁶⁸⁸

However, when looking at Wang's travelogues, it was natural for Wang Tao that Western ladies should admire a Chinese man of letters. Rather than passively using a trans-racial romance as a device to bolster national pride, I will instead argue that Meili's positive image represents Wang's desired kind of Chinese intellectuals, Chinese women and even himself. In the story, Meili is portrayed as a woman, having enormous talents and skills, who walked out from her private chamber and became actively involved in social and state affairs. She organized a women's school in China, teaching science and technology, and she was in no way constrained by

⁶⁸⁷ Wang Tao, "Meili xiaoshuan", in *Songyin manlu*, pp. 247-249.

⁶⁸⁸ Wang Xiaowen 王曉文, "Songyin manlu: wan Qing shiqi dui Zhongguo xiandaixing wenti de langman xiangxiang" 《淞隱漫錄》：晚清時期對中國現代性問題的浪漫想像 (*Songyin Manlu: A Romantic Imagination about Modernity in the Late Qing Dynasty*), *Journal of Xuzhou Normal University* (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), 31.5 (2005), p. 21. Also see Lu Hsiao-peng, "Waking to Modernity: The Classical Tale in Late Qing China", in *New Literary History*, 34.4 (2003), p. 754.

traditional ideas of women's roles. She even took the initiative to help the Chinese government. She is said to have an in-depth knowledge of mathematics. On one occasion, she and her husband met a group of pirates. While other passengers and her husband were scared, Meili was brave enough to step out and urge her husband to help expel the sea pirates. The story recounts how she used a telescope to check the position of the pirates before aiming at them with cannon. The author records,

She was furious (because other people did not believe she could hit the pirates) but told her husband to put gunpowder inside the cannon. The cannon was adjusted to a certain degree and the pirates were hit three times, sinking all of their boats.⁶⁸⁹

She is not only brave, but also resourceful. Unfortunately, both the passengers and the Chinese navy merely found the whole event to be impressive, and Meili's knowledge did not impress the Qing court. Wang commented, "She was not accepted so she went home in disappointment."⁶⁹⁰ It is obvious that Wang's bitterness surrounding his failure in obtaining appreciation from the Chinese authority spilled over into the lines.

Throughout the story, the femininity of Meili is of less concern, instead, her talents, experiences and bravery are all reflections of the author's self judgment. She used her knowledge in mathematics to defeat the pirates threatening the coastal areas, and later set up schools to educate women. While most women in the travelogue are not involved in state matters, Wang's ideal individual should show patriotism towards the state, to which women should and could contribute if they were equipped with knowledge and self determination.

8.5 Struggling towards an Equal Status—When East Meets West

Another related question is Wang's attitude towards China as revealed through

⁶⁸⁹ Wang Tao, *Songying manlu*, p. 250.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

his description of the strong West. His journey to the West let him explore not only his role as an intellectual, but more importantly, his identity as a Chinese. The picture of the ideal world drawn by Wang reflects many of his concerns about China, such as attitudes towards military strength, commerce, education, legal system and women. The phenomenon is exactly what Clifford alluded to when he discussed writing texts to represent the world, saying that the writers do so from a necessarily local setting so the texts inevitably bear the marks of the writer's interest, values, and standards.⁶⁹¹ Travelogues reveal as much as of the author's homeland as they do about the places being travelled to and written about.

The late Qing period was a dynamic era which saw an enormous amount of change in nearly all aspects of the lives of Chinese people. Along with its military might, new information and ideologies from the West flowed into China. Cultures distinct from the Confucian tradition flowed into Chinese society. If earlier Chinese travellers had found the proof of their superiority through describing the uncivilized savage, what they faced in the Late Qing was the other way round.

Kwok Siu Tong classified the result of authenticating one's cultural identity during travelling into two categories: a reflection of one's superiority or inferiority.⁶⁹² This is similar to the bringing in of gender into the analysis of travel writings elaborated by Eric Leed and Mary Louse Pratt. Leed called the Western travellers' journeys "spermatic" to show their authority expressed in travel writings over the places they visited. Through describing a weaker or backward country, Western travellers are able to prove again and again their cultural superiority. The uncivilized place to which they travelled is used as a mirror to reflect the superiority of the home countries. Thus, the place being gazed at and travelled is like a woman, having a subordinate position.⁶⁹³ However, when the traveller's home is apparently

⁶⁹¹ James Clifford, "Introduction to Partial Truths", in J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 22

⁶⁹² Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüxing: kua wenhua yanjiu*, pp. 131-139.

⁶⁹³ Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, chapter 8.

weaker than the place being travelled, he will still get a reflection of their cultural identity, but a reflection of his inferiority. This kind of reflection is rather complex in nature, especially for a country like China which had been both an imperialistic power and a victim of imperialism.⁶⁹⁴

When examining these foreign travel writings in the Late Qing era, one can find a lot of detail about Western military strength, science, institutional systems, transportation etc. All these were what travellers saw and experienced during their contact with Western society and people. While the result of these contacts is always being presented, the contacts themselves are seldom narrated. Wang Tao was, perhaps, an exception, and it is through these personal contacts and observations that his subtle and complex feelings about China, the West and the world are best demonstrated. In fact, during the journey to foreign countries, on the one hand, travellers are attracted by things with which they are unfamiliar, whether it is an object or a person, while, on the other hand, they are also being seen by others. Wang Tao is very aware of himself, as a Chinese, being on display. While most expressions about his heroic image as a “Chinese intellectual” are analyzed in the previous chapter, here I would like to pinpoint a short note about his appearance as a “Chinese” person being seen by Westerners.

Before Wang Tao continued his trip to Huntly, he wrote a few last thoughts about Aberdeen. At the end of the essay, Wang Tao mentioned a Chinese, Zhan Wu, living there; according to Wang Tao, it was because of Zhan Wu that he was thought by the children in Aberdeen to be female. This record is the only place when Wang felt embarrassed by his appearance (as a Chinese). He immediately personalised the event as an omen of his misfortunes in China, regarding his drifting life as his fate that he was forced to crouch like a female (ci fu 雌伏) instead of flying like a male (xiong fei 雄飛).⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁴ Emma Teng, “Introduction” in *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures 1683-1895*, pp. 1-34.

⁶⁹⁵ Wang Tao, “Travelling in Huntly”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p144.

Scholars have given different interpretations of this incident, Xin Ping being the most comprehensive, suggesting that Wang's national pride was hurt, and he was humiliated because of his Chinese appearance. Xin even added to the dramatic scene that Wang "put his queue into his hat and was so angry that he did not go out for several days", an incident which is not recorded in Wang's travelogue.⁶⁹⁶ Lauren Pfister regarded it as an uneasy cross cultural experience, assuming the embarrassment to have been caused by cultural differences.⁶⁹⁷ Tian Zhengping and Ye Zheming, however, suggested that Xin exaggerated the significance of the event. They pointed out that Wang's comments reveal the incident as purely a misunderstanding of a group of children. Wang's sighs are confined to personal matters only.⁶⁹⁸

However, reconsidering the event in the historical context of the late Qing, Wang is expressing more than just a personal feeling. He started the narration with a comparison of the costumes of China and the West which is too significant to ignore. Although Xin Ping went too far in his analysis of the event, to the extent adding content to Wang's writing, costumes are, indeed, important components of the identity of a community. In the travelogue, the Singaporean Chinese are praised for their insistence on wearing Chinese costumes, which Wang regarded as an expression of their subordination to China and Chinese culture. In fact, it is a device Wang often used in suggesting a sense of belonging to one's own country.⁶⁹⁹ Yet, in this incident,

⁶⁹⁶ Xin Ping, *Wang Tao pingzhuang*, p. 98.

⁶⁹⁷ Lauren Pfister, "Wang Tao yu Liyage du xian yujia youhuan yishi de huiying", trans. Yun Kaiyong, in *Wang Tao yu jindai shijie*, pp. 130-132.

⁶⁹⁸ Tian Zhengping and Ye Zheming, "Congxin renshi Wang Tao zai Zhongwai wenhua jiaoyu jiaoliuzhong de 'zhi shu Yingguo shijian'" 重新認識王韜在中外文化教育交流中的「置書英國事件」 (An Re-examination of Wang Tao's "Donation of Books in Britain" in the Perspective of Cross Cultural History of Education), in *Journal of Huatong Normal University*, 24.3, (2006), pp. 94-96.

⁶⁹⁹ Various examples can be found in other writings by Wang. In "Bao yuan min" 保護遠民 (Protecting People from Afar), Wang noted that enormous amounts of Chinese in the South East Asian countries still wore Chinese style clothes, wrote Chinese characters and used Chinese calendars. He then concludes that it shows that people in these countries support China. In "Xianggang Luelun" 香港略

Wang felt embarrassed because of his Chinese appearance. Tian Zhengping and Ye Zheming oversimplified the event, neglecting the fact that the incident is related to the question of national identity pointed out at the very beginning of the narration of this incident.

It is also worth examining Wang's interpretation of this event. Wang talked about the feeling of being a woman after describing himself as being "thrown to the oceans and sojourning in foreign countries". The sentence can be interpreted in different ways. While Tian and Ye were reasonable in saying that Wang referred to his misfortunes in China, the sentence also points to his foreign journey, which is the direct cause of his feeling like a woman. Here, man and woman can be seen as symbols of power. While the male can fly, which symbolizes his freedom and power, the female can only remain on land, crouching. The word "fu" implies subordination. When considering the incident with regard to Leed's suggestion of gender discourse in travel writing, it becomes clear that Wang Tao's feeling of being a woman is not only related to his failures in China, but also the failures of China as a nation with which Wang identified himself. It is a two fold metaphor. Wang's misfortune in China is represented by his feeling of being a woman which is also known as the "concubine paradox" commonly used in Chinese literature.⁷⁰⁰ The second phase of the metaphor refers to the author's identity as a Chinese. It should be noted that instead of feeling angry with the children who made jokes at his expense, Wang was more focused on expressing his sadness. He said that the children's words were

論 (Hong Kong: A Brief Discussion), Wang notes that people in Hong Kong are still wearing Chinese costumes, and performing Chinese rituals to show that people still regard themselves as Chinese despite being ruled by the British. In *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 3, p. 8-10, and Vol. 6, pp. 24-28, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 532-533, 584-586.

⁷⁰⁰ The "concubine paradox" refers to the imitation of feminine voices in Chinese literature. Literati who are demoted or exiled, always speak through a female voice of an abandoned wife, as a metaphor of their political failures. Therefore, those narratives are intended to read as political allegory. Kang-I Sun Chang points out Qu Yuan 屈原 and Cao Zhi 曹植 as examples. ("Introduction: Genealogy and Titles of the Female Poets", in Kang I Sun Chang and Haun Saussy eds, *Women Writers of Traditional China: An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 1-14.

omens, thus he was showing his acceptance, albeit reluctantly. The reason for this reluctant acceptance is related to the reflection of inferiority suggested by Kwok Siu Tong. When travelling in British colonies in South East Asia, Wang was sad that China had lost them to Britain. When travelling in the West, Wang expressed, more than once, that there were many areas in which China had to learn from the West. The reflection of inferiority is present. If this is a reasonable interpretation, the event reveals Wang's vulnerable feeling of his confidence as a Chinese in the face of the strong West.

Interestingly, just before this anecdote, Wang gives a record of the people of Aberdeen by whom he was greatly impressed. Aberdeen is the only place he visited whose people spoke up for their city. Aberdeen was once considered by other people as having little potential for development because of its infertile land and scarce resources. Wang recorded that the Aberdeen people brought out their stones and proudly claimed that "This is what you (other people) do not have. Having Kui alone is enough."⁷⁰¹ In Wang's reconstruction of the story, the people of Aberdeen borrowed an old Chinese phrase, "Kui yi er zu" 夔一而足 (Kui alone is enough), which originates from a legend in ancient China. While Wang was explaining his Western experience with Chinese traditions, at the same time and by the same process of thought, Westerners being described were also seeking parallels in China's glorious past. Perhaps, the attitude of the Aberdeen people embodied Wang's secret hope for his countrymen.

Throughout his journeys, Wang presented many instances of foreigners showing respect for Chinese literature and culture. According to this perspective, Wang felt proud of being a Chinese in front of the strong West. He showed that while he was

⁷⁰¹ Wang Tao, "Travelling in Aberdeen", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 141-143. The story of Kui is recorded in "Cha zhuan" 察傳 (Beware of Hearsays), in *Lushi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Master Lu's Spring and Autumn Annals) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1992), p. 295. Marquis Lu Ai asked Confucius whether there was a special kind of dragon, Kui 夔, with just one leg. Confucian explained that Kui was the minister of Music for Yao 堯, and Yao was so pleased with Kui's work that he said Kui alone was enough to help to run the country.

able to appreciate the strength of the West, such as their city layout, design of armaments, education systems, as a Chinese, he felt that he was not inferior to these Western people. In the depth of Wang's heart, he regarded China as being of an equal status with the West. This is especially obvious when looking at his narration of the South East Asian countries in which he saw both Chinese and Europeans as having authority over the natives, therefore justifying their occupations whether in history or at present. Chinese culture is respected all around, from China's former buffer states of China to the Western countries. The Westerners Wang met were interested in Chinese culture, such as Chinese poems and calligraphy, and paid Wang great respect because he was a Chinese intellectual. At the end of the travelogue, Wang insisted in his belief in Chinese culture and that China had the ability to contribute to the world. He had also found a role for himself in demonstrating the essence of Chinese culture to others. Throughout the travelogue, the author tried hard to show his extreme confidence through many occasions of cultural exchanges with the Westerners. During most of these contacts, Wang enjoyed a harmonious relationship with the Westerners: however, one event in Aberdeen exposed the complicated feelings of the author so that the self confidence he expressed in the travelogue can be reevaluated. His endeavor in expressing his confidence as a Chinese ironically reflects the fact that he was not as confident as he would like to believe.

In short, it will be more appropriate to describe Wang Tao's feeling as lingering around the reflections of superiority and inferiority. He tried to reconcile the contradictory feeling at the end of his journey by suggesting a world with "great unity".⁷⁰² If Wang intended to promote any kind of reform idea, the core of his message will be to accept differences and learn from the other, but at the same to be sure that Chinese culture is not inferior to others, despite its military setbacks. This is similar to Liang Qichao's material-spirit approach,⁷⁰³ but it is also different in that

⁷⁰² Wang Tao, "Attending Various Banquets", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 169-170.

⁷⁰³ Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Chi-chao and the Mind of Modern China*, (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989), p.8.

Wang saw Western culture as having its own features as well. It is the understanding between different cultures that he wished to emphasize.

8.6 Chinese Occidentalism

When analysing how Westerners portray the East in their travel writings, scholars often employ Orientalism, a theory first put forward by Edward Said in the 1970s. According to Said, the East depicted by the West is never the real East, but one distorted by Orientalists to show their superiority. The reconstruction of the East is not based on the real situation of the East, but is a process through grouping the Westernized images of the East, the result of which is that the East is regarded as not only different, but inferior.⁷⁰⁴ He observed,

An Englishman in India or Egypt in the later nineteenth century took an interest in those countries that was never far from their status in his mind as British colonies.⁷⁰⁵

In fact, this comment is equally valid when examining the reciprocal: what an Egyptian or Indian think of Britain or British would also be based on their and their countries' relationship with Britain.

While Said's concern is mainly the Near East, scholars analysing travelogues of Westerners going to China found a more complicated situation. For example, Susan Thurin analyzed six travellers journeying in China in the late Qing period, and found that on one hand, their narratives fitted with the idea of Orientalism, on the other hand, they were conscious of China's glorious past and felt it was contradictory to regard the Chinese as uncivilized.⁷⁰⁶

Later, scholars became aware of how the East looked at the West, and the term

⁷⁰⁴ Edward Said pointed out that Orientalists "promote the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them"). Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 43

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁰⁶ Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, *Victorian Travellers and the Opening of China 1842-1907*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), p. 18.

Occidentalism was coined as a counterpart of Orientalism.⁷⁰⁷ To show how the West or Westerners are portrayed in the oriental context. The notion questions whether oriental people can or will depict the real West, and how and why they depict the West in the ways they do. As mentioned previously, any (re)construction is inevitably shaped by the constructor's wish, knowledge, thoughts and cultural background. The West seen in the eyes of oriental people is, therefore, a West that is portrayed to their own purposes. Chen Xiaomei, for instance, examined how the West was used as an image of enemy in order to unite the Chinese people under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party.⁷⁰⁸

When talking about Chinese Occidentalism, Wang Yuechuan concluded that there are four general streams of thought: 1. Idealizing the West, and hence advocating complete Westernization which is considered equivalent to modernization. 2. Emphasizing the importance of "Chineseness", as a counter force to the West. 3. Disenchanted the West, adopting a spiritual-material approach towards the differences between China and the West. 4. Diminishing the West.⁷⁰⁹ Obviously, like Orientalism, Chinese Occidentalism is a complex matter. Wang Yuechuan's conclusion showed that the West had been accorded a dual nature in contemporary China. It was considered both as a competitor that could possibly be a threat, as well as a model that the Chinese people looked up to from styles in fashion to innovations

⁷⁰⁷ There are works about Occidentalism written by both Chinese and Western scholars. See James G. Carrier ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). See also, Zhang Kuan, "Ou Mei ren yanzhongde 'ei wo zu lei'—cong 'dongfang zhuyi' dao 'xifang zhuyi'" 歐美人眼中的非我族類——從「東方主義」到「西方主義」(The "Other" in the Eyes of the Europeans and Americans—From Orientalism to Occidentalism", in *Dushu*, 9 (1993), pp. 1-4. Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) and James F Carrier ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1995).

⁷⁰⁸ Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post Mao China*, pp. 5-7.

⁷⁰⁹ Wang Yuechuan, *Hou zhimin zhuyi yu xin lishi zhuyi wenlun* 後殖民主義與新歷史主義文論 (Literary Theory of Post-Colonialism and New Historicism) (Jinan: Shangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), p. 44.

in scientific and political development.

As the image the modern West in Chinese literature first appeared in the travelogues, tracing back to history, one can explain some of the reasons for the contradictory image of the West. In the nineteenth century travellers' accounts, instead of giving an abstract impression of the West with ideologies or theories, were largely expressed in the form of material things: arsenals, factories, and "high-technology" daily commodities, such as railways and lifts. The strengths of the West, therefore, were also seen as can be simply borrowed in order to save China. The image of the West was powerful, modern and a place of paradise, and a utopia for the travellers to fulfil their ideals. The West itself became an object of desire, and Westerners were portrayed, although without individual personalities, collectively as open-minded, talented and patriotic. Although most of the travellers pointed out on some occasions that the West was not totally ideal and Westerners could be disagreeable and deceptive, the positive images of the West were overwhelming. The West provided the travellers who supported reform with abundant evidence to serve their own purpose. They could make authoritative statements about their reform ideas by suggesting that this was how the powerful Westerners did it. Wang Tao shared a common goal in this aspect, and thus also used similar strategies in his narration. For all his life, Wang was devoted to introducing Western political, educational and national defence systems. Therefore, when writing about his journey, he wanted people to remember him along with an advanced country he had hoped to realize in China. Fragments of his ideal world were picked up and carefully held together when recollecting his journey in Europe. The West was indeed a channel for him to talk about reform measures and his hope for modernity.

Wang's portrayal of the West, however, also differed from many of the travellers of his time in that the faces of foreigners were not as plain. In many other travelogues of the time, due to limited contact of the travellers with foreigners, the image of foreigners was monotonous and one-sided. Their appearance was always the emphasis, being portrayed as different to the Chinese as a whole. Wang's

descriptions of the Europeans, however, were lively in a way that each had their own characters. For instance, the different British women he mentioned in the travelogue, although sharing some qualities, were different in personalities.

Also, Wang's image of the West was equally overwhelmed by exotic and mysterious impressions that China traditionally had of foreign countries. Like the Westerner's imagination of the East as exotic and mysterious, Chinese travellers in the Late Qing had imagined the same of the West. Pictures of the Westerners and Western lives in *DSZHB* can reveal such a trend. Therefore, the nature of novelty-seeking in travelogues was to be expected. It was Wang Tao, however, who, apart from upholding a serious political agenda in his travelogue, turned the West into a playful experience for his readers. The West, especially France, depicted by Wang Tao in his travelogue is fabulous, unusual and even mysterious. "Xian cai" 鮮采 (refreshing and colourful), a comment from Qiu Shuyuan 邱淑園 on Wang's writings, can be used to sum up *Jottings of My Roamings* which is full of adventurous episodes.⁷¹⁰ Those sensational materials were employed on the one hand to capture the readers' fascination, on the other hand to fulfil their imagination of the West: as a place full of unimaginable people and objects.

Besides *qi* 奇 being the core of the marketability of Shanghai journals, it is also Wang Tao's personal imagination/ impression of the West that resulted in a large amount of unusual objects and events being recorded. Wang claimed that he had always been interested in travelling around. When he was bound by filial piety not to leave his parents, he would read books about foreign lands, imagining the refreshing scenery and strange customs. Therefore, the extraordinary West is not only reconstructed to fulfil the readers' imagination of the West but also that of the author.

In seeing the West as a threat, Wang's mixed feelings can always be spotted in the dual course when he constructed the superior image of the West. The West was seen as enemy when he mentioned the fortress-like residential areas in Hong Kong.

⁷¹⁰ Qiu Shuyuan, *Wubai shidongtian huichen* 五百石洞天揮塵 (Dusting the Five Hundred Stone Cave Heaven), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, Vol. 6, p. 13.

From his narratives of the Southeast Asian countries, it was also clear that Wang was fully aware of the danger of China losing its buffer states to the West. The West could be ideal but it could not be the true friend of China. Concerning the unequal status of China at the time, although Wang rarely talked about it directly in the travelogue, from analyzing his narratives of Southeast Asian countries, it can be seen that he believed China had the same status as the West, and the Chinese and Europeans were all superior to the natives and naturally holding power over the natives. Perhaps, to further reinforce his point, Wang emphasized the Chinese values and culture during his narratives about the West. Chinese culture and thoughts were not worse than any Western cultures, traditional Chinese discourses could always be used to explain or even idealize the situation of the West. Despite the technological, military and political superiority of the West, Wang balanced China's status not only with China's glorious past, but also with its remarkable culture and literature that in his travelogue had been the main reason for his gaining of respect.

Looking back at Wang Yuechuang's views of Occidentalism, Wang Tao cannot be simply fitted into one single perspective, but perhaps a mixture of them. He was fascinated by the Western modern world and urged the Chinese to learn from it in order to be modernized, but he also saw China as an independent country with its own characteristics and could develop its own advantages, avoiding complete Westernization. This conclusion, however, was not based on blind confidence in Chinese civilization. In fact, Wang is exceptional among the late Qing travellers in being the first to note that there was something valuable in Western cultures and thoughts as well. He saw Western culture as neither inferior nor superior to Chinese, but simply as having its own strengths and weakness. Based on this balanced view, therefore, he advocated a cosmopolitan exchange of cultures and ideas between not only China and Europe, but in fact all around the world, which he believed could benefit all mankind.

Chapter 9 The Structure

9.1 Introduction

For traditional Chinese literati, structure or *zhangfa* (章法) was always an essential concern across a range of different literary genres. Although criticism of prose writing was overwhelmingly concerned with content, as it was regarded as the most important vehicle to convey the *Dao*, discussion about structure was never omitted. During the Qing dynasty, the Tongcheng School which had been the dominant school of prose critics in literary circles, in particular, emphasized *fa* 法 (methods or rules) for writing prose essays. Their ideas on writing techniques, especially about the structure, have been regarded as a conclusion of the earlier generalizations.⁷¹¹ This approach of analyzing prose writings is still widely adopted by modern scholars. Travel writings in the form of short essays, such as Liu Zongyuan's "Yongzhou baji" 永州八記 (Eight Records of Yongzhou), Ouyang Xiu's "Zuiweng ting ji" 醉翁亭記 (Record of the Old Drunken Man's Pavilion), Wang Anshi's "Baochan shan ji" 遊褒禪山記 (A Record of an Excursion to Mount Baochan), Yuan Hungdao's "Manjing youji" 滿井遊記 (Record of My Excursion of Manji) etc., have been examined in detail of their structure, with emphasis on the coherence between sentences and passages, the existence of resonance and how the

⁷¹¹ The Tongcheng School's core theory was *yi* 義 and *fa* 法. *Yi* refers to the content of the prose essay; according to the Tongcheng idea, *yi* referred primarily to the philosophy of Song dynasty Neo-Confucian ideas. For Tongcheng scholars, the main objective in writing an essay was to espouse the *Dao*. However, the method of explaining *yi* is also important in order to make the essay persuasive. *Fa*, explained by Yao Nai, referred to the method of "arrangement and selection" (布置取舍) and whether "elaborative or terse has to obey this method" (繁簡廉肉不失法). See Yao Nai, "Fu Lu Jiefei shu" 復魯絜非書 (A Letter to Lu Jiefei), in *Xibao xuen quanji* 惜抱軒全集 (Complete Works of the Xibao Hall) (Shanghai: Jiaojing shanfang, 190?) Vol. 6, pp. 10a-12a. See also Wang Zhenyuan *Tongcheng pai* 桐城派 (The Tongcheng School) (Taipei: Quanyutang chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 1991), pp. 36-41.

particular structure helped the expressions of ideas.⁷¹²

The structure of travel, however, was seldom considered among the traditional Chinese critiques. Using written sources from the West, Eric Leed divided travel into three structures: departure, passage, and arrival. Departure is the initial step of travel, indicating the end of comfort and the start of toil. Whether voluntary or not, Leed claimed, departure was always characterised by pain, protest, and even despair when one is detached from a place he knows.⁷¹³ The passage refers to an experience of motion across time and space, during which the traveller is able to enjoy the freedom of not being bound by his net of relations at home and become an “observer”.⁷¹⁴ This is the central part of a journey.⁷¹⁵ The arrival is where the journey terminated. Leed distinguished between physical arrival and real arrival. The former is the moment when the traveller reaches his destination, however the real arrival only comes when he has become fully accustomed to the destination and found himself emotionally attached to it.⁷¹⁶ While departure and passage are found in most Chinese travel writing, arrival is very difficult to discern as most Chinese travellers would return home at the end of a journey, and there is no actual need to integrate with the place being visited. Even when the journey is long, such as in the case of Zhang Qian, who spent more than a decade with the Huns and got married and had children, he had no intention to incorporate himself into Hun society. He showed no hesitation, at least in Sima Qian’s writing, to run away when he had a chance. Therefore, for Zhang, the only arrival came when he returned home. Under Leed’s framework of travel, Wang Tao is one of the most intriguing cases among late Qing travellers, since during his life he constantly experienced departures, passages and arrivals, all of which are recorded in *Jottings of Roamings*.

⁷¹² See Wu Xiaoru, Chu Binjie, *Gudian sanwen mingzuo shangxi* 古典散文名作赏析 (A Study of Famous Classical Prose) (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985)

⁷¹³ Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, pp. 29-31.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56 and 63.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 85.

In this chapter, I will first give a brief introduction to the three main formats of Chinese travel writings, comparing them with *Jottings of My Roamings*, before going on to focus on individual episodes within Wang's account as well as the travelogue as a whole entity. Finally I will use Leed's model of travel to reveal the complexity of Wang's travel.

9.2 Formats of Chinese Travel Writing

Three main formats were used in traditional Chinese travel writings: a single short essay, an essay sequence of a particular place and a diary.

The first type of travel writing and the most prominent was in the form of an essay, a letter or a preface. Many famous travel essays, such as are written in this format.⁷¹⁷ They are normally short and restricted to recording one place or a day trip. Concerning essay sequences, Liu Zongyuan's "Yongzhou baji" serves as a typical example. The first four essays are in a sequence recording Liu's travel westward. In the essays and their titles, the author also mentions the relationship between the places he visited, serving as linkages. For example, the second essay is called "Gumutan ji" 鈷鋤潭記 (A Record of Lake Gumu) while the third essay is called "Gumutan xi xiaoqiu ji" 鈷鋤潭西小丘記 (A Record of a Small Hill West of Lake Gumu). Also, at the beginning of the fourth essay, "Xiaoqiu xi xiaoshitan ji" 小丘西小石潭記 (A Record of the Small Stone Pond Westward to the Small Hill), the author writes, "walking west from the small hill for one hundred and twentyn paces."

⁷¹⁷ A Few examples can be Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (321-379) "Lantingji xu" 蘭亭集序 (The Preface to the Collection of Orchid Pavilion), Bao Zhao's 鮑照 (405-466) "Deng Daleian yu mei shu" 登大雷岸與妹書 (A Letter to My Sister at the Dalei Shore), Wu Jun's 吳均 (469-520) "Yu Song Yuansi shu" 與宋元思書 (A Letter to Song Yuansi), Yuan Jie's 元結 (719-772) "Youxi ji" 右溪記 (A Record of You Stream), 白居易 Bai Juyi's "San you dong xu" 三遊洞序 (The Preface of Sanyou Cave), Wang Anshi's "You Baochanshan ji", Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) "Shizhongshan ji" 石鐘山記 (A Record of Mount Shizhong), Yuan Hongdao's 袁宏道 (1568-1610) "Huqiu ji" 虎丘記 (A Record of Tiger Hill), Yao Nai's 姚鼐 (1732-1815) "Deng Taishan ji" 登泰山記 (A Record of Climbing Mount Tai) etc.

(從小丘西行百二十步)⁷¹⁸ However, the remaining four essays do not have such strong connections. During the Ming dynasty, many writers used this form, examples include Yuan Hongdao's "Shangfanshan si ji" 上方山四記 (Four Records of Mount Shangfan), "Xishan wu ji" 西山五記 (Five Records of the West Mountain), Tao Wangling's 陶望齡 "You Dongtingshan ba ji" 遊洞庭山八記 (Eight Records of Travels of Mount Dongting), and Yuan Zhongdao's 袁中道 (1570-1623) "Xishan shi ji" 西山十記 (Ten Records of the West Mountain). The essay sequence, compared with a single essay, can cover a longer trip and, often, a wider range of subject matters.⁷¹⁹ However, most of the essays mentioned above are confined to a particular scenic spot or its vicinity, which is different from *Jottings of My Roamings* that records a journey over a long distance and time.

The travel diary is most commonly used to record long journeys. A diary form enables the traveller to record every detail of his journey according to date.⁷²⁰ This format gradually became mature during the mid and late Tang period and became prominent during the Song dynasty. Li Ao's 李翱 (772-841) *Lainan lu* 來南錄 (Register of Coming South), Lu You's *Rushu ji* 入蜀記 (Records of Coming to Sichuan), Fan Chengda's *Lanpei lu* 攬轡錄 (Register of Grasping the Carriage Reins), *Canluan lu* 驂鸞錄 (Register of Mounting a Simurgh) are the best examples. During the Ming dynasty, Xu Xiake who was, arguably, the greatest Chinese traveller, recorded his travels in *Xu Xiake youji* 徐霞客遊記 (Travel Diary of Xu Xiake) using a diary format. The length of Xu's travel, the extensiveness of his travel and his literary merits made his travelogue the pinnacle of the travel diary. In the late Qing,

⁷¹⁸ Liu Zongyuan, *Liu Hedong ji* 柳河東集 (Collected Works of Li Zongyuan), (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuju, 1972), p. 473.

⁷¹⁹ Zhuang Yanyu, "Kang Nanhai *Lieguo youji yanjiu*" 康南海《列國遊記》研究 (A Study of Kang Nanhai's *Travel Diaries of Various Western Countries*) (Masters Dissertation, Taipei: Guoli Zhongzheng daxue, 1999), p.56.

⁷²⁰ When Hargett wrote of Li Ao use of a diary format, "the length of his journey—about 2500 miles and the time it took to complete it, exactly 169 days—surely influenced Li Ao's decision to adopt this form." *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)*, p.29.

many embassy dairies were written in diary form, adopting a detailed and meticulous attitude in recording their observations. The diary format can give a through description of the journey, but it is also flexible in length since the author can select the highlights of the trip for readers, and also the length of the journey can vary.⁷²¹

9.3 Structural Characteristics of *Jottings of My Roamings*

When compared to the above traditional forms of travel writings, Wang's *Jottings of My Roamings* stands out for its special layout, which is partly related to its publication. It is narrated in instalments, containing a total of fifty one short essays. Whether it was Wang Tao's original intention is uncertain as the initial form of the travelogue, *Chengfu manji*, has not been found. The manuscript, completed in 1887, was written in instalment format; in fact, the last essay had already been published although the journal's title is not known. In 1889, the first fifty epsidoes were serialized in *DSZHB*. The layout of the manuscript is important because it means that at least by 1887 when Wang finished writing or editing the travelogue, he intended to serialize it and therefore wrote or edited in instalments. This assumes that the travelogue was not designed to be presented in its entirety at one time.

When examining the structure of literary works in instalments during the Late Qing, Chen Pingyuan suggested several features with reference to the mode of publication. First, because of the limitation of time from writing an instalment to submitting it to the press, writers cannot always think of a well-planned work in advance which results in repetition, contradiction, and abrupt changes in narrative tone. He used Wu Jianren's 吴趼人 (1866-1910) *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史 (A Brief History of Civilizations) as example, saying that chapters 29 and 30 contain paragraphs discussing the same topic and expressing the same opinions. Because of these repetitions, contradictions and other literary blemishes, Chen concluded that these works, although very impressive at certain points, are generally weak in terms

⁷²¹ Ibid.

of overall structure.⁷²²

Although Chen's focus is on serialized novels, the narrative limitations he mentioned also apply in any other serialized narrative writings that are too long to be published in journals at one time. Concerning the narrative nature of travel writing, it can also be viewed as the author writing a story of a traveller.

It is, therefore, important to point out that Wang had planned to write the travelogue in instalment in the first place before examining its structure. Wang Tao had the whole story ready, in instalment format, before publishing it. Therefore, it is very likely that he could have avoided some of the structural weaknesses suggested by Chen. He had been involved in establishing the *Xunhuan ribao* and written editorials. Very likely, he realized the constraints of serialization and how it worked best. Previous to the publication of his travelogue, his short stories were serialized in *DSZHB*: this was such a success that the stories were reprinted and even pirated.⁷²³ The travelogue, which can be viewed as a whole, was a new experiment for Wang as he had never previously serialized a long "story". Looking at its structure, however, the episodes, roughly of the same length, around two thousand words, are not only complete and organized on their own, but also demonstrate a coherent overall structure. The only repetitive part is in Episode 27 "The Crystal Palace", in which at the end of the episode, Wang gave a brief summary of the places through which he passed on his way to London.⁷²⁴ However, given the nature of serialization, after

⁷²² Chen Pingyuan, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi moshi de zhuanbian* 中國小說敘事模式的轉變 (The Changes in Narrative Mode of Late Qing Novels), (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 280-282. Also see Chen's "Gaofei zhiduo yu jianshi wenxue" 稿費制度與近世文學, in *Wan Qing wenxue jiaoshi* 晚清文學教室 (Five Lectures on Late Qing Literature), (Taipei: Maitian chuban, 2005), pp. 64-65.

⁷²³ For more information see Chapter 4. See also my paper "Wang Tao's Short Stories Involving Foreign Scenes", in *Chongdu jingdian: Zhongguo Chuantong xiaoshou yu xiqu de duochong doushi* 重讀經典——中國傳統小說與戲曲的多重透視 (Reread the Classics: A Study of Traditional Chinese Novel and Drama in Different Perspectives) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2009), pp. 251-272, here pp. 261-262.

⁷²⁴ Wang Tao, "Passing Through France", in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 79.

twenty-seven episodes,⁷²⁵ the readers had probably forgotten the previous part, therefore, giving a short summary may be helpful to clarify the previous journey before continuing with the physically and emotionally very different journey to Britain for Wang Tao.⁷²⁶ It is not just a summary, but an indication of the pending changes in the travel.

Jottings of My Romains contains fifty one episodes, each with a four-word title. They were also the title of the illustrations, and the illustrations are always drawn according to what the title suggested. Nearly all the titles indicate the place, the author's action (always in the form of a verb), and the subject of description. Examples like "Gazing at the Lotus of the Duck Pond" (鴨沼觀荷), "My Sojourn in Hong Kong" (香海羈踪), "I Try to Bathe in Penang" (庇能試浴), "Watching A Play in Paris" (法京觀劇), "Visiting the Hills of Dollar" (杜拉遊山), all give readers a general idea of the content of that essay. While most of the essays record only one place or one event, some contain several excursions, such as "Series of Records of My Traces" (遊踪類志) recording his trips to Dollar, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Some essays are specially dedicated to introduce Western technology, although Wang's appreciation of Western technology is present in many other episodes.⁷²⁷ "A Record of British Customs" (風俗類志) "A Brief Description of Systems in Britain"(制度略述) "Sophisticated and Remarkable Implements"(製造精奇) all focus on special aspects of life in Britain.⁷²⁸ Wang introduces Western social systems, customs and technology, in line with his aim of broadening readers' horizons.

Later, Kang Youwei also used this kind of format to record his trips to Europe. His *Lieguo youji* 列國遊記 (Travel Diaries in Various Countries) is divided according to countries, each with subtitles. However, the subtitles are not as

⁷²⁵ The *DSZHB* published every ten days.

⁷²⁶ For more information concerning Wang's different feelings and the resulted different portraying strategies of France and Britain see Chapter 8.

⁷²⁷ For example, "Miscellaneous Records of Edinburgh", p. 136 "Visiting Aberdeen", p. 143, "Visiting Dundee Twice", p. 148. In Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-112, 112-115, 120-124.

standardized as *Jottings of My Roamings*, and the language is also very plain, merely giving information of the traveller's itinerary, such as "Visiting Arsenal" (遊武庫), "Visiting a Glass Factory" (遊製玻廠), "Visiting Galleries" (遊畫院), "Visiting Book Shops" (遊書店).⁷²⁹ Compared with Kang Youwei, Wang clearly pays more attention to the aesthetic effect of the titles by using different wordings, especially in terms of the variations of verbs. Apart from "you" (遊) "to visit", Wang also chooses words with a similar but also slightly different meaning, like "guan" (觀) "to look", "tan" (探) "to search", "fang" (訪) "to visit", "lan sheng" (攬勝) "to embrace the spectacular (sight)", "deng" (登) "to climb" and thus is associated with mountain scenery, "jing" (經) "to pass through", and "xiao xi" (小憩) "to stop over for a short while", an appropriate description of his short stay in London. Even when he uses *you*, Wang adds different adjectives to discern even the slightest differences, mostly concerned with his feelings, like "qing you" (清遊) which means a travel aloof from worldly worries, a concluding feeling of his views towards Hong Kong; "you guan" (遊觀) which combines the meaning of travel and visit, "chang you" (暢遊) which means a enjoyable journey, and "chong you" (重遊) which indicates a return visit. The author's endeavour in providing a variety of title forms was clearly demonstrated.

Each essay in *Jottings of My Roamings* can be viewed separately, while being complete as the overall structure is concerned. Each episode has its own subject of description as shown in the title. For example, Episode 25 records his visit to a performance on large swings in Paris.⁷³⁰ Wang first said that he was willing to go to Britain because he thought he had visited all the attractions of Paris. His guide therefore arranged a farewell dinner for him. Then came the dramatic moment when Wang was informed about the swing performance. He writes,

When we were drinking happily, suddenly, I received a piece of paper,

⁷²⁹ The *Lieguo youji* is also known as *Ouzhou shiyiguo youji* 歐洲十一國遊記 (A Travel to Eleven European Countries) although Kang had not visited eleven countries.

⁷³⁰ Wang Tao, "A Carnival of Swings", *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 95-98.

inviting me to visit a swing carnival. Biman (his guide) suddenly jumped up and said, ‘I have found the reason to ask you to stay! In 1865, there was a swing performance which was regarded as a great carnival. There has been no match for it in the last ten years. This grand spectacle can now be seen again.’⁷³¹

This sudden twist from a dull farewell dinner to a swing performance not only aroused Biman’s excitement, but also intrigues the travellers and thus, the readers. The words of Biman, Wang’s French guide, are also a persuasive promise to readers that they would be able to see the most spectacular scenes if they read on.⁷³² After briefly describing the performing arena, Wang went on to describe the open area prepared for the performance. Wang first gave a general description, then focused on some highlights—the competition between the French and the German, and the guessing game performed by French, that Wang also took part in, in which the performer was asked to guess the manufacture year and weight of a Chinese coin. At the end of the essay, as a resonance to the beginning, Wang mentioned going back to his planned itinerary, crossing the British Channel and arriving at London.

The fifty one episodes can also be analyzed as a whole, one being integrated with the others. Indeed the very beginning of his long journey sets the tone for the rest of the adventures. I have discussed Wang’s contradictory intention to become a recluse and an official in the previous section. In fact, the conflict between these two roles exists throughout the book. Wang appears in the opening essays, which mainly deal with literary gatherings and outings, to be an unconventional person who wants to

⁷³¹ Ibid. The original reads, “飲半酣，忽有一紙飛入，則期明日往觀秋千勝會也。壁滿躍然起曰：「然則，我留君為有名矣！前一千八百六十五年，曾設秋千戲，稱為一時雅集，為十餘年來所無。今可繼斯盛已。」”

⁷³² The device of contrast, used in the opening of this essay has been used by prose masters in the past. For instance, in Liu Zongyuan’s “Shide Xishan Yanyou Ji” 始得西山宴遊記 (Travel Diary of My First Visit to the West Mountain), in which Liu contrasted his excitement in a sudden discovery of the strange and unique West Mountain with all the other remarkable landscape in Yongzhou he visited. See Liu Zongyuan, *Liu Hedong ji*, p. 470.

become a recluse. He also presents this idea through his choice of title *Jottings of My Roamings*. The words “man” (漫) and “sui” (隨) imply the meaning of a carefree state which is typical of a recluse who is without worldly worries. While Wang expressed his worldly worries throughout the travelogue, most of which, in the first few episodes, are confined to himself, such as “I believe that whether people are famous or unknown is pre-destined”, “The ever-changing world makes me sigh with emotion”.⁷³³ From the episodes recording his trip to Shanghai onwards, Wang fretted over, and was concerned about, the worsening political situation in China. His concerns for the Southeast Asian states indirectly reveal his worries towards his homeland. For example, seeing Chinese immigrants in Singapore, he said,

If the court could send an envoy here to display its mercy and prestige, people here would admire and seek to embrace China wholeheartedly. They would be willing to help China. Could Singapore not serve as a useful overseas buffer territory?⁷³⁴

In Penang, he also commented,

Since the mid-Ming period, as they (the natives of Penang) were regarded as the gateway to the East, they were occupied by the European countries, which either annexed or picked away at them till none were left as China’s vassal states.It was said that the former chieftains of these countries like Singapore are now used by the British as mere figureheads. How unbearable it is to sigh at such vicissitudes.”⁷³⁵

In Aden, he discusses the importance of geographical location. The Cape of Good

⁷³³ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, “the Preface” and “Listening to the Pine Trees at Baosheng”, p. 33, 39.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., “Mooring in Singapore”, p. 67. The original reads, “使我朝能以一介之使式臨其地, 宣揚恩惠, 憑藉聲靈, 俾其心悅誠服, 歸而向我, 樂為我用, 豈非於海外樹一屏藩哉!”

⁷³⁵ Ibid., “I Try to Bathe in Penang”, p. 70. The original reads, “自明中葉至今, 盡為歐洲列國所分踞, 視為東來之要道, 蠶食鯨吞, 幾無寸土, 而海外之屏藩撤矣。.....為言此間如新嘉坡等處亦有藩王, 即古之君於其國者, 為英官所節制, 僅擁虛位、食廩祿而已。嗚呼, 盛衰無常, 可勝歎哉!”

Hope had once thrived because it was the gateway between East and West. However, later, people started going to the Red Sea via Aden to reach the Mediterranean Sea. But the situation changed again following the opening of the Suez Canal which enabled ships to pass East and West directly.⁷³⁶ In Cairo, he sighed once again, “Politics and the people’s lives were ever-changing. This made me sigh unbearably.”⁷³⁷ To Wang, the world is ever-changing, and it is difficult to control one’s life and the fate of a country. He is aroused by the situation of other states, especially those which had been annexed by the Western powers, because he is able to see parallels with China.

However, those sighs disappear when it comes to his trip to the West. Wang is amazed by Western technology, culture and social customs, all of which he thinks can serve as remedies for China’s ills. In the concluding essay, although proclaiming his aspiration again, he also expresses the difficulty of realising them as he was old by the time.⁷³⁸ Therefore, it can be seen that Wang’s feelings about his life, as well as what he thought he could contribute to the state, serve as integral principles of the travelogue.

Another thread linking the essays together is, most obviously, the author’s itinerary. With regard to the continuity of travelling routes, Wang uses linking devices to hold the essays together. Whenever Wang goes to a foreign land, he will either give a concluding phrase at the start of that essay or the end of the previous one. For example, in Episode 11, Wang recorded that he fled to Hong Kong, first declaring his interest in reading about foreign lands and travelling around. Only filial piety prevents him from heading off on a boundless roaming. Thereafter, he mentioned about how he went to Shanghai and had to flee because he was being defamed.⁷³⁹ The background of his sojourn in Hong Kong is narrated before the

⁷³⁶ Ibid., “Stopover at Cairo”, p. 75.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 78.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., “Attending Various Banquets”, p. 170.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., “My Sojourn in Hong Kong”, pp. 58-59.

description of the focus of the essay. Another example is before his arrival in Paris, when he outlined his itinerary from Hong Kong to Marseille, stating that he had travelled for forty days.⁷⁴⁰ In Episode 27, before the start of his description of London, he again mentioned how he had travelled from Hong Kong, via Singapore, Penang, Ceylon, Aden, Cairo, Italy, and various cities of France. He repeated his itinerary not only to link the following essays with the previous one, but also to make Britain stand out as “another world” when compared to previous places.⁷⁴¹ When it comes to Episode 47, Wang started recording his trip back to Hong Kong. He first concluded that he had stayed in Dollar for about two years and is now thinking about returning home.⁷⁴² Moreover, when Wang recorded his return to England, he referred to his first visit there, linking up with the previous essays about England.⁷⁴³ Such phrases provide the outline of Wang’s trip helping to link the essays together by reminding the reader of Wang’s itinerary.

By carefully linking fifty one short essays together, one subtly slipping into the other, the travelogue is a coherent unit of narrative, *Jottings of My Roamings* assumes the features of both single short essays and a long work, giving details of highlights of Wang’s trip, while at the same time not neglecting the narration of the whole journey. It might also be suitable to borrow Lu Xun’s commentary of *Rulin Waishi* 儒林外史 (*The Scholars*) to describe the book as “a patchwork quilt of silk” (雖云長篇，頗同短制).⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., “Climbing up the Mountain and Gazing into the Distance”, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., “The Enormous Glass Building”, p. 101.

⁷⁴² Ibid., “Sailing back from Britain”, pp. 157-158.

⁷⁴³ For example, in “Visiting the Attractions Again”, the author mentions what he had visited in London and in fact, to avoid repetition, he did not put emphasis on those attractions, instead, recording something new. See pp. 165-167. In “Attending Various Banquets”, he also recalls the people he met in France and London. See pp. 167-170.

⁷⁴⁴ Lu Xun. *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*. Translated by Yang Hsienyi and Gladys Yang. (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1959), p.290. Here, I regard Lu Xun’s comment as descriptive in nature because he did not have any intention of criticising the structure of *The Scholars*. Although there have been attacks on the structure of *The Scholars*, researchers find the book is, in fact, delicately structured. For example, Lin Shuen-fu uses the cosmology of the Chinese and the view of rituals to

9.4 The Structure of Travel in *Jottings of My Roamings*

While most late Qing foreign travel writings deal with one departure from China, one passage, taking a painstaking journey to the foreign countries, and often no arrival in real sense but a return home, the boundaries between these notions of departure, passage, and arrival in *Jottings of My Roamings* are blurred. As I have argued, Wang wrote the book to record his life rather than just one journey and also owing to Wang's adventurous life, the travelogue involved many departures, passages and arguably arrivals. It is an example to demonstrate the complexity of these notions, and these notions also in turn demonstrate the complexity of the journeys and the experiences recorded.

Eric Leed assumed departure to be a painful experience as one was detached, either voluntarily or involuntarily, from his "nest of relations" becoming a total stranger.⁷⁴⁵ Departure in this meaning did not come to Wang Tao until he left China and went on the journey to Europe where he was a total stranger. Before the exile, however, a few "departures", passages and arrivals had already taken place.

After showing the reader the peaceful life he had enjoyed in his hometown, his excursions started at the age of sixteen when he attended the first prefecture examination. Wang likened his journey to that of Liezi 列子, riding on the wind (御風而行) to show his unrestrained feeling.⁷⁴⁶ Instead of feeling the fear of leaving home for the first time, Wang found it an enjoyable experience and remarked at the end of journey that he was inspired and wanted to visit all the famous mountains.⁷⁴⁷ His travels to Nanjing were also very pleasant with happy memories of courtesans,

explain the structure of the novel. See Lin's "Ritual and Narrative Structure in Ju-lin Wai-shih", in Andrew H. Plaks ed., *Chinese Narrative* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 244-265. Concerning *Jottings of My Roamings*' structure, I only borrow Lu's description literary which means I am not, in any way, comparing Wang's work with *The Scholars*.

⁷⁴⁵ Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, pp. 26-29, 33, 46-47.

⁷⁴⁶ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 40.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Qingliang Mountain and the garden of Yuan Mei.⁷⁴⁸ These excursions did not bring any pain as Wang (and also the readers) knew perfectly well that Wang would return home soon. Also, there is no sense of loss of security as Wang showed that he was very familiar with these places. For example, he demonstrated his knowledge in Kunshan by giving a short report on the boundary of this prefecture throughout history.⁷⁴⁹

Wang Tao's travels to Shanghai are relevant to the concept of departure. In Episode 8, Wang recorded two visits to Shanghai. The first one was a very eye-opening journey when he first arrived in Shanghai and saw the Westernized city layout.⁷⁵⁰ The second time came when he was forced to pack his pens to earn a living in Shanghai. He said "once left, I was away from my hometown for a very long time".⁷⁵¹ He certainly noticed the different feeling of his two visits in Shanghai. He regarded that as the difference in *jing* 境 (circumstance), on the second occasion, he was forced to leave his hometown and settle in Shanghai. The loss of his social relations in Fuli was shown by his poetic expressions that the conversations and laughs of his relatives and friends were detached from him forever and he could only recollect the flowers and trees of home in his dreams.⁷⁵² However, he quickly merged into the new environment as mentioned in his friendship with Henry Medhurst and William Muirhead, and his pride to show his Chinese friends Western wine.⁷⁵³ Although he did not mention his life in Shanghai, he showed his good feeling in the short excursions after his migration, just like the excursions he took in Kunshan and Nanjing. After fourteen years, Shanghai had become his second home.

Exile to Hong Kong was a heavy blow to Wang Tao. Unlike his move to Shanghai, this time, he was not driven by a better life, but by the danger of execution

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 45-50.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p. 52.

⁷⁵² Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

if he remained in Shanghai. Eric Leed described exile as a permanent state of traveling, with no hope of returning. It uproots a person from his homeland completely.⁷⁵⁴ This fits into Wang's situation. However, interestingly enough, Wang casually mentioned this departure. Wang even started this episode claiming his prolonged interest in travelling to places far and wide, seeming to imply that it was his initial will to travel to Hong Kong. This perhaps was a later view of the traveller, regarding this exile as not a bad thing ultimately. It is also possible that he saw his departure for Shanghai as more painful, as from then on, he was never able to recover the peaceful life in Fuli, even when he revisited the place later in his life. The emphasis of his travels to Hong Kong was on his incorporation (the concept of arrival) into Hong Kong society. Although occasionally he found Hong Kong a very different place from Shanghai, with awkward eating habits, courtesans with big feet and greedy merchants, he did manage to get adapted eventually. He was not only amazed by the modernization of Hong Kong, but was also able to feel comfortable enjoying the scenery and the companion of people, especially James Legge, he met there. However, it was also significant that in spite of this, Wang Tao regarded himself as a "guest", and therefore, all the happiness he enjoyed was something temporary.⁷⁵⁵

Because he never really identified himself with Hong Kong, the departure from Hong Kong evoked no pain at all as he only briefly mentioned he was invited by James Legge to go to Scotland. Without expressing any desire to stay in Hong Kong, Wang embarked on his passage to the West.⁷⁵⁶ Defined as an experience of motion, Wang's narrative emphasis fitted in well with the interesting details of people and customs that passed before his eyes. The world became a scroll of pictures unrolled. As Eric Leed described, perceptions changed with motions. Wang Tao was constantly

⁷⁵⁴ Eric Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p. 31.

⁷⁵⁵ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 65

⁷⁵⁶ Wang explained the whole departure process in just three sentences, which is a sharp contrast to what he felt when he moved to settle in Shanghai. In *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 65.

refreshed during this passage. While he still felt homesick on a few occasions, it is more significant to point out that he felt himself somehow attached to the final country he visited, Britain. Wang Tao described his life in Britain in such a well-explained, careful, detailed way that he showed his readers that he completely understood the British way. Regarded himself as an informed outsider, Wang constantly reminded the readers that he knew he was a Chinese and other people also saw him as Chinese. There were moments when Wang felt comfortable identifying his coherence with this foreign country. More than once, he showed his joy and comfort staying and talking with the British people, especially ladies. He was no longer a person stripped of relations, in Britain he had friends and people who knew and appreciated him. Therefore, compared with his departure from Hong Kong, Wang wrote a lot about his departure from Britain. He showed his sadness and treasured the goodwill of his British friends.⁷⁵⁷ Whether his stay in Britain can be regarded as “an arrival” is difficult to discern as this was not Wang’s final destination and both the traveller and the readers knew it from the beginning. However, Wang’s attitude towards his visits in Britain partly showed the nature of an arrival. More significant was how he ended his travel by mentioning the interactions between different continents, in which there would be no boundaries both in physical and cultural senses. In this way, he attached himself to the whole world, identifying himself as a member of this global village.⁷⁵⁸ If this is what Wang wanted to show his readers as his arrival, I will argue, as I demonstrated in Chapter 6 how Wang portrayed himself, that the traveller, through the passages from Kunshan to Britain was transformed from a literatus motivated only by the civil service examination to a international intellectual who connected himself with a wider world and communicated with a wider audience about his opinions concerning the world’s development.⁷⁵⁹ He no longer felt himself limited by physical boundaries as the final

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-170.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁷⁵⁹ He went to Kunshan and Nanjing mainly for his civil service examinations as mentioned at the

statement in the travelogue represents the arrival to his spiritual destination.

Chapter 10 The Poems

Chinese poems about travelling are always concerned with natural scenery. James Hargett regarded the harbingers of Chinese travel literature as being Xie Lingyun's

beginning of the episodes. See p. 40 and 42.

poems about the beautiful mountains and rivers he visited.⁷⁶⁰ In fact, poems of natural scenery (commonly known as *shanshui shi* 山水詩) have been prominent throughout China's literary history. Even the earliest collection of poetry, *Shijing* 詩經 (The Book of Songs) which is believed to have been compiled around the period of early Spring and Autumn period (6th century BC), contains poems about vistas seen on the road.⁷⁶¹ During the period from the Latter Han (25-220) to the Jin Dynasties (265-420), such poems became increasingly popular. Li Boqi identified the Cao family (Cao Cao 曹操 155-220; Cao Pi 曹丕 187-226; Cao Zhi 曹植 192-232), Wang Can 王粲 (177-217), the Pan Brothers (Pan Yue 潘岳 247-300 and Pan Ni 潘尼), Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303), Zhang Zai 張載 and many others as the leading *shanshui shi* poets.⁷⁶² Li comments that in their poems, natural scenery is always regarded as a subject of appreciation and a detailed depiction of the scenery is provided.⁷⁶³ Some poems written in the Jin dynasty were influenced by Buddhist philosophy and developed into a subgenre known as *xuanyan shi* 玄言詩 (poems of subtle words). The pinnacle of *shanshui shi* came in the Six Dynasties, with the prolific output of Xie Lingyun, Bao Zhao 鮑照 (405-466), Jiang Yan 江淹 (444-505) and Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464-499) and others who described the scenery in a delicate and sophisticated way, using many rhetorical devices.

Later, poets continued to write poems during their journeys as they drifted from one place to the other, seeking or changing official positions. Du Fu, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Liu Zongyuan, Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, Lu You and Fan Chengda can serve

⁷⁶⁰ James Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)*, pp. 9-17.

⁷⁶¹ For example, "Caimei" 采薇 (Picking Ferns) describes what a soldier saw on the way to the battlefield and his home, while "Jianjia" 蒹葭 (The Reeds) describes the scenery when the author was searching for a beauty. *Shijing* 詩經 (The Book of Songs), Cheng Junying annotated, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), pp. 302-304, and 224-225. For a brief introduction of the dating of *Shijing*, see pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶² Li Boqi, *Zhongguo gudai jiyou wenxueshi*, pp. 42-50.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

as examples. However, most of these poems are not often infused into the prose travel writings, but instead collected separately even though they describe the same scenery as the prose. Therefore, scholars researching travel literature tend to focus on one genre or the other, seldom putting them together.

By the late Qing, it is clear that travel writing had become a mixed genre, with poems often included alongside the passages of prose. Compared with his contemporaries, Wang's poems in *Jottings of My Roamings* are not the greatest in quantity. There are thirty poems in the book, of which twenty five are written by the author. Compared with the famous poets of earlier generations, Wang's poetic skills are also not the best.⁷⁶⁴ However, these twenty five poems do contain a variety of subjects and styles.

First, they are written in different forms, the most common being a poem sequence or a group of poems. Out of the twenty five poems, twenty two belong to sequences. In a situation where Wang had a lot to record or express, it is clear that a regular poem whether of seven words or five words per line, was by itself too short. Therefore, a poem sequence is the best way to cover the subject matter while maintaining poetic intensity.⁷⁶⁵ To include more of what the traveller saw and felt, the old-style poem of indeterminate length was also used. This was a common practice that can be traced back to the Tang dynasty. For example, Li Bai 李白 (701-762) wrote about his trip in a dream “Mengyou tianmu yin liubie” 夢遊天姥吟留別 (A Dream Trip to Mt. Mother-Sky—A Farewell Song) and Du Fu wrote about his excursions to Meipei 美陂, Leyou Yuan 樂遊園 and his journey north, “Bei zheng” 北征 (The Northern Expedition) in the old style.⁷⁶⁶ How Wang's poem about a hill in Dollar fitted into this tradition will be discussed below.

⁷⁶⁴ Lee Chifang, “Wang T'ao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship and Literary Achievement”, (PhD diss, University of Wisconsin, 1973), p. 276.

⁷⁶⁵ Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yu* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p.139.

⁷⁶⁶ In *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Works of Tang Poetry) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 1780, 2261 and 2276.

Although most travel poems tend to have the same subject matter—natural scenery, Wang’s twenty five poems inserted in the travelogue contain a variety of themes. For the convenience of discussion, I have divided the poems into three categories, narrative, didactic and lyrical, according to Chinese poetic traditions.

The first type of poems is generally known as *jishi shi* 紀事詩, narrative poems. In *Shi daxu* 詩大序 (The Great Preface) of the *Shijing*, the concept of *fu* 賦 (narration) was suggested as one of the *liuyi* 六義 (six principles) of poetry.⁷⁶⁷ Zhu Xi explained the meaning of *fu* 賦 as being the direct recording of events (敷陳其事而直言之者也).⁷⁶⁸ Starting from the *Shijing*, the recording of their own lives and society became a tradition for poets, a genre known as *shishi* 詩史 (historical poem). Although the term is more frequently used to describe poems recording pivotal social events, in a broader sense, it is also appropriate to use when referring to recording one’s personal life, the most famous author of such poems being Du Fu. Scholars appreciated not only his poems about the upheavals of the Tang dynasty, but also the poems he wrote about his life, making a record of minutiae almost as detailed as a diary.⁷⁶⁹ Trivia, like finishing building a hut, asking his son to pick some herbs, and tying up a chicken were all recorded in poetic form.⁷⁷⁰

In *Jottings of My Roamings*, Wang also recorded trivia, which he enhanced with a

⁷⁶⁷ Mao Heng, “Shi daxu” 詩大序 (The Great Preface of *the Book of Songs*), in Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (The Orthodox Explanation of *the Book of Songs*) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), p. 45.

⁷⁶⁸ Zhu Xi, *Shiji zhuan* 詩集傳 (Various Explanations of *the Book of Songs*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶⁹ Zhou Xinglu 周興陸 regards Du Fu as an autobiographical poet (自傳詩人). In “Shishi zhi yu he yi shi zheng shi” 詩史之譽和以史證詩 (The Honour of Historical Poet and Proving History with Poems), in *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 1(1999), p. 11. See also Tang Kuiying 鄧魁英 and Ni Shiqiao 聶石樵, *Du Fu xuanji* 杜甫選集 (Selected Works of Du Fu), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), pp.14-15.

⁷⁷⁰ For more information, refer to Du Fu’s “Fuji xing” 縛雞行 (A Song of Tying a Chicken), “Qu shuzi cai cang’er” 驅豎子採蒼耳 (Instruct my Son to Pick Cocklebur), “Tang cheng” 堂成 (Finishing Building my Hut). In *Quan Tang shi*, p. 2335, 2344 and 2433.

deeper meaning. For instance, in Episode 36, he appended two poems after recording his excursion to a hill in Dollar, during which he fell into a muddy pond, and soaking his socks and shoes. The second poem in the essay recorded the accident.

披榛便識非通徑，
 陷淖幾驚作半人。
 到此已難尋退步，
 慚余隨處值迷津。
 不攀藤葛求容足，
 終拔泥塗肯辱身？
 本是探幽翻蹈險，
 卻猜山鬼故予嗔。⁷⁷¹

When I go through the thorny road, I realise this is not the correct path.
 I am nearly scared to death when I suddenly fall into a muddy pond.
 It is difficult to find the path back.
 I feel shamed that I always get lost.
 I will never climb the kudzu vine to find a place for my feet.
 Finally getting rid of the mud I no longer feel humiliated.
 Originally a trip for exploring perilous paths and secluded places,
 I am, however, teased by the ghost of the mountain.

The first two lines record the whole event, before the author goes on to look at other aspects. He used several traditional metaphors to hint at his hidden messages. The third line, on the surface, means that he cannot return by the original path, but it also represents a sigh over irretrievable time and events as the road for walking is always a symbol of one's life. The fourth line suggests that he is always lost. *Jin* 津 means a pier where boats can be moored, but has been used as a symbol of the way of one's life. It first appears in the *Analects* when Confucius sent his disciple, Zilu 子路, to

⁷⁷¹ Wang Tao, "Sailing back from Britain", *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 158. The 5th line of the poem in the book is "不容藤葛求容足". The version in *Henghua guan shilu* is "不攀藤葛求容足" which makes more sense. In *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1998), p. 475.

ask for the way to cross a river. Instead of answering with the directions to the ford the recluse, Jie Ni 桀溺 told Zilu that there were two ways: to avoid people and to avoid the world, which were related to one's decision of life.⁷⁷² Wang's use of *mijin* 迷津 probably directly alluded to Qin Guan's 秦觀 (famous line, "the moon has blocked sight of the pier" (月迷津渡), in which Yeh Chia-ying explained the line's inner meaning being losing one's direction of life.⁷⁷³ In a similar use of the word, however, Wang went one step further in saying that he could get lost everywhere, generalising the vicissitudes of life. The fifth and sixth lines then explain how he faces such a situation. A gentleman should rely on his own ability according to traditional moral values; therefore creeping plants are always looked on as people who depend on others and climb up the ladder by any means.⁷⁷⁴ Wang declared that he was not that kind of person. Mud being dirty, symbolises the corrupted world.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷² In D.C. Lau trans., *The Analects*, Book XVIII.6, p. 150.

⁷⁷³ Qin Guan, "Tasha xing" 踏莎行, in Long Yusheng annotated, *Tang Song mingjia cixuan* 唐宋名家詞選 (Selected Lyric Poetry from Eminent Poets of the Tang and Song Dynasty) (Shanghai: Shanghai guiji chubanshe, 1992), p. 139. Yeh Chia-ying, *Jialing shuoci jianggao* 迦陵說詞講稿 (The Transcripts of Jialing's Lectures of Lyrics), (Taipei: Guiguan tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 2000), Vol.2, p. 166. Yeh's interpretation is based on Su Shi's comment of this lyric poetry. Su Shi described this work as a death omen of Qin. See Long Yusheng, *Tang Song mingjia cixuan*, p. 139.

⁷⁷⁴ The tradition of using objects as symbols of people starts from Qū Yuan's *Encountering Sorrow*, in which he uses fragrant flowers and beautiful plants to symbolize virtuous people, and smelly and ugly plants to symbolize *xiaoren* 小人 (bad people). Creeping plants, such as *tengluo* 藤蘿 (Chinese wisteria) and *tusi* 菟絲 (Chinese dodder) are used to symbolize people who depend upon others, for example, women. The meaning also extends to symbolize untalented people who are able to use their relations with others to get official positions or power. It is often a negative image. For example, in Liu Zongyuan's "Gumu tan xi xiaoqiu ji" 鉤鋤潭西小丘記 (A Record to the Small Hill at the West of Lake Gumu) the various kinds of creeping plants that affect the environment are regarded as symbols of bad people. In Liu Zongyuan, *Liu Hedong ji*, p. 472. Later, in "A Discussion of Loving Lotus Blossom", Zhou Dunyi considered that "junzi" (a gentleman) must depended on others, like "man" 蔓 (climbing plants) and "zhi" 枝 (branches). In *Zhou Lianxi Ji* 周廉溪集 (The Collected Works of Zhou Lianxi) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), pp. 139.

⁷⁷⁵ In Qū Yuan's writings, for example, cleanliness is used to represent both physical and mental conditions. Virtuous people, like the author, love to be clean, but unfortunately he is trapped in a

Wang said that he would not allow it to humiliate his body, and specifically, his mind. In the last couple of lines, Wang demonstrated a sense of humour saying that this accident could be a trick played by the mountain ghost.

In recording his first trip to the hill in Dollar, Wang used an old-style poem which can be as long as the poet wants, and therefore, suitable for recording subjects involving long narratives. The first obvious feature of Wang's poem that fitted into the tradition of narrative poem is recording the date of travel at the beginning. This is the same as in Du Fu's "Northern Expedition". This tradition of recording time at the beginning of the narratives can be traced back to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and later historical works.

Since narrative poems are always long, *zhangfa* 章法 (structure) is often considered to be an important aspect in Chinese poetry critiques. For example, Du Fu's old style-poems are often praised for having a well-organized structure.⁷⁷⁶ Traditional Chinese critics always looked for contrast, coherence and twist in

muddy world. The imagery is widely used later. For example, in Du Fu's "Huaya" 花鴨 (A Patterned Duck), he used the clean duck (the first line reads, "花鴨無泥滓" which can be translated as "the patterned duck does not have any mud [on its body]) to represent people who uphold their own principles. In *Quan Tangshi*, p. 2454. Another example is Cao Xueqin's 曹雪芹 "Zanghua ci" 葬花詞 (A Lyric Poem for the Funeral of Flowers) in *Dream of the Red Chamber*, sung by Lin Daiyu. Daiyu regarded herself as being as weak as flowers. To mourn the short-lived blossoms and to keep them clean, Daiyu placed fallen flowers in a fragrant bag and dug a tomb to prevent them falling into the mud. This is a self allegory in which Daiyu mourned for her own fate. In *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Chapter 27, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), pp. 427-428.

⁷⁷⁶ For example, "Tong zhugong deng Cien si ta" 同諸公登慈恩寺塔 (Climbing tower of Cien Monastery with Friends) was described as containing a huge amount of sighs, using the contrast of the descriptions of scenery from a vertical perspective at the beginning to a horizontal perspective towards the end. Another poem recording an excursion, "Meipei xing" (A Song of Meipei) was said to be linked by the last two words of the first line "hao qi" 好奇 (obsessed with the unusual), and praised as "caoshe huixian zhi miao" 草線灰蛇之妙 (a term used in traditional Chinese literary critiques, meaning having a coherent and subtle structure). More examples can be found through the comments written by or quoted by Yang Lun 楊倫 in *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡詮 (A Clear Explanation of the Poetry of Du Fu), (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1957), pp. 21-23.

emotions in those well-structured narrative poems. Apart from Du Fu, who was renowned for the structure of his poems, Li Bai's "A Dream Trip to Mt. Mother-Sky—A Farewell Song" is also helpful in explaining a twist in emotion at the end of the poem. Throughout the poem, Li suggested that he was proud enough to ignore mundane people in order to make himself happy:

How could I lower my eyebrows and bend my waist obsequiously to serve
the mighty one—to humiliate myself,

And deprive my heart of its right to delight and laugh?⁷⁷⁷

Looking at this line in terms of the situation faced by Li Bai at the time he wrote the poem, after he had resigned his official post because he felt he had not been appointed appropriately, it is obvious that the meaning of this line is not as happy or carefree as it sounds. In fact, it implies a deepest disappointment of the author towards the court. Thus, the tone of the poem deviates from and overrides the light-hearted atmosphere created in the previous part.

Recording his excursion to the hill in Dollar, Wang Tao devoted most of the lines to describing the scenery, before twisting the whole atmosphere at the end. Large parts of Wang's poem portrayed the enchanting scenery and the marvellous drawing skills of a lady. Then, at the end, Wang suddenly introduced a different note—"I sigh at my sorrowful life and that I have been abandoned by the world. My heart is filled with much sadness." He went on to explain how the beautiful scenery arouses his sadness—"Does my homeland not have any beautiful scenery?" This is a rhetorical question suggesting that his homeland does have beautiful scenery, but as he got into trouble with the Taipings, he could not go home but fled to places outside the control of the Qing government. He concluded, "When encountering this spectacular scenery, I think of my homeland—when can I become a recluse in Jiangnan?" restating the wish to become a recluse that he mentioned at the beginning of the book.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁷ Translation adopted from Su Yu, *Li Po- A New Translation*, (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1982), p. 92. The original reads, "安得摧眉折腰事權貴，使我不得開心顏。"

⁷⁷⁸ Wang Tao, "Visiting Plum Blossoms in an Ancient Villa", "Travelling in a Mind-refreshing

The second type of poems is didactic in nature. Throughout the history of Chinese poetry, the didactic objective has remained a time-honoured ideal. Again, as early as *Shijing*, there were poems voicing social criticism.⁷⁷⁹ In fact, in *Guoyu* 國語 (History of the States), it was suggested the function of poems was to reveal the opinions and the living conditions of the people so that the emperor could know what to improve.⁷⁸⁰ In the Tang dynasty, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) also suggested that the aim of writing poems is to “benefit the world” (志在兼濟).⁷⁸¹ As for the late Qing, the call for using literature as a reform vehicle was the loudest of all. Chiang Ying Ho, in his study of the intellectual reactions to the Boxer Uprising (1901), considered the general trend of late Qing poems:

Practising socio-political criticism through poetry prevailed after 1840. The increase of foreign invasions, corruption, and the incompetence of bureaucrats in domestic affairs drew the attention of the poets more to social and political questions and prompted them to criticise the measures of their government.⁷⁸²

Wang Tao is not different from his contemporaries in this aspect. In the episode “The Masts of Huangpu”, he appended four poems in a sequence to express his views on current affairs.⁷⁸³ These four poems, like most late Qing poems, are direct and

Garden”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 35, 125-126.

⁷⁷⁹ For example, “Shuoshu” 碩鼠 criticises the greediness of landlords. “Huangniao” 黃鳥 mourns for those who sacrificed for the dead king. “Jie Nanshan” 節南山 is a criticism voiced by an official, Jiafu 家父, who blamed an incapable official Shuyu 師尹 for unfair social policies. In *Shijing*, pp. 194-196, 227-229, 359-363.

⁷⁸⁰ Details see Liu Xiang edited, *Guo Yu* 國語 (Discourses of the States), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), p. 10.

⁷⁸¹ Bai Juyi, “Yu Yuan Jiu Shu” 與元九書 (A Letter to Yuan Jiu), in *Qinding quan Tang wen* 欽定全唐文 (Complete Works of Tang Dynasty Prose), (China : s.n., 1814), Vol. 675, pp. 8737-8741, here p. 8740.

⁷⁸² Chiang Ying Ho, *Literary Reactions to the Keng-zi Incident (1900)*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1984), p. 95.

⁷⁸³ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 51-53.

intense, full of passion and concern for the state. Wang's directness is shown in the lines suggesting the way to improve, "the court eventually gives priority to reconciliation with the barbarians" and "from now on, our defences cannot be neglected". However, Wang also used allusions, giving historical parallels. For example, the first two lines of the first poem read,

海上潮聲日夜流，
浮雲廢壘古今愁。

The sound of waves flows from day to night.

Floating clouds and abandoned forts call to mind ever-changing worries.

Water has been always used as a symbol of time in Chinese poetry.⁷⁸⁴ The first line goes beyond of its surface meaning and suggests on-going time and history. The second line resembles Du Fu's poem "Deng Lou" 登樓 (Climbing a Tower).⁷⁸⁵ The original reads, "錦江春色來天地，玉壘浮雲變古今" (The vernal atmosphere of the Jin River is all around. The Jade Fort and floating clouds are the witnesses of history), suggesting Du's worries about the ever-changing world. Wang, here, used the same idea to show that, as in the waning decades of the Tang dynasty, social conditions were deteriorating now. Allusions were used to provide parallels with his own experience. In the second poem, he sighed, "When can I stop worrying for the state like the girl from Qishi?" (殷憂漆室何時已) which alluded to Liu Xiang's 劉向 *Lie nü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Virtuous Women), in which a girl from Qishi 漆室 was worried about the fate of her homeland, the state of Lu魯.⁷⁸⁶ Wang chose to

⁷⁸⁴ This imagery started with Confucius's sigh, "逝者如斯夫，不捨晝夜" (What passes away is, perhaps, like this. Day and night it never lets up). In D.C. Lau trans., *The Analects*, Book IX.17, p. 98. Later the imagery of water became a prominent symbol of time, copious examples can be found in Li Bai's poems: "Jiang jinjiu" 將進酒 (Please Have Wine) contains the lines, "君不見黃河之水天上來，奔流到海不復回" (Have you not seen the water of the Yellow River, coming from Heaven, is flowing into the sea, and never returns?) *Quan Tang shi*, pp. 1682.

⁷⁸⁵ Du Fu, "Climbing a Tower". In *Quan Tang shi*, p. 2479.

⁷⁸⁶ D.C. Lau ed., *A Concordance to Gu Lienu Zhuan*, (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuju, 1994), p. 30. Wang Tao uses this allusion to symbolise his worries.

use this allusion not only because both manifested concern for the state, but also because they were commoners of no importance.

Last but not least, the lyrical function of poems is also demonstrated. The most common feelings found in Wang's poetry are misfortune, homesickness and his willingness to become a recluse.⁷⁸⁷ Their significance lies not in their poetic quality, but mostly in the way they are linked to the prose which is going to be discussed in the following.

The relationship between the poems and the prose should also be examined, as Wang selected these twenty poems among his works. The poems in *Jottings of My Roamings* have at least two functions, working in opposite ways to achieve the same goal—to enrich the writing.

Firstly, some of Wang's poems help to amplify his emotions or to highlight the most memorable event in the travels recorded by prose. For example, at the end of Episode 9, he appended a poem about his boat trip.⁷⁸⁸

揚舲東下太湖濱，
躡石登臨眼界新。
不斷煙波千頃遠，
無邊蒼翠四山春。
群峰合沓疑無路，
絕島蒼茫未見人。
更上莫厘最高頂，
狂風吹折郭公巾。⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁷ Examples can be found in “Climbing up the Mountain and Gazing into the Distance”, p.42, “A Short Rest in London”, p. 100, “Travelling in a Mind-Refreshing Garden”, p.126, “Sailing back from Britain”, pp. 157-158.

⁷⁸⁸ Wang Tao, “Sailing on the West Lake”, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 55.

⁷⁸⁹ Guo Tai 郭太, who lived during the Latter Han Dynasty, was a handsome man. He was eight *chi* tall, with a majestic appearance. Once, he travelled around the prefectures of Chen and Liang. When it rained, he deliberately folded up a corner of his headscarf. Later this became a fashion. In Fan Ye, *Hou Han Shu*, pp. 2225-2226.

I sail by a boat from the east to the bank of Lake Tai.
 I climb up the stones and peaks to broaden my horizons.
 I see misty water continuing for a thousand *qing*.
 In spring, the mountains everywhere are greenish jade.
 The peaks are clustered so close together that I fear there are no paths.
 The desolated island is so vast that I have seen no other people.
 I go further up the highest peak of Moli.
 The fierce wind blows away the headscarf of the esteemed Guo.

This eight-line regular poem is a summary of his trip to Moli, highlighting the scenery and some of his activities recorded in the prose. He even changed the sequence of the events slightly to give a dramatic effect. The last two lines suggest that he climbed up the highest peak of Moli, and that the fierce wind then blew away his headscarf. According to his prose account, it was not on the mountain but on a boat that Wang lost his headscarf.⁷⁹⁰ However, the regular poem is so limited in words that Wang felt the need to combine the blowing away of the headscarf with the climbing of the peak.

Another example is in “A Short Rest in London” in which Wang recorded being asked to sit for a photography when he was in London. Looking at the photo, he sighed that he was getting older but achieving nothing and especially that he could do nothing for his country.⁷⁹¹ The first poem starts, “My body is thrown to a place many oceans distant from home”, suggesting his present situation before he turns to express his past aspirations. The second poem starts with a sigh at his destiny, talking about his separation from his homeland and family and ending with “Stroking my books and looking at myself (the photography) listlessly now” which pulls the readers back to the photo-taking event. Then in the following prose section, he stated that when he was young, he wanted to contribute to the state, but did not have the opportunity, not to mention now that he is old and away from home. Through words

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., “Embracing the Remarkable Scenery of Moli”, pp. 53-55.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., “A Short Rest in London”, p. 100.

such as *tou lu* 頭顱 (my head and skull, commonly used to refer to one's life), *gan dan* 肝膽 (liver and gall, commonly used to describe one's mind), *chuangshen* 愴神 (sorrowful and dispirited), *dao si* 到死 (until my death), Wang sought to convey more intense feelings than can be found in his prose.

Some of Wang's poems, however, show a different feeling or attitude, deviating from what is described or expressed in the prose. For example, in Episode 8, Wang wrote about how he was amazed by Shanghai's "refreshing atmosphere" and its Western buildings like "three spiritual mountains beyond the oceans that you could gaze at but not reach", the "overwhelming" foreign music and the "ingenious and fast" printing skills.⁷⁹² He showed a friendly and welcoming attitude towards the Western influences found in Shanghai. However, in the four poems appended in the middle of the prose, Wang expressed other aspects of his thoughts about Shanghai. The main theme was the need to defend the state against the Western powers. Reconciliation is not merely a way to maintain peace at the moment in order to buy time for China to strengthen herself.⁷⁹³ If the prose reveals a friendly attitude, the poems spill over with worries and even hostility in words like "ten thousand waves"(萬頃風濤), "chill"(寒), "the air of fighting"(兵氣), "suspicions"(忌猜) and "many thousand loopholes (in domestic policy)"(千萬漏卮).⁷⁹⁴ The different feelings shown in prose and poems seem to be opposite to each other; however, this might be exactly how Wang revealed his mixed feelings about Shanghai. On the one hand, Wang was impressed by the development of Shanghai under the influence of the West. On the other hand, he could not forget that all was the result of China's humiliating defeats. For Wang, Shanghai was wonderful, but it was a pity that it had not been built and ruled by China. Similarly, in Wang's poem about Hong Kong, he described how beautiful Hong Kong was, with the pity that "its sea, its sky, its

⁷⁹² Ibid., "Masts of Huangpu", pp. 50-51.

⁷⁹³ Ibid., p. 52.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

flowers and its moon do not belong to China.” (海天花月殊中土)⁷⁹⁵

In the prose passages about his trip to the West, he often expressed his enjoyment, in one the occasion even suggesting that he forgot that he was as a foreigner.⁷⁹⁶ However, contradictorily, poems in *Jottings of My Roamings* always express his homesickness. For instance, in Episode 47, Wang expressed his longing for his homeland in the first poem, but then when he wrote that he climbed up the hill in Dollar, he said,

At this point of time, whenever I had spare time, I would put on my sandals and climb up the mountain to appreciate the scenery. As I had been acquainted with the immortals of the mountains, and now I was about to leave them, how could I not feel grievous at each step.⁷⁹⁷

There are copious similar examples: expressions of sadness and happiness are written next to each other, very often just a few lines apart. Wang was, always, on the one hand, enjoying his trip abroad (“I still feel proud because I am able to travel to remarkable places, appreciate beautiful scenery, enjoy literature and make friends, almost forgetting that I am away from home”) while feeling abandoned by his own country (“cast away far from China”).⁷⁹⁸ These conflicting feelings, again, suggest the mixed feelings of the traveller, providing more perspectives to look at Wang’s journey which demonstrate a much more complex and multilayered text by the prose or the poems respectively.

In the preface of *Henghua guan shilu*, Wang said that he was not good at writing

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid., “My Sojourn in Hong Kong”, p. 60.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., “Traveling in a Mind-refreshing Garden”, p. 126.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., “Sailing back from Britain”, p. 158. The original reads, “余至此，偶得餘閑，輒蠟屐登山，縱覽風景，與山靈久相稔習。今將別山靈而去，能不一步一悽惻哉！”

⁷⁹⁸ These two quotations appear in one essay: the second quotation about how sad Wang Tao was, in fact, appears a few lines above the first one in which he noted that he had forgotten his homeland. In Essay 35, “Traveling Happily in a Mind-refreshing Garden”, in Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 126. The original reads, “遊覽之奇、山水之勝、詩文之娛、朋友之緣亦足以豪，幾忘其身之在海外也好”，“今日擲身滄海外”。

poems, and the only thing he achieved was being able to reveal honestly his feelings and thoughts in them.⁷⁹⁹ His poems in *Jottings of My Roamings*, despite being small in number, do show his concerns, feelings and innovative personality. Most importantly, they serve a special purpose of enriching Wang's sometimes terse and laconic prose.

Chapter 11 Wang Tao's Relationship with the Japanese and Background Information to *A Travel to Japan*

Before Wang Tao's trip to Japan, very few Chinese had traveled independently, without being part of an official or religious mission. Therefore, Wang and his Japanese friends regarded him as "a pioneer"—the first literatus to travel to Japan. In the preface to *A Travel to Japan*, Wang Tao quoted from his Japanese friends, saying that his trip was so valuable that it should be considered *qianzai yishi* 千載一時 (one opportunity in a thousand years). Like his journey to the West, it was partly Wang's pride that made him decide to go to Japan. Although he was not the first

⁷⁹⁹ Wang Tao, "Preface", in *Henghua guan shlu*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1998), p. 426. The original reads, "余不能詩，而詩亦不盡與古合。正惟不與古合，而我之性情乃足以自見。"

Chinese to travel in Japan, he was probably the first intellectual invited by the Japanese as an individual. Therefore, it is no wonder Wang Tao was proud to record it and felt grateful towards his Japanese hosts. This is one of the main reasons for Wang to write *A Travel to Japan* and present it to Kurimoto Joun 栗本鋤雲 (1822-1897), one of his hosts, for publication in Japan.⁸⁰⁰ This intention is important in the analysis of the travelogue because it tells us that Wang Tao aimed at, primarily, Japanese readers. It was due to that particular reason did he emphasize on Sino-Japanese relationship and the positive images of Japanese intellectuals above all.

In fact, Wang Tao had long been acquainted with Japanese intellectuals. As early as 1864, when he was in exile in Hong Kong, he had met some Japanese officials, including the Japanese envoy, Ikeda Nagaoki 池田長發 (1837-1879).⁸⁰¹ Wang did not record the reason for their meeting, but evidence reveals that the Japanese had been interested in buying books published by the Anglo-Chinese College, which was headed by James Legge. For example, *Chinese Serials* had appeared in Japan in 1853.⁸⁰² James Legge's *A Circle of Knowledge* had been published in Japan a dozen times in the 1860s and 70s.⁸⁰³ Also, in 1860 and 1862, Japanese envoys visited the college on their way back to Japan.⁸⁰⁴ It is likely that Wang Tao got to know the

⁸⁰⁰ Wang said in the preface, "I gave the manuscript to Kurimoto Joun for publishing to show my gratitude to my Japanese friends." (以畀栗本鋤雲先生，付諸手民，用示同人，不敢有忘盛惠也。) In *A Travel to Japan*, p. 172.

⁸⁰¹ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao riji*, p. 214

⁸⁰² Masuda Wataru, *Seiga tozen to Chuoku jijo: zassho sakki*, 西學東漸與中國事情 (Westernization in the East and China) (Tōkyō : Iwanami Shoten, 1979), p. 28.

⁸⁰³ For more information see Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhong Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi* 近中日文化交流史 (A History of Cultural Exchange between China and Japan in the Pre-modern Period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), pp. 51-52.

⁸⁰⁴ Chen Zhanyi, *Riben ren yu Xianggang (Hong Kong)—shijiu shiji jianwen lu* 日本人與香港——十九世紀見聞錄 (The Japanese and Hong Kong—A Record of the 19th Century) (Hong Kong: Educational Publishing Co., 1995), pp. 45-56, 121.

Japanese officials after being introduced by James Legge. Later on, in 1867, a Japanese calligrapher, Hachinohe Hiromitsu 八戸宏光, met Wang Tao on his trip to Hong Kong. Hachinohe was a renowned calligrapher who could use both hands and mouth to write words, but what Wang valued most was his knowledge of the Confucian Classics and the West. When Wang wrote a preface for Hachinohe, he started his memories of Hachinohe as a Confucian scholar who had no interest in pursuing an official position, but traveled around the world in order to acquire “real” knowledge.⁸⁰⁵ He praised Hachinohe as an intellectual who had great aspirations. This became a key feature of Wang Tao’s impression of Japanese intellectuals later on revealed in *A Travel to Japan*.

What prompted the Japanese intellectuals to invite Wang Tao was his book, *Pufa zhanji*. Wang collected information about the war from English newspapers and other Western materials translated by his friend Zhang Junzhi, analyzing the result of the war, and especially how it affected the future of Europe. A draft version of the book was serialized in *China Mail* and *Shenbao* from 1872. The book explained how Prussia, although seemingly not as strong as France, was able to defeat France, and how Prussia’s victory had upset the balance of power in Europe. Wang expressed his opinions on European current affairs and considered future developments. As a Chinese intellectual, however, his objective in writing the book was indirectly stated by attaching a preface, purportedly written by an anonymous person, but in fact by Wang Tao himself as it was later compiled into his collection. Wang wanted his readers, presumably the Chinese, to understand the present situation in Europe and learn from Prussia’s success and France’s failure. He concluded that the main reason for Prussia’s success was in being able to use the right man for the right job, pointing out that the success of a state depended on its people, not sheer luck. This is in line with his advocacy of using new methods for recruitment to government. The book

⁸⁰⁵ Wang Tao, “Song Riben Hachinohe Hiromitsu you Jinling xu” 送日本八戸宏光遊金陵序 (A Preface to a Japanese, Hachinohe Hiromitsu, for his trip to Jinling), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 1-2, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 602-603.

was very well received: even before its publication in 1873, manuscripts were copied and sent to various prestigious Chinese officials, such as Zeng Guofeng, winning their appreciation.⁸⁰⁶

The book quickly became popular in Japan, as did the name of Wang Tao. Nakamura Masanao, for example, one of the pioneers of the early Meiji period who translated several Western philosophical works into Japanese, came to admire Wang Tao after reading the book.⁸⁰⁷ Japanese Sinologist Shigeno Yasutsugu 重野安繹 (1827-1910) also expressed his admiration for Wang, and said that he would feel proud if Wang Tao could visit Japan.⁸⁰⁸ Another famous Sinologist, Oka Senjin also stated that Wang Tao became famous among Japanese intellectuals after *Pufa zhanji* appeared in Japan. He pointed out that because of the critical success of the book, Wang Tao's reputation as a great man (偉人) had spread far and wide in Japan.⁸⁰⁹ The editor of the publisher of Wang's *A Travel to Japan*, Kurmoto Joun, was particularly impressed with Wang's meticulous and critical analysis before he had finished reading half of the book, commenting that Wang Tao's thought had advanced his fellow countrymen.⁸¹⁰ When *Yubinhochi shinbun* introduced Wang Tao

⁸⁰⁶ Wang Tao, "Pufa zhanji daixu" 普法戰記代序 (Preface to the *Franco-Prussian War* written on behalf of Wang Tao), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, p. 22-23, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 613.

⁸⁰⁷ Nakamura Masanao, "Wen Wang Ziquan xiansheng xigui you ci ji" 聞王紫詮先生西歸有此寄 (Heard that Mr. Wang Tao went westward back home), in *Keiu shiji* 敬宇詩集 (Selected Works of Nakamura), (Tokyo: Shiseki Kenkyukai, 1898), *juan* 18, p. 498. The original poem reads, "漂然乘興日東遊，才學如君固寡儔。筆役風雷多逸氣，胸羅星斗足奇謀。(讀《普法戰紀》序論)而知之)久思對榻縱談未，能肯命車來訪不。那忍匆匆分手去，天涯良會再難求。" The third and fourth lines refer to Wang's analysis of the Franco-Prussian War. Nakamura is an important figure during the Meiji period due to his translations of *Self Help* by Samuel Smiles (1812-1904) and *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873).

⁸⁰⁸ Quoted from Nakamura Masanao's "Xü" 序 (Preface), in *A Travel in Japan*, p. 172.

⁸⁰⁹ Oka Senjin, "Houxü" 後序 (Postscript), in *A Travel to Japan*, p. 315.

⁸¹⁰ Kurmoto Joun, "Wang Zhiquan zhi laiyou" 王紫詮之來遊 (Wang Tao's Travel in Japan), translated by Shyu Shingching, "Wang Tao yu Riben weixin renwu zhi sixiang bijiao", *Taida wenshizhe xuebao*, 64.5 (2006), p. 137.

when he visited Japan, the essay also started with a review of Wang's *Pufa zhanji*.⁸¹¹ As the book also fully demonstrated Wang's literary skills, Japanese literati, such as Hoshino Tsune 星野恒 (1839-1917) asked Wang Tao to comment on his compilation of the eight great Chinese essay writers of the Tang and Song dynasty. Ono Gozan 小野湖山 (1814-1910) invited Wang to write a preface to his selected works of poetry. *Taoyuan wenlu weibian* contains seventeen prefaces Wang wrote following the requests of the Japanese, counting for one fifth of total number of his prefaces. Apart from intellectuals, Zhuo Jiayong also noted that the Japanese army had ordered the republication of a fully punctuated version of the book, meaning that it aroused attention among Japanese officials.⁸¹²

To understand why *Pufa zhanji* and Wang Tao were so impressive to the Japanese, it is helpful to introduce briefly how Chinese books of Western subjects were received in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period. In fact since the frequent cultural import from China to Japan during the Tang dynasty,⁸¹³ Chinese books had been shipped, to and published, in Japan in great numbers and read among Japanese intellectuals throughout the centuries. Wang Xiaoqiu estimated that from 1840 to 1855, over 40,000 books were shipped from China to Japan, the most significant being Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi*.⁸¹⁴ Many scholars have already commented on the

⁸¹¹ *Yubinhochi shinbun*, 9th September, 1979.

⁸¹² The edition punctuated by the Japanese army was published in 1885. Quoted from Zhou Jiayong, "Zai Xianggang (Hong Kong) yu Wang Tao huimian—Zhong Ri lianguo mingshi de fanggang jilu" 在香港與王韜會面——中日兩國名士的訪港記錄 (Meeting Wang Tao in Hong Kong—A Record of Chinese and Japanese Eminent visitors to Hong Kong), in *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, p. 391

⁸¹³ Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhong Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi* 近代中日文化交流史 (A History of Cultural Exchange between China and Japan in the Pre-modern Period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992) pp. 9-18.

⁸¹⁴ From 1854 to 1856, the Japanese published twenty one selected or punctuated versions of the book, most with prefaces and additional comments. For more information see Wang Xiaoqiu, *A History of Cultural Exchange between China and Japan in the Pre-modern Period*, pp. 21 and 29-34. *Haiguo tuzhi* was well-received in Japan and treated by intellectuals as their sole important book about the West. For Wei Yuan's influence among Japanese intellectuals, see Wang Jiajian, "Haiguo tuzhi duiyu

influence of Wei Yuan in Japan.⁸¹⁵ In short, the book provided the Japanese with a valuable opportunity to discover the world.

Concerning Wang Tao, Wei Yuan is an important figure for a parallel comparison because Wang was regarded by the Japanese and also by himself as the successor of Wei Yuan to whom the Japanese had shown great respect.⁸¹⁶ While Wei Yuan's book provided the first opportunity for the Japanese to find out about the world, Wang Tao's *Pufa zhanji*, written thirty years later, contained much more information and experience of the West, displaying not only advanced knowledge of the West, but also Wang's analysis of the changing political situation in Europe. Shyu Shingching also explained that it was the similarity between Prussia and Japan that aroused the interest of the Japanese. He pointed out the Prussia was portrayed by Wang as a small state, incomparable to France, but by uniting its people and appointing the right leaders, it had been able to modernize itself and had eventually defeated the strong France. The means by which a small state could defeat a strong state was what the Japanese were most eager to discover.⁸¹⁷ According to Wang's travel diary, Shigeno Yasutsugu thought that Wang had surpassed Wei Yuan in terms of his knowledge of the West.⁸¹⁸

While the Japanese saw Wang Tao as an expert on Western affairs, Wang Tao also showed a positive attitude towards the modernization of Japan, although he did point out some of the weaknesses.⁸¹⁹ In his travelogue, Wang Tao portrayed himself as greatly being admired by the Japanese and had fully demonstrated an attitude and willingness of intellectual exchange. Also, as he had been to the West, he was not so

Riben de yingxiang" 海國圖志對於日本的影響 (The Influence of Haiguo tuzhi on Japan), in *Dalu zazhi*, 32.8 (1966), pp. 2-7.

⁸¹⁵ Xiong Yuezhi, *Xi xue tongjian yu Wan Qing shehui*, pp. 254-265; and Wang Xiaoqiu, *jindai zhong Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi*, pp. 27-44.

⁸¹⁶ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 202.

⁸¹⁷ Shyu Shingching, "Wang Tao yu Riben weixin renwu zhi sixiang bijiao", pp. 131-171, here, p. 136.

⁸¹⁸ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 202.

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

much amazed by the Western objects he saw in Japan, instead, he looked for the historic and cultural relations between the two countries and thought about the future development of it. The journey also provided Wang Tao with a chance to discuss with the Japanese his views on modernization and westernization. Like China, Japan at that time was also facing challenges from the West. Wang Tao, therefore, was particularly interested in investigating Japanese opinions on striking a balance between tradition and new thoughts and ideas. This kind of two-way communication among intellectuals from the two countries was rare in earlier travel accounts of the Late Qing period.⁸²⁰

The preface to *A Travel to Japan* concisely showed Wang's attitude towards Japan. He noticed that the Japanese were growing stronger and stronger, so that the Chinese should change their previous impression of Japan. He used the story of "Peach Blossom Spring" as a metaphor of Japan, although he deviated from the traditional meaning of the story. The "Peach Blossom Spring", written by Tao Yuanming, is a symbol of a paradise, whose people having fled the tyranny of the Qin dynasty had no conflicts and worries. Wang used it to describe the previous Chinese impression of Japan. It seemed to be particularly suitable because in Chinese myths, Japan was founded by Xu Fu who led a group of children and sailed away, therefore fitted in with the concept of "bi Qin" (避秦 fleeing the Qin empire).⁸²¹

⁸²⁰ For more information on earlier travel accounts to Japan see Chapter 4 and Wang Xiaoqiu's *jindai zhong Ri wenhua jiaoliu shi*, Chapter 4, pp. 90-125.

⁸²¹ Sima Qian's *Shiji* stated that Qinshi Huangdi, the first emperor of a unified China, thought that there were immortals living on the Three Spiritual islands in the oceans, and sent an alchemist, Xu Fu, to find the islands with a group of pure boys and girls. Wang refers to this same story when he wrote about Xu Fu and the immortals' world. The story of Xu Fu is a popular allusion with regard to Sino-Japanese relations. For more information see Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮, "Xu Fu dao le Riben ma?" 徐福到了日本嗎? (Did Xu Fu get to Japan?) and "Xu Fu, Riben de Zhongguo yimin" 徐福, 日本的中國移民 (Xu Fu, a Chinese immigrant in Japan), in *Gudai de Zhongguo yu Riben* 古代的中國與日本 (Ancient China and Japan) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1998), pp. 64-106, and in *Riben de Zhongguo yimin* 日本的中國移民 (Chinese Immigrants in Japan), ed. Zhongguo Zhong-Ri guanxi shi yanjiuhui (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1987), pp. 29-66.

However, what is implied by this allusion is a kind of life which is primitive, simple and a people who had no intention of getting in touch with the world. This was also appropriate to describe the Tokugawa government's attitude towards the West by locking the door of Japan. Moreover, in Tao's story after the fisherman told other people the way to the paradise, several people tried but failed, and Tao stated that eventually no one tried to find the way again. However, when Wang wrote his preface, he realized that Japan was no longer a mythical island cut off from the world, a paradise whose people could live a peaceful life. He broke the image of paradise by suggesting that Japan had also encountered the wave of Western imperialism, but for Wang, the most important message was Japan's response to the change, a response which the Chinese needed to learn. Therefore, he said, "Previously, the Peach Blossom Spring (Japan) was a place for people to get away from the Qin dynasty, but now the people of Qin go to Japan to ask for the way."⁸²² (前之所謂世外桃源可以避秦者，今秦人反從而問津焉) The metaphor of *wenjin* 問津 (asking for the way) is also present in *Jottings of My Roamings*, which implies the search for remedies to strengthen the state. For Wang, Chinese people should be interested in asking for the way, but this was not a way to reach a paradise where there was no conflict, but rather a way of showing how a state could cope with continuous changes. He emphasized the word "fan" 反 (opposite) which subtly described the change in the exchange of knowledge and experience between China and Japan. It can be seen that when Wang was in Japan, he had a concept of learning from the Japanese in his mind and had given up the assumption of Chinese superiority. He wanted to search for a way out for his homeland.⁸²³

Wang Tao arrived in Japan in the summer of 1879 and stayed there for three

⁸²² Wang Tao, "Preface", in *A Travel to Japan*, p. 171.

⁸²³ In his autobiography, Wang mentioned that his reason for traveling to Japan was to "convalesce from his old illness and cleanse his thoughts". This may well have been the initial reason, but as Wang Tao travelled in Japan, he was impressed by the progress of modernization in Japan and therefore wrote in the preface of *A Travel to Japan* to express his willingness to learn from the Japanese.

months, traveling to Kiyou, Kobe, Settsu, Kyoto and Tokyo (Edo). As stated in the author's preface and also a preface written by Shigeno Yasutsugu, the diary was finished when Wang Tao was heading back to Shanghai in the same year.⁸²⁴ The manuscript was given to Kurimoto Joun, the chief editor of a Japanese news printing press, *Yubin Hochi shinbunsha* 郵便報知新聞社 (or *Hochi Sha* 報知社 as recorded in Wang's preface to *A Travel to Japan*), one of the three leading newspapers in Japan in the 1870s.⁸²⁵ It was divided into three *juan*, the first was published in Japan in the winter of 1879, and the remaining two *juan* the next year.⁸²⁶

Apart from emphasizing the historical significance of the cultural exchange between Wang Tao and the Japanese intellectuals, Zhong Shuhe found *A Travel to Japan* disappointing, with insufficient material and elaboration of Wang's political ideas and too much about his private life.⁸²⁷ However, he and other scholars seldom point out that Wang Tao was also unsatisfied with the *Hochi* edition. In his bibliography, he stated that his accounts of Japan's sea defence, military policies, naval vessels and barracks had been completely left out, while his tales of his relationship with the courtesans were also abridged.⁸²⁸ At the end of his annotation, Wang looked forward to a republication of the diary's original content, although this was never realized.⁸²⁹ A Chinese version of the diary, reprinted by Wang Shiqi in

⁸²⁴ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 171-174.

⁸²⁵ James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 46-110, here p. 82.

⁸²⁶ The text used here is a collated and punctuated version based on the *Hochi Sha* edition, edited by Zhong Shuhe in 1982. See Zhong Shuhe, "Preface", in *Manyou suilu.Fusang youji*, p. 27.

⁸²⁷ Zhong Shuhe, *Zuoxiang shijie: Jindai zhishi fenzi kaochao xifang de lishi*, p. 159. Similar opinion can also be found in Mei Xinlin and Yu Zhanghua, *Zhongguo youji wenxue shi* 中國遊記文學史 (A History of Chinese Travel Literature) (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2004), p. 365.

⁸²⁸ Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wen xianbian*, p. 376. In fact, some extracts of records of strategic locations in Japan can still found in the travelogue, but most of them are discussed in the perspective of history. *A Travel of Japan*, pp. 184, 188, 279-280, etc.

⁸²⁹ Wang Tao, "Zixu", *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 32.

Xiaofanghu zhai yudi congchao, is a copy of the Japanese edition with no major differences.

A possible reason for Wang not to reprint *A Travel to Japan* in China is that he did not plan to narrate his journey in its original form. In the preface of *Jottings of My Roamings*, Wang mentioned his journey to Japan alongside his European experience. He also pointed out that the painter had drawn eighty illustrations according to his original plan.⁸³⁰ At the end, only fifty of them related to his journey to Europe were published with the text. Although the reason of not publishing (or writing in the first place) of the part about Japan was unknown, it proves that Wang wanted to include his travels to Japan in *Jottings of My Roamings* but it would be dramatically different from the original diary, at least in its format. It is clear that *A Travel to Japan* was not written for Chinese readers and he had planned to tell his Chinese readers his journey to Japan in a different way as he did in the diary.

Although Wang's original manuscript has not been found, other materials written by Wang concerning Japan can still be useful for further investigation of Wang's attitude towards Japan, helping to round out the picture and reduce the gaps left by the published diary.⁸³¹ Apart from those works in which Japan was used as a comparison, there are eight essays directly related to Japan and seventeen prefaces written for the Japanese collected in the *Taoyuan wenlu weibian*. Other works, such

⁸³⁰ Wang Xiqi eds., *Xiaofanghu zhai yudi congchao*, pp. 8057-8106.

⁸³¹ Here I only focus on Wang's opinions on Japan. The record of Japanese courtesans was abridged by Shen Meishi 沈梅史, an official in the Chinese embassy in Japan. Although edited, there is still an enormous amount of description of occasions when Wang met Japanese courtesans. The diary even contains an account of Japanese intellectuals critically questioning Wang's obsession with women. Wang argued that it was his failure in China that had made him turn to wine and women. *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 246-247. Indeed, in the poems for those courtesans, Wang expressed a lot pity for them and compared them with himself. Another reason for mentioning courtesans frequently was Wang's longing for Shanghai. From 1862 until he decided to go to Japan, Wang did not have the opportunity to go back to either his hometown or Shanghai, both of which he missed. From his records of Hong Kong, he was not attracted by the courtesans there and always missed those in Shanghai. When Wang mentioned the Japanese courtesans, he emphasized not only their appearance, but also their talents in dancing and playing ancient instruments. *A Travel to Japan*, p. 185.

as editorials in *Xunhuan ribao* also contain pieces related to Japan. These essays mostly focus on the problem of Taiwan, the Ryukyu Islands (Liuqiu 琉球 in Chinese, now Okinawa) and the relationship between China and Japan. Early in 1874, Wang had published two articles, criticizing the Japanese invasion of Taiwan, “A Discussion of the Japanese attack on the Taiwan Savage” and “A Discussion of the Japanese invasion of Taiwan”. He particularly condemned Japan’s strategy of using a few people of Liuqiu had been killed by the Taiwan savages as an excuse to justify its invasion.⁸³² Although Japanese troops eventually left Taiwan, they required the Qing court to provide a compensation of 50,000 taels of silver and claimed that their military action was a righteous act.

During Wang’s trip to Japan in 1879, Japan tried to annex the Ryukyu Islands and make it a province of Japan.⁸³³ In 1880, the Qing court invited the US president, Ulysses Simpson Grant, (1822-1885) as a middleman to help to solve the crisis. Negotiations started, and Japan expressed its willingness to return the southern part

⁸³² Wang Tao, “Lun Riben wang jiao Taiwan shengfan” 〈論日本往剿臺灣生蕃〉 (A Discussion of Japanese attack on the Taiwan Savages) published on 23rd May 1874 and “Lun Riben qinfan Taiwan” 〈論日本侵犯臺灣〉 (A Discussion of the Japanese invasion of Taiwan) published on 27th July 1874. the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1874 was known as “Mudan she shijian” 牡丹社事件 (The Formosa Incident). The cause of the incident could be traced back to 1871 when fifty four Ryukyu Islanders traveling to Japan who had been shipwrecked were killed by Taiwan savages. Japan claimed that as the Ryukyu Islands were part of Japan, it had the responsibility to protect its people and attacked the savages in Taiwan in May 1874. By the end of May, the Qing army intervened and the two governments started negotiating a treaty. By September, a treaty had been signed in Beijing.

⁸³³ In 1875, Japan had forced the king of the Ryukyu Islands to stop paying tribute to China and cut off diplomatic relationship with China. In this way, Japan made Ryukyu no longer a tributary state of China. Then, the Japanese used the treaty signed in Beijing in 1874, saying that as the Qing court admitted Japan’s invasion as a righteous act to protect its people (presumably the people of Ryukyu), the Qing court had indirectly admitted Japan’s sovereignty over the Ryukyu Islands. In April 1879, Japan renamed the Islands, Okinawa.

of the Ryukyu Islands to China, but the Qing court did not agree.⁸³⁴ In the travelogue, there are no traces of Wang discussing this matter with the Japanese. However, once Wang was back in Hong Kong, he wrote many essays criticizing Japan and proving China's sovereignty over the Ryukyu Islands, arguing from an historical perspective.⁸³⁵ He also wrote to his Japanese friends, particularly Oka Senjin who had agreed with Wang's strategies against Russia.⁸³⁶ In these letters, Wang mentioned Koa kai (or in Chinese, *Xingya hui* 興亞Rise Asia Society) established in 1880, which aimed at facilitating cooperation between China and Japan against the West.⁸³⁷ Wang showed great support for the organization and became one of its founding members. Wang hoped that the organization could solve the crisis between China and Japan, urging Japan to return the Ryukyu Islands. However, when Japan eventually took the Ryukyu Islands, Wang realized the ineffectiveness of Koa kai, therefore writing an article, giving harsh comments, such as "(giving) meaningless words" (無意義的空言), "the organization belongs to some kind of conspiracy plan" (屬於陰謀詭計之類的組織).⁸³⁸

⁸³⁴ The problem of the Ryukyu Islands was not solved diplomatically but Japan had already occupied it and its king was placed under house arrest in Tokyo. After the Treaty of Shimonoseki 1895, Taiwan was also ceded to Japan. From then on, the Qing court proved incapable of fighting with the Japan over the land on the eastern sea.

⁸³⁵ "Bian Liuqiu shuyu wochao" 辨琉球屬於我朝 (15th November 1880), "Lun Riben jingying Liuqiu" 論日本經營琉球 (30th December 1881), "Lun Liuqiu yu tu huifu" 論琉球欲圖恢復 (19th January 1882), "Lun Zhong dong shangban Liuqiu shi" 論中東商辦琉球事 (29th February 1883) were published in *Xunhuan ribao*. In *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, there were "Liuqiu chaogong kao" 琉球朝貢考, "Liuqiu xiangui Riben bian" 琉球向歸日本辨, "Bou Ri ren yanqū Liuqiu you shi zheng" 駁日人言取琉球有十證, "Liuqiu shi buzū bian" 琉球事不足辨, pp. 568-574.

⁸³⁶ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 412.

⁸³⁷ Xing Ya hui was mentioned in Wang Tao's letter to Oka Senjin. See "Yu Riben Gan Lümen" 與日本岡鹿門 (A Letter to Oka Senjin from Japan), *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 158.

⁸³⁸ Wang Tao, "Xing Ya hui yi du qi bi lun" 興亞會宜杜其弊論 (A Discussion of How Xing Ya Hui should Eliminate its Defects), in *Xunhuan ribao*, 16th August 1880.

Initially, Wang hoped that China and Japan could ally against Russia. As early as 1871, when Wang was compiling the *Pufa zhanji*, he already sensed the threat posed by Russia.⁸³⁹ He emphasized on a few other occasions that Russia was becoming the greatest threat to Europe and Asia after the defeat of France. Therefore, he advocated an alliance between China, Japan and Britain, especially China and Japan due to their geographical and historical relations, to check the growing ambitions of Russia.⁸⁴⁰ Wang, after realizing the progress made by Japan, hoped that Japan would not look down upon China and form an alliance.⁸⁴¹ When Wang was in Japan, he discussed the issue with Oka Senjin. Although they agreed on the policy against Russia, Wang did not know Oka also approved of the Japanese invasion of China.⁸⁴² At that time Wang was still fully hopeful of cooperation. However, as Japan gradually carried out

⁸³⁹ Wang Tao, “Pufa zhanji qianxu” 普法戰紀前序 (The First Preface for the *Franco-Prussian War*), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 14-16, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 609-610. In the preface, Wang Tao stated that because of the defeat of France, the balance of power in Europe had been upset. Apart from the rise of Prussia, Russia also appeared to be a threat as Prussia adopted a more friendly relationship with Russia.

⁸⁴⁰ Wang used the metaphor of the Warring States of pre-Qin China to describe the international politics at his time. Russia, he considered, was as strong and ambitious as Qin. The other states should join together in defence against Russia, especially China, Japan and Britain. For more information see, “Zhong wai heli fang E” 中外合力防俄 (China and the Others In Defence Against Russia), “He liuguo yi zhi E” 合六國以制俄 (Uniting Six Countries to Defend Against Russia), “Ying zhong fang E” 英重防俄 (Britain Defended Heavily Against Russia), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 554-444, 556-578. The idea was also commonly found in his letters to Chinese officials and Japanese intellectuals. For example, “Shang Ding Zhongcheng shu” 上丁中丞書 (A Letter to Ding Richang), “Shang Zheng Yuxuan Guancha” 上鄭玉軒觀察 (A Letter to Zheng Guanying), “Yu Wang Gongdu Taishou” 與黃公度太守, “Ba Gang Lümen ‘Song Xiji Fu you Er wen’ hou” 跋岡鹿門〈送西吉甫遊俄文〉後 (A Postscript to Oka Senjin’s “A Preface to Xi Jifu’s Journey to Russia), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 10, pp. 9-11, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 635-636.

⁸⁴¹ Wang Tao, “Ba Riben Gan Lümen wenji hou” 跋日本岡鹿門文集後 (A Postscript to *Essays of Oka Senjin*), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 10, pp. 7-9, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 634-635.

⁸⁴² Oka Senjin, *Kanko kiyu*, 觀光紀游 (Travel Report) 4 *juan*, reprinted in Shen Yunlun ed., *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊 (Taipei: Wenhai yinyin chuban, 1971), Vol 62, p. 102-103.

its plan of invasion, Wang clearly felt the threat of Japan to be more acute than that of Russia, writing several letters to Chinese officials, suggesting that they should defend the state against Japan rather than Russia.⁸⁴³ Thus, it can be seen that from the time Wang was traveling in Japan until 1883 when Japan eventually took the Ryukyu Islands, China and Japan were not on good terms. Under this critical situation, Wang's record of Japanese military policies and armament could reasonably be considered as sensitive, and was therefore deleted in the published version of the text. Wang was furious, perhaps not only because of the deletion, but because of his frustration about the Japanese invasion.

In 1879, China lost the Ryukyu Islands to Japan. Responding to the incident, Wang Tao wrote a book, *Taishi qiefen lü* 臺事竊憤錄 (A Record of Anger towards the Issue of Taiwan). The book was never published, but information can still be detected from Wang's annotation, in which he emphasized that Taiwan and Liqiu both belonged to China and criticized Japan's ambition to occupy China. At the end, he suggested that the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1872 was the stepping stone for its annexation of the Ryukyu Islands. The Chinese government, unaware of the significance of the Taiwan incident, did not stand strong, further encouraging Japan's invasion. Therefore, Wang urged the intellectuals and officials to be cautious of small details in order to anticipate the future.⁸⁴⁴ He seems to imply to the readers that Japan had a plan of invasion in Asia. At this point, Wang's attitude towards Japan completely changed from cooperation to defence.

When examining Wang's relationship with the Japanese, Shyu Shingching concluded it as being *aihen jiaojia* 愛恨交加 (an intermingling of love and hatred).⁸⁴⁵ Indeed, during his travel to Japan, Wang was amazed by the advancement made by Japan and enjoyed being respected by the Japanese intellectuals. He shared

⁸⁴³ Wang Tao, "Zai cheng Zheng Yuxuan Guan cha" 再呈鄭玉軒觀察, "Yu Fan Mingshan Guan cha" 與方銘山觀察, and "Yu Ma Meishu Guan cha" 與馬眉叔觀察. In *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 178-191.

⁸⁴⁴ Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 10, p. 20, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 383-384.

⁸⁴⁵ Shyu Shingching, "Wang Tao yu Riben weixin renwu zhi sixiang bijiao", p. 165.

a lot of similar views with Japanese intellectuals on literature, Confucianism and international affairs and was open-minded and happy in expressing his views on Confucian studies and Western learning. This is not only shown in the diary, but also in other essays he wrote during the trip. For example, on twenty third of June 1879, “Hua yi lun” was published in *Yubin Hochi*, discussing the validity of the “Chinese-centric” notion, saying that nationality was not a criterion to identify the level of civilization. Considering the fact that the Japanese had also once been considered as *yi* (barbarian) and belittled by the Chinese, Wang demonstrated the open-minded and modern thought of a Chinese intellectual.⁸⁴⁶ In “Diqiutu ba” 地球圖跋 (A Preface to *Map of the World*), published the next day, Wang shared his idea of cosmopolitanism with the Japanese, emphasizing the notion that complete westernization was unnecessary.⁸⁴⁷

However, Wang’s relationship with his Japanese friends became complicated from 1880 onwards, as the situation between China and Japan became more and more critical. Wang’s frustration gradually grew as he found his Japanese friends unable or unwilling to stop the crisis. The sense of mutual appreciation gradually faded away. From then on, harsh comments were given about Japan, even about the Meiji reforms, towards which Wang previously had shown a positive attitude in his diary.⁸⁴⁸ In his later years, disappointment towards Japan and his Japanese friends overshadowed his friendship with them. The prosperity of Japan did not interest him any more, instead he was thinking of strategies to fight against Japan.

⁸⁴⁶ *Yubin Hochi*, 23rd June 1979.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24th June 1979.

⁸⁴⁸ In the travel diary, Wang often praised some westernization devices as “shan fa” 善法 (appropriate method). However, when he later went back to China and analyzed the Japanese reform results, he used “zhong gan wei qiang” 中乾外強 (internally weak but superficially strong) to describe it on several occasions. See “Zai cheng Zheng Yuxuan Guancha” 再呈鄭玉軒觀察 (A Second Letter to Zheng Guanying), “Yu Fan Mingshan Guancha” 與方銘山觀察 (A Letter to Fang Mingshan), and “Yu Ma Meishu Guancha” 與馬眉叔觀察 (A Letter to Ma Meishu). In *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 187-191.

To summarize, Wang's travel to Japan was not an unexpected event, but a result of mutual appreciation between Wang Tao and Japanese intellectuals, who were highly interested in Wang's analytical approach in criticizing international politics. Wang's *Pufa zhanji* and his opinions expressed during his trip to Japan fulfilled the expectation of the Japanese intellectuals. Kurimoto Joun wrote an article on 9th September 1879 right after Wang's departure. Praise was lavished on his knowledge of the West and even those who republished the *Pufa zhanji* were regarded as "those who had in-depth knowledge of the changing world" (深知世變者矣).⁸⁴⁹ On the other hand, Wang Tao's feelings towards Japan were rather mixed. While he was amazed by the progress made by the Japanese, he did not totally agree with their reform, and this became obvious when he later talked about the Japanese invasion. Wang's feeling towards Meiji Japan was not related solely to the current situation of China, but also, to a large extent, originated from the historical relationship between China and Japan. Although Wang's record of Japanese military information was omitted during publication, his views on history (both Japan and Japan's relationship with China) survived and will be discussed in the next section.

Chapter 12 Gazing at Historic Japan

12.1 Introduction

Richard Strassberg described the styles of traditional Chinese travel writing as being like an "inscribed landscape", while Kwok Siu Tong further elaborated Strassberg's idea into the acculturation of "natural" landscape in travel writings.⁸⁵⁰ The idea of acculturation blurs the line between natural landscape and human landscape, as Kwok Siu Tong noted that there is no pure natural landscape

⁸⁴⁹ *Yubin Hochi*, 9th September 1979.

⁸⁵⁰ Richard Strassberg, "Introduction", in *Inscribed Landscape*, pp. 1-56. Kwok Siu Tong, *Lüyou: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, pp. 49-61.

under the gaze of travellers. In the process of recording and describing, natural landscape is already acculturized by the writer.⁸⁵¹ Strassberg's idea also implied the intertextuality of travel literature in China which made the process of "inscription" possible. Intertextuality means that the way of description used by a certain writer is affected by previous texts: the new records are made up out of old records. This is most obviously seen in the recitations of earlier travellers' comments and thoughts commonly found in Chinese travel writings. Indeed, for Chinese travellers, it is often the human / historical element that gives significance to certain places. A certain natural landscape only becomes popular after being visited and written about by famous people, Mount Emei, Wuxia 巫峽 (The Gorge of Wu), Chibi 赤壁 (Red Cliff) are a few typical examples. It is not surprising that records of historical sites or pondering over a historical figure have been staple items for Chinese travellers throughout history.⁸⁵²

The notion of tourist gazing was first elaborated by John Urry who pointed out that what was seen or noticed by a traveller was not objective, but a special way of looking at the place being visited that varied with the traveller's own social background.⁸⁵³ This theory can be added to explain Strassberg's theory of "inscribed landscape" that the natural landscape was inscribed by Chinese literati so that their descriptions embodied not only their cultural values and previous literary works of a similar topic, but also the unique social background of their time. This is especially helpful in analyzing late Qing travel writings as they were direct responses of the time.

The influence of intertextuality in the descriptions of the place traveled was not

⁸⁵¹ Kowk Siu Tong, *Liyou: Kua wenhua xiangxiang*, pp. 49-61.

⁸⁵² Cong Zhang, "The Culture of Travel in Song China 960-1276", (PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 2003), pp. 171-175. Kowk Siu Tong, *Travel: A Cross-cultural Imagination*, pp. 57-61; and Ge Xiaoyin, *Zhongguo mingsheng yu lishi wenhua* 中國名勝與歷史文化 (Chinese Attractions, History and Culture) (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1999).

⁸⁵³ John Urry, "Introduction", in *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1992), p. 1.

as prominent in late Qing foreign travel writings as had previously been the case. The reason is that only a few preceding travellers had traveled overseas, especially in Western countries. Gan Ying and Zheng He are the most frequently identified historic parallels as most late Qing travellers traveled by sea to the West. Other famous Chinese travellers who had journeyed beyond the border of China, for example, Zhang Qian, and Xuan Zhuang were mentioned only to contrast the distances of travel. It was the new things rather than the historic traditions the travellers saw and experienced that had stimulated feelings and thoughts.

Travels between countries sharing a similar culture, such as Japan, which historically had strong links with China, might be assumed to be different. Indeed, Japanese travellers to China during the late Qing recalled much about the China recorded in Japan, and compared what had been written with the real China. Even when Japanese went abroad, Chinese allusions still came up when they felt there were no parallels in Japan.⁸⁵⁴ Strangely enough, in Chinese travel writings about Japan, only bits and pieces about the history of Japan can be found: especially after Japan defeated China in 1895, the image of Japan became solely that of a modernized and westernized state. Travel accounts focus on telling home readers how modernized Japan was and gave suggestions on how China could learn from Japan. The long historical relationship between China and Japan was mentioned just to show the contrasting strength of the two countries: China is large, while Japan is small; China has many resources while Japan is lacking resources; China has a rich culture while Japan had always been a copier of China, so on and so forth. The comparisons are aimed to encourage the home readers to support reform: if Japan could successfully modernize itself, why couldn't China?

Unlike the Japanese travellers to China who knew a lot about China before their arrival of China, some earlier Chinese travellers to Japan in the late Qing started their journey with little knowledge of Japan.⁸⁵⁵ Also owing to different reasons, they could

⁸⁵⁴ Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China*, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁵⁵ Wang Tao, in his preface to Huang Zunxian's *Riben zashi shi*, pointed out that although Japan was

not travel as extensively as their successors. Although they were keen to find out about the history, traditions and customs of Japan, very often they could only give a simple description. Their reactions and reflections were seldom recorded. For instance, comparing the first record of Chinese envoy to Japan, He Ruzhang's *Shidong shulüe* to Wang Tao, although there were places which both of them visited, such as the Ceremonial Hall of Confucius and Nanko temple, Wang often produced a longer story and comments of his own while He just made a note of the place's historical associations.⁸⁵⁶ Wang Tao's *A Travel to Japan*, unlike *Jottings of My Roamings*, and most of the accounts of the later travellers to Japan, is interwoven with historical records, about both Japan and the Chinese in Japan.

This interest in Japanese history, and his emphasis on Japanese historical relations with China should be first viewed from a personal level in which Wang Tao

one of the earliest countries to contact China, very few Chinese had traveled to Japan, let alone famous intellectuals. In contrast, Japanese sent students to study in China and they understood a lot of Chinese culture. Compared to that, Chinese records about Japan contained only imagination and errors. See *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 9, pp. 5-6, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 619. Later scholars observed the same phenomenon. For example, Xu Fucheng commented that “(China and Japan) although in the same continent did not know each other and had no communication. Contemporary scholars like Xu Jitao and Wei Yuan wrote gazetteers of the West which was far away, while Japan was left out. Even though there were some records, (their descriptions) were vague, being able to trace its history and territory. This was the same as the descriptions of the Three Spiritual Mountains as described in the past.” Huang Zunxian's *Riben guozhi*, in *Huang Zunxian quanji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), Vol 2, pp. 817-818, here 817. The original reads, “由是兩國雖同在一洲，情宜乖違，音向隔絕……(魏源等人)於西洋絕遠之國尚能志其崖略，獨於日本考證闕如。或稍述之而惝恍疏闊，竟不能稽其世系疆域，猶似古之所謂三神山之可望而不可至也。” Liang Qichao also pointed out that only a few Chinese knew about Japan in his preface to Huang Zunxian's *Riben guozhi*, in *Huang Zunxian quanji*, pp. 1565-1566, here 1565. The original reads, “中國人寡知日本者也。”

⁸⁵⁶ He Ruzhang, *Shidong shulue* (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970), pp. 51, 54, and 56. Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 182-183, 249-250.

and some of his Japanese hosts were historians who believed that studying the past could shed light on the future. Secondly, it should be pointed out that during the late 1870s and early 1880s, the discussion of Japanese civilization and its relationship with China was at the centre of intellectual debates.⁸⁵⁷ On the one hand, there were voices calling for *Tuo Ya ru Ou* 脫亞入歐 (leaving Asia and entering Europe), but there was also a countering point of view calling for a return to origin in which historians inevitably had to consider the Chinese influence throughout history.⁸⁵⁸

As the travel diary was primarily written for Japanese readers, Wang sought participation in this intellectual debate by stressing Japan's undeniable links with China, in the past and contemporary times. However, when using the history of China and Japan to urge reform and promote the historical bonds between the two countries, Wang hardly seemed to voice out his intentions directly.⁸⁵⁹ There may be two reasons for this. First, it was assumed that the intended audience would understand completely the context, so that Wang's opinions would be seen as quite obvious to them. Secondly, out for consideration of the currently intensified relations between China and Japan caused by their rivalries over Korea and the Ryukyu Islands, Wang would not want to upset his hosts by directly criticizing the unfavourable effects brought about by the unwise Westernization Japan adopted after

⁸⁵⁷ Edward Q. Wang, "Zhongguo jindai 'xinshixue' de Riben Beijing—Qing mou de 'shixue geming' he Riben de 'wenming shixue'" 中國近代「新史學」的日本背景—清末的「史學革命」和日本的「文明史學」(Modern Chinese Historiography and Its Japanese Connection: the 'Historiography Revolution' of the Late Qing and the 'Civilizational History' in Modern Japan), in *Bulletin of the Department of History of National Taiwan University*, 23 (2003), pp. 191-236. See Also Shyu Shingching, "Wang Tao yu Riben weixin renwu zhi sixiang bijiao" 王韜與日本維新人物之思想比較 (A Comparative Study of Wang Tao and the Intellectuals of the Meiji Restoration), *Bulletin of the College of Arts, National Taiwan University*, 64.5 (2006), pp. 131-171.

⁸⁵⁸ Edward Q. Wang, "Zhongguo jindai 'xinshixue' de Riben Beijing—Qing mou de 'shixue geming' he Riben de 'wenming shixue'", pp. 191-204

⁸⁵⁹ This is a comparison to *Jottings of My Roamings* in which he directly advocated what should or should not be done. For more information, see Chapter 8. In *A Travel to Japan*, his messages were conveyed in a more implicit way.

its opening.⁸⁶⁰

Not wishing to be direct or offensive, Wang turned to history to convey his thoughts. *Jiegu lunjin* 借古論今 (borrowing history to discuss the present) is a common device used by Chinese literati who felt the need to express their minds in an implicit way. The chapter aims to examine how Japan was gazed at historically and recorded in *A Travel to Japan*. For the purpose of discussion, I describe Wang's records of history from three aspects: how he gazed at Japanese history, how Japan was related to China, and Wang's position in Sino-Japanese history. It is hoped to draw out Wang's implications, if any, through these records so that we can understand more about both Wang Tao's travel to Japan and thus evaluate *A Travel to Japan*.

12.2 Gazing at Japanese History

Compared to previous travellers to Japan, Wang visited many more places. When he went to a place, he showed interest not only in the present situation of Japan but often thought about the past. He looked out for interesting historical episodes and presented them in a way that was relevant to the present.

When he arrived at Osaka, he was aware of its strategic location and recorded,

Osaka faces the sea and is backed up by mountains, giving it an extremely magnificent appearance.It is indeed a strategic point of land and water transport, and a bustling city. It has a position as a neck, protecting Kyoto from other counties.

He continued the story by tracing its history offering an explanation of the changes in place names.

It is originally known as Naniwa 浪速 (which means fast-flowing waves or Naniwa浪華, waves), and is now called Settsu. According to a legend, when Emperor Jimmu embarked on his eastern expedition, he

⁸⁶⁰ This was the main reason why, although Wang realized the advanced aspects of Japan, he saw no reason why China had to follow Japan's pattern of reform.

encountered fast flowing currents here. This was why it was so named. During the reign of Emperor Ojin, as boats from far and wide gathered here, it was renamed Settsu 攝津 (in Chinese means meeting point of the piers). It was a city long time ago and had four gates.⁸⁶¹

This episode from history echoed with what happened in the present, first explaining the reason for its strategic importance and its development. Also, the present prosperity of Osaka described later was connected to the meaning of Settsu as a major gathering place for ships. Similarly, when he arrived at Kyoto, he mentioned Emperor Kammu who chose Kyoto as the capital and thus brought out its geographical advantages and historical significance. Then he related the honest and quiet personalities of the Kyoto people to its long history and culture.⁸⁶² Historical episodes are often mentioned in the middle of the records of the present situation, tracing a reason for its present development.

Apart from these scattered episodes of history, Wang showed more interest in recording stories of people. Historical sites, objects and stories told by his hosts often triggered accounts of records of historical figures. Compared to the most famous historical figures, such as the Tokugawa *shoguns* who induced sighs over the uncontrollable fate and the irrevocably lost possibility of being ever remembered by posterity,⁸⁶³ Wang was also interested in some less-well known heroes. When he visited the Nanko temple in Minatogawa in Kobe, he heard a story of a Japanese tragic hero, Kusunoki Masashige, who was a general loyal to the emperor. Despite failure, he fought to his death and vowed to serve the country if he had seven lives. Details of his life were lost, only a little information had survived on a stele carved

⁸⁶¹ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 184-185.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

⁸⁶³ These kinds of emotions were mostly aroused by the scenery of Mount Nikko where Tokugawa shoguns built spectacular halls. The halls still looked beautiful although the shoguns had been overthrown. Wang sighed at the irreversible dynamics of history and felt pity for the luxuriant life style the shoguns had once led. The record of his excursion to Mount Nikko is in the 3rd volume of *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 261-310.

with words written by Zhu Zhiyu (Zhu Shunshui), a loyal official of the Ming dynasty. Wang felt sad that Nanko was not extensively recorded in official history, but he was still very confident that the courage of Nanko would be as bright as the sun and the moon, that local people would always commemorate him.⁸⁶⁴ Stories of heroes and loyalists are the main themes in the records of *A Travel to Japan*, Japanese or Chinese, historically or at Wang's time, were portrayed as people full of courage.⁸⁶⁵

Among all the Japanese historical figures in the travel diary, Saigo Takamori is the most frequently mentioned. Wang's narration of Saigo's story shows his increasing sympathy to him. Wang first came across Saigo in entry 37 of the diary when he looked at a map depicting the battle of Kagoshima. In this episode, Saigo was described as a talented general but was ignorant of righteousness. Wang regarded him as a traitor and saw his failure as his deserved fate.⁸⁶⁶ The second episode of the story gave more details. Wang mentioned the story from two different aspects. First, from the viewpoint of the Meiji government, namely that Saigo was the one who started the war, leading to tens of thousands of casualties. Wang expressed disappointment that Saigo had not made a right decision.⁸⁶⁷ On the same day, Wang also articulated the story in the form of poetry, looking at the whole story from the viewpoint of Saigo, suggesting that he was treated unfairly after the establishment of the government. Wang sighed at his misfortune but reminded his readers that this was nothing unique, and it might be better if Saigo had chosen to be a recluse. At the end of the poem, Wang again praised Saigo's all-rounded talent. The fourth episode was a short comment from Wang when he visited a general who had fought against Saigo.⁸⁶⁸ Wang's attitude towards Saigo became even more

⁸⁶⁴ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 182-183.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184, 189, 227 and his descriptions of the Japanese intellectuals which will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 228-229.

sympathetic, pointing out that Saigo's betrayal had somehow been forced (不得已).⁸⁶⁹ He also used the phrase "wanjie molu, daoxing nishi" (晚節末路, 倒行逆施) which is an allusion to the story of Wu Zixu 伍子胥,⁸⁷⁰ from a famous family in the state of Chu, whose father was plotted against by another official, and accused of treason. As a result, the whole family were executed except for Wu Zixu who escaped. Later on, Wu became an official of the king of Wu and took revenge on Chu. After defeating the army of Chu, he even whipped the corpse of the king of Chu to express his anger. He was criticized by Shen Baoxu 申包胥, a Chu general, but he answered that his aggressive behaviour was caused by his misfortune. (吾日暮而途遠, 吾故倒行而逆施之) Wang implicitly brought in a historical parallel here to excuse Saigo. This strategy came up again in the last mention of Saigo in which he was compared to Han Xin 韓信,⁸⁷¹ a talented Han dynasty general who was executed in the name of betrayal. In entry 52, Wang mentioned that after reading a poem written for Saigo, he felt moved to write a poem for Saigo as well, using the same rhymes.⁸⁷² The poem started with praise of Saigo, recognizing his talents in military and politics, and declaring that his achievements could be compared with Han Xin, an important general of Liu Bang, who helped to establish the Han dynasty. Han Xin, indeed, had an ending similar to Saigo. According to *Shiji*, after establishing the Han dynasty, Liu Bang was afraid of the able generals, especially Han Xin who was famous for military strategy. Liu Bang started plotting against Han Xin. Eventually, Han Xin was accused of treason and executed. By comparing Saigo to Han Xin, Wang Tao addressed not only the talents both of them shared, but also the similarity of their ending: both were killed because of outstanding talent. This, perhaps, reminded Wang that he had also been accused of betrayal. Therefore, he continued the poem by putting the past and present together:

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 237-238

⁸⁷⁰ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, pp. 1271-2183, here 2176.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 2609-2630.

⁸⁷² Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 244.

I drink endlessly, moved by feelings of past and present,
 How can I know whether I will be famous after death?
 不盡樽前今古感，
 安知身後姓名留。

The uncertain feeling of the fate is shared by both Saigo and Han Xin in the past, and Wang in the present. The last two lines address directly Wang Tao himself, claiming that he had already found a paradise for himself. (蓬萊已到神仙杳，徑欲乘槎訪十洲) This is the last episode about Saigo and by relating Saigo to Han Xin, Wang showed that his sympathy for Saigo overrode any other feelings. He felt deeply sorry for him and from the misfortunes of Saigo, Wang inevitably thought of his own past.

In short, Wang's feelings towards Saigo were mixed. On the one hand, he could not help appreciating Saigo's military and literary talents, on the other hand, he felt increasingly sorry for Saigo as a tragic hero whose betrayal was not completely his fault. Wang started by relating Saigo with historical parallels and himself in the poems of some later episodes. As Wang had concluded about another Japanese tragic loyalist, Minamoto no Yorimasa: "Accomplishment is always given to the one who takes the lead, success or failure is not enough to devalue a hero."⁸⁷³ (從來論事貴首功，不以成敗輕英雄) This is in fact a consistent attitude he upheld throughout his discussions of historical figures and it even can be read as means of judging himself as he related those tragic heroes to himself. This will be discussed further in the fourth section.

12.3 "Is it correct to call it foreign?" (雖云殊域豈其然?)—Finding "Chineseness" in Japan

While travellers show interest in things that are unusual in their home countries, they are perhaps more interested in finding something in common with their own society. What made Japan different from Western countries for the Chinese travellers

⁸⁷³ Ibid., pp. 282-283.

was that they shared a similar cultural background. Japanese travellers in China often looked out for the China they had imagined before their travels, which would make them feel familiar and comfortable. Chinese travellers, having relatively vague ideas about Japan, found it safe to stick with Chinese characteristics of Japan. Indeed, many of them pointed out the similarities between the two countries. Wang Tao was no exception. When he set foot on Japan, he started looking at everything from the perspective of history, a history that was related to China. He started his observation of Chinese culture in Japan by mentioning trivia in everyday life, he noted that Japanese dance had a flavour of traditional Chinese dance, that the hair styles of Japanese women were the same as those common in the Tang dynasty; he also commented on the use of high pillow, an ancient tradition of Guangdong, and even the houses reminded him of the wooden houses of Western China. When he visited the ceremonial hall of Confucius, he learnt about the library and education system of Japan, and exclaimed at the similarities between the two countries.⁸⁷⁴

Wang was interested in making records of Japanese studying in China and their contribution to Japan, but more detailed records were given to the Chinese who had contributed to Japan enormously, Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600-1682) and Dai Mangong 戴曼公 being typical examples.⁸⁷⁵

Zhu Shunshui was first brought under the spotlight by Huang Zunxian in his *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (Anecdotal Poetry of Japan).⁸⁷⁶ He portrayed Zhu mainly as a loyalist. Zhu, a graduate from Yuyao 餘姚, went to Japan around the time of the downfall of the Ming dynasty. To avoid being ruled by the Qing dynasty, he stayed in Japan for the rest of his life. In Japan, he became the teacher of Mitsukumi, a baron of the Mito Clan. According to Huang, Zhu had great influence on Mitsukumi who started the Mito School and initiated the publication of *Dai Nihon*

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 180, 186 and 250.

⁸⁷⁵ There is no exact date for Dai, but we know that he was in Japan from 1652 onwards.

⁸⁷⁶ Qian Ming, "Qingmo minchu de Zhu Shunshui re" 清末民初的朱舜水熱 (A Trend of the Studies of Zhu Shunshui in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era), *Zhejiang qikan*, 5 (1996), pp. 86-90.

shi 大日本史 which was a book known for its support of the imperial family.⁸⁷⁷

Generally speaking, Wang Tao's story of Zhu Shunshui is similar to that told by Huang. Indeed, it was possibly Huang who introduced Zhu's story to Wang, but their different emphasis is also obvious. Huang gave considerable detail about Zhu's life and his knowledge in practical studies, such as agriculture and architecture. For Wang Tao, it was the influence Zhu had placed on Japan's development that mattered.

The first episode of Zhu appeared when Wang recorded the life of Kusunoki Masashige 源光國. Wang narrated Kusunoki's story in a way that he became famous only after Zhu had written a memorial for him. It was thanks to Zhu that Kusunoki's courage was known to the Japanese. Zhu praised Kusunoki for giving his life to protect the emperor which was in line with the loyalty he advocated and demonstrated. Zhu had appeared to be not only a loyalist himself, but also a literatus and a historian who showed the Japanese a model.⁸⁷⁸

Zhu's most significant influence was further discussed when Wang visited Kōraku-en 後樂園. In *Riben zashi shi*, Huang Zunxian compared Zhu Shunshui to Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊, two loyalists and recluses during the downfall of the Shang dynasty.⁸⁷⁹ However, for Wang, Zhu's accomplishment lay in how his personality had influenced others. He placed the stories of Zhu Shunshui and Mitsukumi parallel to each other in order to show how the Chinese man had influenced on his Japanese student. Mitsukumi showed great appreciation of Boyi and Shuqi. He transferred his title to his brother as Boyi had done; he named the place he lived Xishan (The Western Hill) after the place Boyi and Shuqi chose to live

⁸⁷⁷ Huang Zunxian, *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (Anecdotal Poetry of Japan), no. 71, in *Wang Zunxian quanji* 黃遵憲全集 (Complete Works of Wang Zunxian) Chen Zheng ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 29.

⁸⁷⁸ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 182-183

⁸⁷⁹ Huang Zunxian wrote a poem comparing Zhu with Boyi and Shuqi, the original reads, “海外遺民竟不歸，老來東望淚頻揮。終身耻食興朝粟，更勝西山賦采薇。” In Huang Zunxian, *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (Anecdote Poetry of Japan), no. 71, p. 29.

in reclusion. Most importantly, he adopted the principle of their righteous thought: *zunwang* 尊王 (respect the emperor).⁸⁸⁰ Japan at Mitsukumi's time was ruled by the Tokugawa *shoguns*. At that time, the emperor was no more than a figure head. By the end of the Tokugawa period, the restoration of the emperor was getting more and more support which finally contributed to the establishment of the Meiji government. By emphasizing Mitsukumi's support for the emperor and the later development of people in his clan who had contributed to the rise of the Meiji government, Wang Tao was eager to show that Mitsukumi had established a tradition of supporting the emperor which had a long lasting and significant effect in contemporary Japan, and this tradition was not the work of Mitsukumi alone, but an accomplishment which should be attributed to his Chinese teacher, Zhu Shunshui.⁸⁸¹ In this way, Wang related Zhu Shunshui not only to what he had done in past, but also to how he had influenced the present development of Japan. Again, this shows how Wang intended to relate the past to the present.

Also, it is important to point out that much information about Zhu Shunshui in *A Travel to Japan* came directly from Huang Zunxian as Wang Tao pointed out in a footnote.⁸⁸² Besides the different focus adopted by the two men, their intentions were also different. Huang's *Riben zashishi* was written mainly for Chinese officials to discover more about Japan. When Huang went to Japan, he became aware of the lack of knowledge of Japan among both officials and commoners in China. Huang chose to use poetry, a form learnt by all Chinese officials, to transmit the information. (*Riben guozhi*, written in prose, was aimed at educated common Chinese people.)⁸⁸³ Wang Tao's travelogue, however, was written primarily for Japanese readers. Therefore, he was not afraid to copy information from Huang's book to enrich his own, and emphasized how Zhu contributed to Japan's present day development in

⁸⁸⁰ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 207-208.

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁸⁸³ Chiang Ying Ho, *Jindai wenxue de shijie hua: cong Gong Zizhen dao Wang Guowei*, pp. 82-87.

order to remind the Japanese that China had always been helpful to Japan. This is an example Wang employed to emphasize the friendship between the two countries which Wang Tao had hoped for.

Dai Mangong's story started with an eating habit. Shigeno Yasutsugu mentioned his favourite food: preserved bean curd and named himself The Recluse of Huainan 淮南. Oka Senjin then explained that the best preserved bean curd was made by Buddhist monks from Mount Huangnie in Fujian province. Thereafter, Wang told the story of Master Yinyuan who was important to the revival of Buddhism in Japan. The Chinese monks not only brought the essence of Buddhism to Japan but they were also excellent literati renowned for their calligraphy and painting. Dai Mangong, also a Ming loyalist, chose to be a monk in order to stay away from politics and later belonged to the school of Master Yinyuan. However, he did more than just promoting Buddhism, discovering a preventive medicine for smallpox. Wang concluded the story by saying that the Japanese doctors offered sacrifice to Dai on his death day to show their gratefulness. However, this gratefulness had not been used to urge more exchanges between the Chinese and the Japanese. Buddhist monks had no longer been invited to Japan for fifty years before Wang's trip.⁸⁸⁴ The contrast of the present situation and how Dai had contributed to Japan showed Wang's disappointment that the two countries were not promoting cultural exchanges.

On the whole, it was easier to find things relating to China in Japan than in Europe. Wang certainly felt closer with the Japanese, especially when most of them were able to read Chinese and they were able to use "brush conversion" to communicate. Despite similarities, however, Wang was sharp to discern differences even in some of the most traditional aspects of Japanese life. For example, although the arm cushion in Japan was very similar in appearance to that of China, through discussion Wang discerned the differences.⁸⁸⁵ In entry 49, a Japanese friend performed a melody which was supposedly from the Tang dynasty, telling a story of

⁸⁸⁴ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 289-290.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

E Huang 娥皇 entertaining her husband Shun 舜, a sage king of ancient China. Wang, however, said that for him, the melody sounded more Japanese rather than Chinese.⁸⁸⁶ For writing characters, Wang also realized that although some characters looked the same, the two countries had different style and usage.⁸⁸⁷ Japan was not as close to China as he had thought. What worried him more was the radical Westernization of Japan which had led to Chinese studies becoming less important.⁸⁸⁸ This is revealed when he wrote about his excursion to the ceremonial hall of Confucius and his concerns about the negative effects of the Meiji Reforms.⁸⁸⁹

12.4 Past and Present: The Implications through History

The reason to look at the past is always for the sake of understanding the present. By spending time in finding out and writing about Japanese history, Wang Tao's real intention lay in looking at the present, in the specific light thrown upon it by the past, especially at a time when Sino-Japanese relations were increasingly intense. As mentioned previously, during Wang's trip, Japan and the Qing government had already come into conflict on several occasions. Japan had already shown a growing ambition in becoming the dominant power in Asia and the intention of leaving Asia and entering Europe.⁸⁹⁰ Wang's travel diary, however, mentioned nothing about the political situation of the time, the author claiming that he would not talk about politics but only *fengyue* 風月 (literally wind and the moon, generally used to

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 240-241.

⁸⁸⁷ Wang Tao, "Yu Riben Sada Hakubo 與日本佐田白茅", in *Taoyuan chidu xuchao* 弢園尺牘續鈔 (Supplements of *Letters of Wang Tao*) (Shanghai: Songyin lu, 1893), Vol. 6, p. 6. Sada was one of the Japanese officials advocated the policy of annexation of Korea.

⁸⁸⁸ Wang Tao told how the Chinese felt suspicious of Japan after it showed its ambitions on Taiwan in "Da Riben mou renshi" 答日本某人士 (Answering a Japanese), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 191-193.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 210, 231-232, 248-250.

⁸⁹⁰ For more information, sees Shyu Shingching, "Wang Tao yu Riben weixin renwu zhi sixiang bijiao", p. 159.

represent a romantic life style) during the travel.⁸⁹¹ This does not mean that Wang Tao was not aware of the present situation. In fact, just before he went to Japan, he started collecting materials to write articles about Liuqiu and when he talked with Guo Songtao about the rivalry, he described the policy of Japan as cunning.⁸⁹² Because Wang was invited to the country and well received by the Japanese, and because the diary was also meant to show his gratitude towards them, it is unsurprising that he did not mention those issues directly. During his journey, however, Wang did talk about politics and his viewpoints on Meiji reform on a few occasions. Another reason could be the editing by the Japanese.⁸⁹³ Wang was unsatisfied with the published version which omitted most of his comments about Japanese military developments, which Wang revealed later as some important records connecting to the present crisis faced by China and Japan.

As an intellectual who was passionate about the need to reform his home country but had been forced in exile after being accused of treason, Wang Tao was clever enough to avoid trouble. He indirectly channeled his views on the Sino-Japanese relationship through history. By pointing out that the two countries shared many things in common, from ancient to the present, Wang emphasized their long lasting relationship. Japan, in particular, benefited from this relationship. Rather than using history from long ago, Wang picked up examples from more contemporary time, for example Zhu Shunshui and Dai Mangong in the early Qing dynasty. He was also aware that, although in the past Japan had been an offshoot of China, Chinese should not look down on the Japanese, because throughout history, there had been many courageous Japanese heroes Wang noted as the strong points of the Japanese, and encouraged more intellectual exchanges: he saw himself as the one who had started a

⁸⁹¹ Wang Tao, “Yu Yu Yuanmei zhonghan” 與余元眉中翰 (A Letter to Yu Yuanmei), in *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 238-239.

⁸⁹² Wang Tao, “Shang He Xusong zhijun” 上何筱宋制軍 (A Letter to He Xusong), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 146-148.

⁸⁹³ See chapter 12.

new era of Sino-Japanese communication.⁸⁹⁴

When discussing the principle of history, Wang emphasized *shishi* 時勢 (the dynamics of the time) or *shunni* 順逆 (following or reversing).⁸⁹⁵ If a government was to survive, it had to be able to grasp the dynamics of the time and know the right way to go. Xin Ping used *xunhuan* to sum up Wang's philosophy of history. Although *xunhuan* is originated in *Yijing*, Xin Ping pointed out that Wang's idea was fundamentally different.⁸⁹⁶ It is not a constant idea, as described by Yao Haiqi,⁸⁹⁷ on the contrary, for Wang, circulation means the inevitable force of change from a self-contained and backward to an open and advanced society. Even though, at his time, China was not as strong as the West, Wang believed that if China followed this irreversible dynamics, she would sooner or later be equal to the West.

When narrating Japanese history in a travelogue, Wang's idea of circulation was the underlying principle. The Tokugawa government was overthrown because it could not longer keep up with the changes in the world.⁸⁹⁸ Set against the dynamics of the time, even the strongest leader would fail. Saigo, for example, a great general with outstanding knowledge of military strategies, was not able to have a good ending because he did not know how to manage the changing situation.⁸⁹⁹ These

⁸⁹⁴ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 300-301.

⁸⁹⁵ Wang Tao saw history as repeating itself in different settings. Therefore, to understand the "shi" 時, (the critical time) present and estimate the future, one must observe what happened in the past. See Wang Tao, "Da qiangruo lun" 答強弱論 (A Discussion of Strong and Weak). A similar idea about "shi" 勢 (the trend) was expressed in "Faguo tushou xu" 法國圖說序 (A Preface of *Pictorial Introduction of France*), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 7, pp. 15-19, and Vol. 8, pp. 12-14, in *Xuxiu suku quanshu*, pp. 595-597 and 608-609. See also Wang Ermin, "Wang Tao zai jindai Zhongguo zhi sixiang xianju diwei" 王韜在近代中國之思想先驅地位 (Wang Tao As a Pioneer in the Philosophical History of Modern China), in *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, pp. 4-10.

⁸⁹⁶ Xin Ping, "Wang Tao de shizu jiqi shixue lilun" 王韜的史著及其史學理論 (Wang Tao's Historic Writings and his Theories on Historic Writings), in *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, p. 161.

⁸⁹⁷ Yao Haiqi, *Wang Tao de zhengzhi sixiang* 王韜的政治思想 (The Political Thought of Wang Tao) (Taipei: Wenjing wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1981), p. 21.

⁸⁹⁸ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 282, 287-288.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

kinds of comments are often interwoven with the discussions of Wang Tao and the Japanese intellectuals about the present circumstances. Obviously, for Wang, the dynamic or the correct way to proceed for the Asian countries, including China and Japan, was to unite together. This is an idea he advocated both before and after his travel to Japan.⁹⁰⁰

When thinking about the relationship between China and Japan, Wang developed new ideas. Clearly, from his travels, he was aware of the historical relationship between the two countries: China was always the one influencing Japan, while Japan was receiving. However, Wang also realized that this kind of relationship was changing. Therefore, he regarded his travel as an experience of asking (the Japanese) for “the way”.⁹⁰¹ He wrote about the advanced side of the Japanese society and economy, mirroring that Japan was not an uncivilized country, depending on China. As its government adopted the dynamics of circulation, it had grown into a modern state. Apart from clarifying the type of relationship Chinese should seek with the Japanese, Wang also considered the situation from a global viewpoint. In a poem written to Japanese intellectuals, he said “The South East is no way inferior to the North West. I would like to ask Heaven.”⁹⁰² (東南何遽輸西北？我欲上問彼蒼天) He regarded China and Japan as a whole and implied that the two countries should help each other in order to gain equal footing with the West. Wang continued the poem by mentioning his visit to Japan, claiming that it seemed to him the desire of Heaven that he traveled to Japan to meet knowledgeable intellectuals (上士).

Through narrating the lessons Wang learnt from history and his discussion of the present situation with the Japanese, Wang was clearly in favour of a harmonious, strategic and alliance relationship between China and Japan. He saw it as a historical

⁹⁰⁰ See the previous chapter. Also Li Zhaojin, “Rujia sixiang yu Qing mou deiwai kuanxi de zai sikao: Wang Tao yu Riben” 儒家思想與清末對外思想關係的再思考——王韜與日本 (A Review of the Confucian philosophy and the diplomatic policy of the late Qing government: Wang Tao and Japan), in *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, pp. 67-88.

⁹⁰¹ Wang Tao, “The Preface”, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 171.

⁹⁰² Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 204-205.

necessity. The reason for him to repeatedly emphasize this was related to the present relationship between the two countries. As discussed in the previous section, starting from the early 1870s, Japan started to show its ambition towards the buffer states of China. By the time of Wang's travel, the two countries had clashed over the Liuqiu islands. This was not what Wang wanted to see. Although he was unwilling to voice his dissatisfaction directly to his Japanese friends, Wang tried to convey his views by showing what he had learnt from Japanese history and hopefully persuade his readers to adopt the same beliefs.

Saigo's story is particularly interesting because he was the only Japanese historical figure towards whom Wang Tao had displayed an ambivalent attitude: this provides insights into Wang's thoughts on the limitations of military strength and Meiji reform. Saigo was praised by Wang Tao for his indispensable support for the Meiji Restoration which was described as the correct action. Among all the descriptions of Saigo, we can see that Wang was deeply impressed by his talents in literature, military and moral aspects. However, because he was blind to the dynamics, he chose the wrong way to go. His talents were not properly used and his actions led to disaster for both the Japanese people and himself. The story is a metaphor if we consider what Wang Tao wrote about the dynamics and the following of the right way. The failure of the talented Saigo sharply points out that no matter how strong a person is, even someone like Saigo, cannot go against the flow of history. If we further consider what Wang thought about the present dynamics, the repeated comments on Saigo can be understood as what Wang foresaw would happen if Japan only relied on its military strength and denied the whole situation Asia faced.

Looking again into how Wang narrated the story of Saigo, one can find traces of Wang's attitude towards Meiji reform. Although in the travel diary, Wang Tao included many positive comments about the Meiji reform, he did not hesitate to show his qualms over its radical side. More than once he questioned the over westernization of Japan which was a topic under debate at a time when intellectuals advocated the idea of leaving Asia and entering Europe. Also, although he wrote that

the Meiji government was lenient and not extravagant, by reading the experiences of Saigo and some of Wang's Japanese friends, readers doubted whether Wang really meant his words.⁹⁰³ It is especially obvious, when he told the story of how Saigo was not treated fairly after the Meiji restoration and that his betrayal of the government was because he had no alternative. Wang was sympathetic towards Saigo and dissatisfied with the harshness of the Meiji government. Looking at what he said on the Meiji government in articles written after his travel to Japan, it is clear that Wang saw the radical and superficial aspects of the reform which he thought had already led to, and would continue to result in, unfavorable consequences.

If the past is a mirror of the present, and the present always a result of the past, Wang Tao, through recording episodes of history that he read about during his journey, was trying to articulate his ideas about the future of Sino-Japanese relationship. He criticized radical aspects of the Meiji reform and emphasized that Japan had a long relationship with China. Instead of fighting against each other, the two countries should form an alliance. For Wang, this was the only right way for the Japanese government to survive.⁹⁰⁴ Wang genuinely believed in and promoted friendship between the two countries. By the time he left Japan, at least as he had expressed in the diary, Wang was very confident about that and looked forward to that.

⁹⁰³ Some of the Japanese intellectuals recorded by Wang were portrayed as talented intellectuals who were not accepted by the Meiji government because they had been working for the *bakufu* before. In entry 27, Wang wrote a poem with a line expressing his pity for the knowledgeable intellectuals who were not appreciated by the government. The original line writes, “即今上士尚草莽，豈獨而我悲風塵？” In *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 204-205.

⁹⁰⁴ At that time, although Wang Tao saw the development of Japan, he believed that it was still not a threatening power to China. In subsequent letters to Chinese officials, he mentioned that Japan's military power was not as strong as it seemed, also pointing out that Japan had to depend on China at some point, for example, in trading, so China was still in a favourable position to Japan. See Zhang Hailin, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, pp. 279-286.

12.5 Placing Himself in History

During his travel to Japan, not only did Wang Tao ponder upon history constantly when he encountered anything that could stimulate deeper thoughts of the present, he also showed a grasp of historical time within the frame of his own life. In other words, he was aware of his place in history.

He measured his life in a historical sense. This is shown by identifying himself with the past. One typical example is that Wang placed himself among the previous Chinese who had influenced Japan. In entry 34, Wang recorded his conversations with Washizu Kido 鷺津毅堂 (1825-1882), Nakamura Masanao and Oka Senjin. Wang's narration started with the present situation by reciting words from Washizu, describing the present as the most significant time of Sino-Japanese interaction since the Tang dynasty. Washizu put Wang Tao among the Chinese officials, He Ruzhang and Zhang Lusheng. Wang linked this with Masanao's comment that day (which is not Masanao's response to Washizu), that he thought Wang Tao was the most prestigious Chinese intellectual to have come to Japan within the past hundred years. Wang's reply, however, showed that he was not ignorant of earlier Chinese travellers, and while he mentioned Zhu Shunshui, Zhang Feiwen, Shen Keyi and Dai Mangong, he identified himself with them for two reasons: *jiayi* 節義 (moral courage) and *wenzhang* 文章 (literary writings), both of which had long lasting impacts in Japan. It was a pity that he was not living at the same time with them, but he was pleased with how he was able to be like those respectable men with whom he shared the same aspirations. The conversation ended with Oka seeing the whole thing from the Japanese point of view. He traced back in history and pointed out that Japanese had long been interested in China, Abe no Nakamaro 晁衡 (698-770) and Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695-775) being typical examples. Chinese intellectuals, however, seldom traveled to Japan. Oka concluded Wang's travel as "not an accident", again referring to Wang Tao's uniqueness. The rest of the narration in this entry is a continuation of Wang Tao's thought on his own life. The "Songbei yimin ge" 淞北

逸民歌 (A Song of a Recluse of North Shanghai) likened him to Li Bai, quoting lines directly and using allusions to Li's poems. Instead of describing the image of a *yimin* 逸民 (a person who lives a leisurely life), the author concluded the poem with his aspiration by referring it to his boiling blood, an expression to show an agitated emotion.⁹⁰⁵ Although Wang found his unique place in Sino-Japanese history, he had never recovered from his failures to serve as an official and felt melancholy towards his drifting life. This is another reason he found himself so similar to the Chinese travellers to Japan.

Besides recording the stories of historical figures in prose, like many Chinese poets, Wang wrote poems to express his feelings, especially how he was related to them. For example, when he heard about the battles fought between the Meiji government and Saigo Takamori, and the mourning ceremony, he composed a poem which can be divided into three parts.⁹⁰⁶ The first part recounts the life of Saigo, praising his talents and displaying pity for his unfair treatment. The second part is a description of the map of the battles fought during Saigo's uprising. It is both a narration of Wang's travel events and a continuation of Saigo's story. The third part returns to the present. The old battlefields were now bleak lands. Female servants outside the ceremonial hall sang songs, perhaps about Saigo, commemorating the event. After sighing at Saigo's failure to use his talents in the right way, Wang concluded the poem by putting himself in: "beauties and men with great aspiration have the same heart as me" (美人烈士吾心同). He directly related the subject of the poem to himself. This line on its own is obscure as on the surface because Saigo and the female servant seem to have nothing in common with Wang Tao. Seeing what Wang had previously wrote about Saigo and Japanese female he knew, however, that here Wang is appreciating Saigo's aspirations and feeling pity for both Saigo and himself, although they had different life experiences.

Throughout the journey, Wang was fully conscious of the historical significance

⁹⁰⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 218-219.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

of his travels. He knew what his travel meant for cultural exchange between the two countries. At the beginning of his travel, he already regarded the frequent contact with Japanese intellectuals as a sign of Sino-Japanese friendship.⁹⁰⁷ In entry 102, he recorded an interesting episode during his excursion to Mount Nikko. On arriving at a small village named Returning Horse Village, Wang found a line written on a shop saying that the American president had traveled here. Wang said he made a joke by writing next to the line that he, as the one hundred and thirty seventh generation of Emperor Ling of the Zhou dynasty, had also traveled here. Although it was meant to be a joke, one can see that Wang was proud of his travel as a Chinese. He considered his travel to be no less important than that of the American president.⁹⁰⁸

By the end of journey, he compared the farewell party to the alliance conferences held at Kuiqiu 葵邱 and Jiantu 踐土, two important meetings conducted by powerful state kings to reintroduce order between the states during the Spring and Autumn period.⁹⁰⁹ Although Wang Tao and the guests were not as prestigious as the kings, the metaphor was meant to emphasize the historic importance of this gathering. This is further proved in his poem when he concluded his travel to Japan as the first trip of a Chinese intellectual going to Japan. He used phrases like “自我始” (started from me), “開宗風” (established a general practice), regarding the travel as a model act that would influence and encourage other intellectuals to travel to Japan. He was not only the first to come but also the one that would usher others into Japan, specifically the world of Japanese intellectuals. He described how he and the Japanese friends intellectuals were excited at forming all kinds of literary societies. At the end, he wrote,

某年月日我去來，
大書特書補青史。

In a certain year, on a certain date and month, I came and left.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 179.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 291.

⁹⁰⁹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, p. 1490 and 1668.

The journey is worth writing even in an extravagant style as it would be a supplement to the official history.⁹¹⁰

He saw his travels as a historically significant event that would be put down for future generations. From these lines, it is obvious that Wang noted the historical element of both his travel and his recording of the travel: he was the one to create history and he was confident about the positive influence of this piece of history created by him.

12.6 Conclusion

Apart from a traveller, Wang Tao also acted as a historian during his travel to Japan. He was particularly interested in historic objects, sites and stories. He thought of historical significance whenever he arrived at a place. However, the historical gaze here is not a nostalgia of the past resulting from the listlessness of modern life.⁹¹¹ Instead studying its past development was for the sake of pointing out future development. Hence, while the modern sense of historic gaze is evaluated as representing “a climate of decline”,⁹¹² this was not the case with Wang Tao. He clearly pointed out his positive attitude towards changes.

As an expert of international affairs, he was well aware of the importance of the relationship between the two countries, which was reinforced during his journey when he found out more and more about the Chinese who had contributed to Japan. Whereas he felt sensitive to speak everything directly about the present situation, he could speak freely through the disguise of history. By selecting what to record in his diary through historic experiences, he had made at least three main points. First, China and Japan had always been close to each other, geographically, historically and culturally. Also, as it is an undeniable fact that Japan was deeply influenced by China,

⁹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 301.

⁹¹¹ John Urry, “Gazing at History”, in *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, pp. 1-2

⁹¹² Ibid., p. 109.

the complete Westernization advocated by some Japanese could never cut off the relationship between the two countries. He did not deny the advantage brought about by modernization in Japan, but he also saw the weaknesses of enforcing the policies too quickly without careful adjustment. Thus it was both not practical and sensible for Japan to believe in “leaving Asia and entering Europe”.

This, however, does not mean that Wang still believed in the traditional mode of relationship China and Japan had in the past. Instead, he looked at the whole question from a global perspective. Having some of the similarities with the “world historians” who see the development of the world as a whole,⁹¹³ Wang saw the possibility of cooperation between China and Japan, for their own advantage and advantage of the world.

By the end of his journey, he clearly recognized the historical significance of his travel in starting a new era of cultural and intellectual exchanges between the two countries.⁹¹⁴ He also recognized the historical significance of the records of travel he had made. He regarded it as a historical record which could be read alongside with official records. In fact, he had criticized traditional history books which only focused on politics, neglecting the dynamics of development and people’s livelihood.⁹¹⁵ Therefore, he paid particular attention to the change in life, the development of able people and the prosperity of material things. He also emphasized the broadening of sources used in historical records. Stories from unofficial sources, records of local gazetteers and even words carved on steles were

⁹¹³ The world historian’s main focus is not on a certain country, but the development of the human world as a whole. For more information see Wang Dezhao, *Lishi zhixue yu lishi yanjiu* 歷史哲學與歷史研究 (The Philosophy of History and the Research of History) (Hong Kong, Commercial Press, 1992), p. 141. See also, Paul Costello, *World Historians and Their Goals* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994).

⁹¹⁴ This is also the view of scholars when evaluating the historic significance of Wang’s travel, for example, Xin Ping, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, p. 191. Zhang Hailin, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, p. 177.

⁹¹⁵ Wang Tao, “Shang Ding zhongcheng shu” 上丁中承書 (A Letter to Ding Richang), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 122-125.

considered to be valuable evidences which were both supplements and parallels of official history.⁹¹⁶ The travel record of Japan, recounting dynamics of development and people's livelihood, showed various faces of the historic Japanese society. Wang claimed it to be a supplement to official history records, and this indeed fits into Wang's principles of historical writings.

Chapter 13 Portraits of Japanese Intellectuals of the Meiji Period

13.1 Introduction

The human element was always at the centre of Wang Tao's writings, and is particularly prominent in both *Jottings of My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan*. In previous chapters, I have shown how Wang Tao portrayed his self image in *Jottings of My Roamings*. In *A Travel to Japan*, however, it is the descriptions of the Japanese intellectuals and their activities with Wang that occupy most of the pages. While in Chinese travel writing, it is not a usual practice to give reams of details concerning all the characters involved in the journey, Wang Tao recorded names not merely out

⁹¹⁶ Wang Tao, "Cheng Yan Yutao zhonghan shi" 呈嚴馭濤中翰師 (A Letter to Teacher Yan Yutao), in *Taoyuan chidu* (Shanghai: Songyin lu, 1893), Vol. 1, p. 5.

of courtesy to his Japanese hosts, but there are aspects of his journeys and thoughts he wanted to elaborate and stress through those descriptions.

Scholars have noticed the large number of Japanese mentioned in the text: Saneto Keishu 實藤惠秀 pointed out that Wang mentioned one hundred and fifteen Japanese intellectuals, commenting that this number alone already represents a significant cultural exchange in Sino-Japanese history.⁹¹⁷ Saneto regarded Wang Tao as the most impressive Chinese intellectual in the history of Sino-Japanese relations. Other scholars also lavished praise on Wang's travels, regarding the travelogue as a precious and creditable historic record of the Japanese intellectual world of the 1870s.⁹¹⁸ Despite the fact that scholars have pointed out this distinctive feature of the travelogue, Wang's feelings towards the intellectuals and his intentions in recording them have been rarely researched. Indeed, it would not be as valuable as scholars have asserted both in terms of historical and literary concerns if Wang Tao simply made a list of names of the people he met. It is the way he recorded those characters and how he delved deeply into their thoughts and feelings that make the records significant.

In the previous chapter, I explored the expressions of history in the travelogue and how the travelogue shows a grasp of time within the frame of Wang's life and general circumstances. Strictly speaking, what he recorded about the Japanese intellectuals also represents a history of contemporary Japan, from the aspects of intellectual lives. For Wang, people were always the most important force driving the development of a society and it is the duty of a historian to record those significant

⁹¹⁷ Saneto Keishu, "O To no raiyu to Nihon bunjin" (Wang Tao's visit and Japanese men of letters). In *Kindai Nis-shi bunka ron* (Essays on Modern Sino-Japanese Culture) (Tokyo: Daido shuppansha, 1941), pp. 52-100, here p. 77. A Chinese translation by Zhang Mingsan is available in *Riben yanjiu*, 3.6 (1944).

⁹¹⁸ Xin Ping, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, p. 191. Zhang Hailin, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, p. 177.

figures and show the relationship between men and society.⁹¹⁹ As I will show below, Wang tried to link up the intellectuals he described with the development of Japan. While historians are supposed to recount facts based on concrete evidence, this aim is, in fact, hard to achieve as writing can never be purely objective. It is also a tradition for Chinese historians to judge and comment on the subject being written, which is achieved by highlighting certain aspects of the subject's life or quoting a certain sentence supposed to have been spoken by the subject.⁹²⁰ Thus, even in narrating a "true" story of a certain person, different authors will result in different perspectives of observation.

In *A Travel to Japan*, the descriptions of the Japanese intellectuals were written in a way very similar to biographies. Name, sobriquets and origins are always

⁹¹⁹ This view is demonstrated in Wang Tao's *Franco-Prussian War*, in which he emphasized that the strengthening of Prussia was mainly due to the unity of its people and the leadership of a few talented and sensible individuals. See "The First Preface for the *Franco-Prussian War*", in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 14-17, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 609-610. As for reform in China, Wang Tao believed that if the whole nation could unite together and strengthen China, even if Western methods were not adopted, reform would be successful. He concluded that "all that matters is whether there are able men." (天下事在乎得人而已) See "Lun suotan yangwu zhongnan zuoyan qixing" 論所談洋務終難坐言起行 (A Discussion of the Difficulties of Implementing Reform), in *Taoyuan wen xinbian*, p. 348. Human factors are considered crucial in the development of a country and this should be shown in the narration of history.

⁹²⁰ Sima Qian's *Shiji* is the best example of the Chinese traditional emphasis on creativity and artistic value even in narrating facts. Throughout the centuries, it was interpreted both in the perspectives of history and literature. A Qing scholar, Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 described this tradition as *bibu zaohua* 筆補造化 (using a pen to help Heaven fill the gap) meaning that the historian could add events that he thought might have happened and were appropriate in order to describe historic figures. In Zhou Zaijun ed., *Laigu tang mingxian chidu xinzhao* 賴古堂名賢尺牘新抄 (A New Copy of Letters of the Laigu Studio), in *Siku jinhui shu congkan* 四庫禁燬書叢刊 (A Siku Collection of Banned Books) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), Vol. 36, juan 2, pp. 21b-22b. This later became a standard phrase as an accreditation to the literary achievement of *Shiji*. See Qian Zhongshu, *Guanzui bian* 管錐篇 (Limited Views: Essays of Ideas and Letters) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), p. 278. The tradition of adding personal comments in the narration, which also started with Sima Qian, was later on widely accepted in official histories of China. Therefore, the narration of facts is not supposed to lead to the elimination of personal feelings (subjectivity) in the Chinese tradition.

mentioned at the beginning and followed by some of the most important moments in the person's life. At the end, the author either reached some conclusions about that person by giving his own comments, or presented the readers with further insight into the person's thoughts by narrating conversations between them, often about their views regarding social development. With these frequent introductions and narrations of the lives of people encountered on a journey, *A Travel to Japan* is unlike any other travel writings of the imperial period, which were dominated either by descriptions of scenery or in the late Qing, machinery. More importantly, when describing Japanese intellectuals, the author was gazing at them from his own perspective and through his own assumptions and writing intentions which, in turn, revealed his thoughts and feelings.

13.2 The Visionaries

In *A Travel to Japan*, the strengths of the intellectuals are in their passion, confidence, ideas and most importantly their vision. All of them had experienced the changes from the *bakufu* government to the Meiji government. Most of them had even held official positions in the *bakufu* government, although hardly any of them had agreed with its closed door policy. Many of them, despite difficulties and threats, voiced their opinions and pointed out the necessity of learning from the West. Their bravery and vision were narrated against dangerous and severe circumstances. They were caught up in the momentum of historic development and personal decision not to continue to support the *bakufu* government. It was their vision that gave them the confidence to make this difficult choice.

Oka Senjin was one character with whom Wang got on well.⁹²¹ As mentioned in the previous chapters, Oka Senjin knew Wang Tao from his writing and was one of those who made Wang's trip possible. He is first introduced in the travelogue when

⁹²¹ Throughout the travel to Japan, Wang had 28 meetings with Oka Senjin recorded in *A Travel to Japan*.

he came with Kurimoto Joun in entry 26.⁹²² Oka Senjin's visit was meant to introduce Joun and his literary works to Wang Tao, however, Joun was only mentioned very briefly in this entry. After just two sentences describing Oka's intention, Wang turned quickly to record his portrayal of Oka with reference to his passion for friendship and literature, which resonates with what Oka intended to do during this visit. Instead of telling the readers what Oka did and said, Wang started with what he wrote and how he treated his friends and their writings. Oka was described as someone who "sees friendship and literature as his life" (以朋友、文字為性命) and wanted to preserve these valuable sentiments eternally through his writings. Thus, his writings were a mirror of his character, being full of passion and sincerity. Wang added to this that although it was difficult to know if one's name could survive through time, Oka's writings were indeed so passionate and vivid that even after thousands of years, readers would still see his spirit. In this short introduction, Wang showed that he deeply understood Oka through his writings. He wrote, "These are, generally, the thoughts of Oka Senjin" (鹿門蓋即此意). In the later passages recounting Oka's life, his actions, words and personality all echo with this introduction.

Oka Seijin was a samurai from Sendai 仙台. He encountered the unrest of the nation when he was very young and had lived through the chaos of wars. This experience made him a strong man with great self confidence. During the Meiji Restoration, Oka already envisioned the future development of Japan and urged the Lord of Sendai to submit power to the Meiji government. This was a dangerous act which could have been seen as a betrayal. He was nearly sentenced to death several times, but he vowed that he would do his best to save the nation and help those who held the same aspirations. Wang as the narrator intervened at this point and commented:

When one's life and death were easily controlled (by the superior), others would busy bowing their heads down and holding their breath, Oka Seijin,

⁹²² Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 200-201.

however, openly and bravely continued (to voice out his opinions) despite any obstacles. This is because he had thought more thoroughly than others.⁹²³

It was Oka's confidence in his vision that the nation had to be united and learnt from the West that caused him to neglect the dangers in his life. However, not many people understood Oka's intentions. Wang Tao vividly put this frustration into actions: "pull out the sword to hack the ground" (拔劍斫地) and "hold a cup of wine and question Heaven" (把酒問天). These two actions are allusions to Du Fu's "Duan gexing zeng Wanglang sizhi" 短歌行贈王郎司直 (A Short Ballad to Inspector Wang) and Qu Yuan's "Tian wen" 天問 (Questioning Heaven), both of which refer to the image of a frustrated intellectual who could not find a way to use his abilities in the service of the state.⁹²⁴ Wang concluded that the passion he found in Oka's works came from nowhere but his loyalty and love for his nation.

To show that Oka was a true loyalist whose strong will was manifested in his vision, Wang continued Oka's story with an account of how he looked forward to the development of Japan. Although he had given up his official position, Oka was still concerned about the future of Japan. Using his experience from the history department in the government, he wrote books on the history of the US, France and Britain. He was extremely knowledgeable about current affairs in the West. His views quoted by Wang Tao were exactly in line with Wang's own concerns at that time; namely the threat posed by Russia. In the quotation, Oka even cited a metaphor often used by Wang Tao, describing Russia as the Qin state in the Warring State period. As discussed earlier, Wang Tao had seen Russia as China's most serious

⁹²³ Ibid., p. 201.

⁹²⁴ Du Fu, "A Short Ballad to Inspector Wang", in *Quan Tang shi*, p. 2319. Du Fu wrote the poem to provide comfort for Wang, a young official who found himself having no opportunity to realize his ambitions. Du Fu described how frustrated he was and told him he was still young and should not give up. Qu Yuan, "Tianwen" 天問 (Questioning Heaven), in Hong Xingzu annotated, *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注 (Supplementary Explanations on *Songs of Chu*) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), pp. 143-194.

enemy thanks to the Russian ambition to annex China while other Western powers only had business interests in China. Oka pointed out here that Russia was the most urgent threat firstly because of its ambition, and secondly as it was a neighbour of Japan, so Japan had to know it well. Oka saw the work of writing the history of Russia not only as his duty, but also an enjoyable job as he predicted that by knowing Russia, Japan would then possess the knowledge of the whole world. He said, “What a delightful event it will be!” (何等快事!)⁹²⁵

Here, Wang showed Oka to be an intellectual who passionately devoted all his time, thoughts and life to the nation. His private life is not mentioned. His thoughts are constantly on how to maximize his contribution to the society. Despite difficulties, he remained an outspoken person, very optimistic, and one who strongly believed that he could help the nation.

Very similar to Oka’s experience was that of Kurimoto Joun, who was originally an official of the *bakufu* government.⁹²⁶ Although interested in history and literature, when he saw how the Westerners had opened the door of Japan, he immediately realized their strength and the need for Japan to learn from the West. He was particularly interested in medicine as he was himself a researcher of Chinese medicine. In order to learn Western medicine, he insisted on visiting Western doctors and was eventually punished by the government. However, he did not give up. After a while, when the discussion about his guilt died down, he opened a Western style hospital in Japan. Perhaps, from this incident, Kurimoto clearly saw the weaknesses of the *bakufu* government, therefore when it was overthrown and a Frenchman persuaded him to act like Shen Baoxu, Kurimoto said, “How can the nation be impeded again and again.” Shen Baoxu, a loyalist of the Chu state in the Warrior State period, restored the king of Chu and saved the state from being destroyed by Wu.⁹²⁷ The French used this story to urge Kurimoto to be loyal to the *bakufu*

⁹²⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 201.

⁹²⁶ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 214-215.

⁹²⁷ When Chu was defeated by Wu, the king of Chu fled, leaving the people of the state in despair.

government: however, Kurimoto was fully aware that the old government was the obstacle to the development of Japan and declined the request.

Oka and Kurimoto were representatives of the Japanese intellectuals that Wang wanted to present. Despite differences in individual characteristics, with Oka described as *hao* 豪 (outspoken) while others appeared to have a quieter character, the intellectuals shared an optimistic mind about the future of Japan although some of them did not have official positions. Even before the establishment of the Meiji government, they foresaw the impending and unstoppable changes that would happen to Japan. They already believed that what they advocated, such as the opening of the door, to learn from the West and to retain the proclivity of Japan, would be the key to building a strong country. It was their vision and belief that took them through the chaotic years and became the essence of their lives.

13.3 The Moral Landscape of Intellectuals

Apart from ability, what seems to be more important for Chinese intellectuals was the question of moral values. The Japanese intellectuals recorded in the travelogue were not necessarily all in favour of the changes brought about by the opening up of Japan, but they all managed to demonstrate their insistence in their moral beliefs.

One such intellectual was Sada Hakubo 佐田白茅 whose life during the Meiji restoration Wang described in detail.⁹²⁸ Like Oka Senjin and Kurimoto Joun, Sada Hakubo also experienced the turmoil during the years of change. Unlike them, he was not willing to identify with *wenren* (men of letters), a notion of which he felt ashamed, perhaps because *wenren* implied someone who only talked, and did not act.

Shen Baoxu, a general, took up the responsibility of rebuilding the state by seeking help from the Qin state. He stood outside the palace of Qin for seven days and eventually saved Chu from being totally destroyed. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, pp. 2176-2177. The allusion is used to request Kurimoto to follow Shen Baoxu's example and revive the Tokugawa regime.

⁹²⁸ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 207-208.

Sada was a man of military strategy. In times of chaos, he made the correct decision to support the Meiji government. Because of that, he was in great danger. Wang simply concluded that his survival was down to sheer luck. However, his family and relatives all gave their lives for it. The image of a lonely but strong man was revealed here.

Having done so much for the new government, however, Sada Hakubo found himself not agreeing with its policy. He then returned to the farm but still could not be relieved from his worries and disappointment. Burdened with (self assigned) heavy duties, he could not be a recluse as he had intended. Wang gave vivid descriptions of his loneliness and frustration at not being able to continue contributing to the nation. Sada Hakubo was alone in Tokyo with no friends who could understand his aspirations, leaving him only with his lonely lamp and his own shadow day after night. He was so poor that he was forced to find a job in the publishing business where he was obliged to get along with men of letters whom he looked down upon. This was against his will. Despite the implied frustration and dissatisfaction, he retained his own character as a man who stood between Heaven and earth, insisted on what he thought was right and would accept the kind of life brought about by this insistence until he died. The last descriptions of Sada overturned the gloomy atmosphere that had haunted the whole narration of his past. Before that, Sada seemed to have passively accepted what happened to him, but by saying that this was his own decision and one which he had thought through, Sada took an active role in deciding the future direction of his life: to insist on what is right without any compromise (守正不阿), even if that would mean he would remain gloomy till death (靜以待盡). Wang concluded that Sada Hakubo was someone who understood the great way.

Another intellectual, who Wang might be expected to have identified himself more with, is Masuda Ko 増田貢 (1825-1899). His name first appeared in entry 29, where he is introduced as the author of *Qingshi yaolan* 清史要覽 (Essential Aspects

of the History of the Qing Dynasty).⁹²⁹ In entry 30, Wang was invited to go to Masuda Ko's house to have a drink.⁹³⁰ In a poem written by Wang on this occasion, he showed his appreciation of Masuda Ko's talents in writing history and his care for the nation.⁹³¹ The next day, Wang recorded in the diary a letter talking about the life of Masuda Ko. Wang started with a sigh that talented people were not always able to get the most suitable position, and that even Heaven seemed unable to make up for such sorrow. "A man of letters who lost his position; an aspirant who was too old" were the phrases used to describe Masuda Ko. Wang understood all too well how frustrating that could be. The narration then turned to how Masuda Ko faced up to this situation. Instead of complaining, Masuda Ko was willing to be a recluse, enjoying a life of reading and drinking: however he had not totally forgotten his intellectual duty, writing histories, taking exercise himself, and criticizing what he thought was inappropriate. Wang said this was not inferior to a life of a king and was all a result of Masuda Ko's willingness to follow *daode* 道德 (the rules of virtue).⁹³²

The reason for Wang's closer feeling towards Masuda Ko, however, might lie in another aspect of their characters. On several occasions, Wang mentioned his appreciation of the maids of Masuda Ko who were also able to write poems.⁹³³ He did not hesitate to show his admiration of Masuda Ko's life. This love for women was described not as a pure human desire, but was interpreted in its moral aspects. Indeed, as mentioned before, the private lives of the intellectuals were seldom recorded. They were concerned only with their duties to the nation. On those occasions when family matters were mentioned, the warmth and love within the family was transformed into either love for the nation or a device to reveal one's

⁹²⁹ Ibid., p. 207.

⁹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 212-213

⁹³¹ Ibid. The line reads, "作史雄才誰可敵, 憂時壯志莫輕消" (Talents of a historian who can be rival with? Great aspirants concerning the current time should not fade easily).

⁹³² Ibid., p. 215.

⁹³³ Ibid., p. 212, 213, 215.

sincere personality.⁹³⁴ Wang's descriptions of Masuda Ko belonged to the second category. Here, the admiration for women and the expressions of it became a symbol of a sincere personality. On one occasion, Wang was questioned by some Japanese intellectuals about his obsession which seemed to be not suitable for his age. Wang found a few historic parallels to prove that his acts were unrestrained but did not breach the rules of virtue: he loved the enjoyment but never practicing in anything obscene.⁹³⁵ Only hypocrites, like Wang Anshi and Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480-1567) needed to disguise their greed through pretending to be chaste and serious men. His honesty lay in the fact that he did not struggle to conceal his obsession for women but treated this obsession as a natural and sincere expression of his heart. The exact phrases, such as *shuaixing erxing* 率性而行 (to act according to one's nature), *liulu tianzhen* 流露天真 (the expression of one's true colour) were also used to describe Masuda Ko which explains Wang's "hearts linked secretly to each other" (心契潛通) kind of relationship with Masuda.

13.4 A Resonance between Wang and the Intellectuals he Recorded

In the example of Masuda Ko, one can already discern resonance between Wang Tao's self judgment and the Japanese intellectuals. Reading the passages describing Japanese intellectuals, it is evident that Wang was involved deeply with his own emotions. Unlike an observer in the *Jottings of My Roamings*, introducing Western systems and technologies in an authoritarian voice, Wang positioned himself as an insider of the Japanese intellectual circles. This was on the one hand due to the close relationship between the two cultures, for instance, the Japanese intellectuals were able to share with them Chinese culture. On the other hand, Wang identified himself as one of those loyal, envisioned and brave intellectuals. In other words, the lives of

⁹³⁴ For example, in entry 45, Wang wrote about General Tani Tateki and how he fought bravely against Saigo Takamori. He mentioned visiting Tani's family and emphasized that they were also with Tani in Kumamoto castle supporting him when the castle was sieged by Saigo. In *A Travel to Japan*, p. 237.

⁹³⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 245-247.

these Japanese intellectuals did not come coldly into his mind to be written down as records, rather he regarded himself as someone who knew them by heart and understood their feelings and tragedies. Wang always concluded by the end of the descriptions that he could read their minds. As shown from the above examples, Wang's comments on these intellectuals were often added in the process of narration. In this way, the narrator steps forward into the narration. Instead of minimizing his existence to make the narration look objective, Wang emphasized his involvement, such is the subjectivity presented in the depiction of the intellectuals. Because of this obvious presence of the narrator's comments and even his feelings, one can find the shadows of the narrator disguised in the narrated intellectual. Indeed, in the descriptions of Oka Senjin, Sada Hakuba and Masuda Ko, some exact phrases of descriptions and similar images were used by Wang Tao when he introduced himself to the Japanese intellectuals.⁹³⁶ An image of the talented, farsighted, sincere and strong-willed intellectual was shared by both the Japanese intellectuals and Wang Tao. Despite difficulties, such as those which affected Sada Hakuba and Masuda Ko, Wang did not give up his initial aspirations and faced his sorrows positively.

Another example can be seen when after narrating the life of Kurimoto Joun, Wang returned to record their first meeting. Kurimoto Joun asked him, assumably using brush conversation in literary Chinese, "Are you an official? Are you a recluse?"⁹³⁷ Wang said that he was stunned and could hardly say anything. The question could not be taken by its surface meaning. It was a question of the identity of Wang Tao and ultimately his duty as an intellectual. Wang was stricken by Kurimoto Joun's question and later on wrote a poem, intended as an answer, but the poem started with Kurimoto's life, portraying him as a knowledgeable teacher with a critical view on politics. Then Wang Tao went on to address his own identity and his duties, stating that he was also like Kurimoto, caring for the country and holding

⁹³⁶ In several occasions, Wang Tao introduced himself to the Japanese intellectuals by recalling his life events. In *A Travel to Japan*, p. 198, 218-219, 246-247.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

critical views. As had happened to Kuirmoto, he was also not appreciated by most of his contemporaries who wanted him executed and imprisoned.⁹³⁸ Here, Wang's life experience is closely united to that of Kuirmoto, thus answering Kuirmoto's question about identity and duty.

Wang Tao was strongly identified not only with the often tragic lives of the intellectuals he met, but also their abilities, especially their vision and bravery. When he was regarded as the "present day Wei Yuan", he was deeply contented and realized that he had experienced much more than Wei Yuan and could contribute more than him.⁹³⁹ His views about learning from the West and his knowledge of current affairs were greatly appreciated in Japan and he often mentioned how he held similar opinions to those of the Japanese intellectuals. Also, vision and bravery were always found in the Japanese intellectuals. As discussed in the previous section, it was often through the insistence of their visions that their bravery to the nation was fully shown. From the first time that Wang set foot in Japan, he had noticed and recorded the bravery of the Japanese through descriptions of historic heroes and geographical locations. The intellectuals and generals he recorded all had this valuable virtue which aroused Wang's intense emotions. When a Japanese intellectual gave him a Japanese sword as a present, Wang's emotion and bravery were stimulated and he wrote a poem, saying that at first he did not have any thoughts of following the army to contribute to the country any more, and he was afraid that this sword would be left idle. But then, the sword, which is a symbol of bravery and patriotism, aroused his concealed emotions so that he dreamt of himself fighting with it, and found out that his great ambitions were still living in him.⁹⁴⁰ (忽持此刀斫陣歸 雄心不死來入夢) He concluded the poem by encouraging the owner

⁹³⁸ Ibid. The original poem reads, "先生可比賈長頭，頭童齒豁與古游。說經講學眾無匹，風雲筆底千言遒。東京文社君所創，賞罰褒貶嚴春秋。浮海東來見君面，奇緣天賜能小留。苔岑異地結深契，慷慨意氣尤相投。年來我亦持清議，眷言家國懷殷憂。論事往往撻眾怒，世人欲殺狂奴囚。掉首東游得識君，此興不孤同登樓。"

⁹³⁹ Ibid., p. 202

⁹⁴⁰ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 246.

of the sword (the Japanese intellectual and himself) to be hero of the age. This was an inspiring event for Wang as he mentioned it again after forty days, writing a short rhapsody expressing his excitement aroused by the sword: “The ups and downs of my life have made me melancholic, lend me the sword to execute my enemy (平生恩仇不快意，借我請斬仇人頭).⁹⁴¹

Bravery, vision, and insistence are the symbols of the Japanese intellectuals. They were also representative of Japanese society and its future development. They were the people who could really understand Wang Tao, because it seemed at least to Wang Tao that they shared a very similar worldview, ambition, life experiences full of changes, and unfair treatment. This is why Wang Tao regarded them as close friends and his descriptions of them were full of his own feelings and reflections. Their bravery and patriotism for the nation also aroused Wang’s own bravery and patriotism deeply buried in his heart. After years of rejection and frustration, in Japan, he found the intense love for his country coming back to him again.

13.5 Comments of the Meiji Government through the Intellectuals

The reference to the Japanese intellectuals not only provided opportunities for Wang Tao to see himself in those aspirants, but also allowed him to bring in discussions on his views on the Meiji government and its reform. After introducing the life of a certain intellectual, Wang continued with a discussion of his political views, sometimes directly relating those views to the policies of the Meiji reform.

When Wang Tao recorded the life of Honda Shugo本多正訥, who was from a noble family, Wang introduced the feudal system of Japan, which was very much the same as that which had prevailed in China in the Spring and Autumn period. People were divided into three classes, nobility, officials and commoners. However, after the establishment of the Meiji government, feudalism was abolished, along with the method of selecting officials. Wang commented that because of this change, talented

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 274.

people from the society (the commoners) were now able to contribute to the government.⁹⁴² He used *huai cai* 懷才 (possession of talents) to describe those who stood out among the commoners, and *zi fen* 自奮 (endeavour for oneself) to describe their passion at having the chance to serve the government: it was obvious that Wang held a positive attitude to this change of policy. I will also argue that although the immediate readers of the travelogue would be the Japanese, Wang Tao also intended to collect information for his fellow countrymen as he had expressed in the preface to *Jottings of My Roamings*. Otherwise, he would not have needed to explain the Japanese system in detail. Therefore, writing about the Meiji government was to show his approval towards the changes in Japan and these changes had benefited Japan. When commenting on how the abolishment of feudalism had helped to promote the selection of more talented people in Japan, Wang (and also he hoped his intended Chinese readers) would inevitably think about what happened in his home country where he considered the recruitment system to be inappropriate and ineffective.

While seeing some of the beneficial policies introduced by the Meiji government, Wang did not hesitate to show the drawbacks of other policies. In the travelogue, these criticisms were often backed up by referring to the attitudes of the Japanese intellectuals he had met. Wang's main concern was the overwhelming voice calling for complete Westernization in Japan. Although he supported the idea of learning from the West, the main question was what to learn.

After giving a biography of Oka Senjin and his views on defence against the Russians and knowing the development of the world, Wang had a chat with Oka Senjin and Shigeno Yasutsugu about the same topic. They discussed Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi*, evaluating the significance of the book in introducing the world to China and Japan. While Shigeno Yasutsugu flattered Wang by saying that Wang's works about the West contained more useful insights than Wei Yuan, Wang pointed out that Wei Yuan might not have had an in-depth understanding of the West because

⁹⁴² Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 198.

he was limited by time and experience, but his importance lay in the fact that he was among the first to call for learning from the West. Then he said, “Nowadays, people followed it (Wei’s idea of learning from the West) but only took it superficially.”⁹⁴³ Although in this quotation, he had not pointed out who those people were, I will argue that the opinion was directed against Japan.

First it was a conversation meant to talk about Japanese understanding of the world which made this comment point to the Japanese. While Wang had claimed that he would stay away from politics and only discuss light topics, this comment directly revealed his overall feelings of present Japan. Another piece of material concerning the problem discussed here was Oka Senjin’s reaction to it. According to Wang’s record, perhaps because of its directness, Oka Senjin appeared to be embarrassed and continued the conversation about the passionate characters of both Wei Yuan and Wang Tao. In reality, Oka Senjin did not agree with Wang’s opinion. Even after five years, in 1884 when Oka Senjin went to China, he found an opportunity to express his disagreement. In his travel writing, he said,

Although the old man (Wang Tao) understood the general circumstance, he had not researched it deeply enough, therefore, some of his arguments are not as thorough. For instance, he once said that my country had learnt (from the West) superficially. My country was spared (from invasion) till now for no other reasons than those superficial knowledge. How can one be able to learn the essence in such a short period of time?⁹⁴⁴

Obviously, Oka did not agree with Wang Tao, but in their meeting, out of courtesy, he did not argue with Wang and directed the discussion to another topic. However, from reading Oka’s diary, in which he quoted Wang’s descriptions of the

⁹⁴³ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 248.

⁹⁴⁴ Oka Senjin, *Kanko kiyu*, 觀光紀遊 (Travel Report) (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1971), 5 *juan*, 28.9.1884, p. 1. The travel diary was written in literary Chinese. The original reads, “惟翁(王韜)涉彼大體, 未究彼學術, 故間有論未透者。如論我邦為徒學歐米皮毛, 則是也。我免至今日, 無他, 以學得皮毛也。若夫神髓, 豈一朝所學得乎?”

Meiji reform verbatim before going on to refute them, it is evident that it meant Oka felt that Wang's opinion was aimed at Japan.

Throughout his diary, Wang noted how the Japanese had changed and adopted Western practices. In addition, he saw a decline in people's interest in China and Sinology as a direct result of Westernization. Wang was eager to express his disappointment and on other occasions discussed the unnecessary Westernized measures Japan had adopted, as well as his views on the applicability of Confucianism in the contemporary world.

Once, Wang Tao compared his version of the philosophies of the West and China with those of a group of Japanese intellectuals, giving an example which directly related to Japan. He started by saying that one must choose what was suitable for one self to learn, and give up whatever was unsuitable. The key judgment was whether the practice fitted into the people's way of living. He regarded this as the reason for the popularity of Confucianism in China as it was a universal philosophy unlimited by time.⁹⁴⁵ After being assured by the Japanese intellectuals, Wang picked out a specific example. In the West, Sunday was always meant for taking rest and worshipping God. However, there were exceptions to this rule. For example, merchants might need to trade on Sunday. Also, the poor who would not have enough to eat if they stopped working on Sunday could not follow the rule. Wang concluded that the rules were made for men, not to limit them. He criticized the idea of some missionaries, who said that one must reserve Sunday for worshipping. Wang argued that this was unreasonable, because working on a certain day should not be related to one's sincerity in worshipping God. One needed to worship Heaven everyday, but it was impossible for people to stop working the whole week. He reached the conclusion that those who were good at ruling would not adopt the Western methods blindfolded. This example concerned Japan and again, the Japanese intellectuals were quick to explain that although they had adopted a Western practice, not everyone had to follow the rule and it was meant to provide convenience for

⁹⁴⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 231-232.

those who worked with Westerners.

Although working on Sunday may appear to be a trivial matter, Wang's thoughts on Westernization went beyond the surface meaning of this example. As emphasized above, Wang did not want to be offensive and appear to be too critical towards Japan, so, instead of saying anything directly about politics, he chose to express his views through aspects of daily life. But he did stress several times that over Westernization in a short period of time was harmful to a nation. Japan was used as an example for Wang Tao and his intended Chinese readers to evaluate the real meaning of learning from the West. Wang's main concerns regarding Westernization were that it might be *taizhou* 太驟 (too fast) and *taisi* 太似 (too alike).⁹⁴⁶ The problems of Japan, for Wang Tao, could serve as a lesson to the Chinese. When he went back to China, he evaluated what he had seen in Japan: his descriptions and comments in those writings were in line with what he recorded in the travel diary.⁹⁴⁷

Another implication of this comment can be read as Wang's worries concerning Japan's expansionist policy towards China and his implicit warning to Japanese intellectuals. As mentioned, when Wang traveled in Japan, the two countries had an uneasy relationship due to the disputes in Liujiu and Taiwan. Wang Tao was well aware of Japanese ambitions to Chinese territory prior to his visit. After traveling in Japan, he concluded that its expansionist ambitions were mainly due to its rapid and inappropriate Westernization, ie. *taizhou* and *taisi*. He said that Japan had learnt everything superficially from the West and because it thought it was as strong as the West now, it would like to test its power in a rapid and reckless way. However, according to his observation, Japan was strong on the surface but depleted inside (外強而中槁).⁹⁴⁸ As he reported, militarily, Japanese did not have a large army, its

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 248.

⁹⁴⁷ For examples, in "Zai cheng Zheng Yuxuan Guancha" 再呈鄭玉軒觀察, "Yu Fan Mingshan Guancha" 與方銘山觀察, and "Yu Ma Meishu Guancha" 與馬眉叔觀察. In *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 187-189.

⁹⁴⁸ Wang Tao, "Zai cheng Zheng Yuxuan Guancha" 再呈鄭玉軒觀察, In *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 187-188.

warships were not as many as had been claimed and its fortresses were also not as solid. Economically, Japan was facing a financial crisis as silver was flowing to the European countries. Socially, as the changes in Japan were too rapid, upheavals could be expected. Therefore, on the one hand, Wang understood thoroughly Japan's ambitious policies towards China.⁹⁴⁹ On the other hand, as he urged an alliance between Japan and China, to persuade the Japanese intellectuals, he warned them that Japan was not as strong as it claimed, so it therefore should not put forward expansionist policies.⁹⁵⁰ In fact, Wang thought that once China stopped accepting its banknotes and trading with Japan, its economy would be broken down.⁹⁵¹

Apart from feeling dissatisfied with the complete Westernization and the expansionist policies of the Meiji government, Wang also implicitly criticised the narrow-minded and harsh government through his discussion of the Japanese intellectuals. In the previous chapter, I showed how through Wang's changing attitudes towards Saigo Takamori, he implied the harshness of the Meiji government and the unfair treatment Saigo had received. Again, looking into the lives of the intellectuals Wang recorded, most of them, like Wang Tao, were talented intellectuals who were not afraid to sacrifice their lives for the Meiji government; however because of their disagreement with some government policies, they were no longer accepted by the government. Oka Senjin, Sada Hakubo and Masuda Ko are the most obvious representatives of the kind.

⁹⁴⁹ Wang Tao "Shang He Xiaosong zhijun" 上何筱宋制軍 (A Letter to General He Xiaosong) and "Zai cheng Zheng Yuxuan Guancha" 再呈鄭玉軒觀察 (A Letter to Observer Zheng Yuxuan), in *Taoyuan chidu*, p. 146, 187. Similar views were expressed when Wang wrote to Oka Senjin. See Wang Tao, "Ba Riben Oka Senjin wenji hou" 跋日本岡鹿門文集後 (A Postscript of Works of Oka Senjin from Japan), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 10, pp. 7-10, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 634-635.

⁹⁵⁰ See Xin Ping, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, p. 111. Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ching China*, p. 108.

⁹⁵¹ See Wang Tao "Shang He Xiaosong zhijun" and "Yu Fan Mingshan Guancha" 與方銘山觀察 (A Letter to Observer Fang Mingshan).. In *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 146-147, 188-189.

13.6 Conclusion

The frequent mentioning of Japanese intellectuals in *A Travel to Japan* has been seen as providing valuable information when looking into the question of Sino-Japanese relations. In terms of the aspects of literary merit, however, I am more concerned with how and why those intellectuals were described. Narrating a real person's life and a fictional character are often considered to be different. While the creation of a fictional character comes directly from the author's mind, narrating a real person's life often depends on "facts". It may appear that there is not much room for the expression of the author's subjectivity in narrating facts. However, by looking at how those intellectuals were described, how their life events were selected, arranged, and emphasized, it can be seen how this form of narration is not different from any other artistic creation. Wang Tao was highly selective with regard to what he wanted to emphasize about a certain intellectual, whether it was his discernible knowledge or moral courage. He also often intervened half way in the narration, adding his comments. This presence of the author's voice increases the subjectivity of the text. In short, the general image of Japanese intellectuals depicted in the travelogue is of individuals with both talents and moral virtues. While Wang mentioned their talents in literature, what he appreciated most was their ability to value the future development of Japan and their moral courage to insist on their upholding beliefs even under pressure. This was very much alike Wang's own life experiences.

The many descriptions of the intellectuals can also be interpreted from the complexity in the readership of this diary. Although the diary was written primarily for Japanese intellectuals, Wang Tao's mind was never too far from home. Although it was not directly shown in the diary, but if he regarded his journey as a mission to seek direction about future development,⁹⁵² he could only be doing this for China. Also, as mentioned previously, Wang Tao introduced and explained a few Japanese

⁹⁵² Wang Tao, "Preface", in *A Travel to Japan*, p. 171.

political systems and social conditions. If the book is merely for the Japanese readers, does that information not seem redundant? It seemed that although the diary was written for Japanese readers, Wang might consider using the data he collected for further research on Japan. When Wang Tao reviewed the version of the diary published in Japan, he expressed his frustration about those parts about Japanese military development which had been left out. His dissatisfaction can only be explicable if he wanted to retain some of the information for further use, most possibly for reporting back to home readers about Japan, giving them insights on Japan's social development and military strategies. Under such assumption, giving a detailed description of the Japanese intellectuals, whom Wang appreciated, cannot be simply read as a panegyric, but an intention to reveal the intellectual world of Japan and to show how the intellectuals had brought about the new development of Japan. With the emphasis on the relationship between intellectuals and the establishment of a new government and a new era, Wang demonstrated his theory of social development and how the development should be understood and recorded: sensible intellectuals are the most essential factor.⁹⁵³

Chapter 14 *Changhe and Yan Poems in A Travel to Japan*

14.1 Current Research on Chinese Poems of Japan

Being only a stretch of water away from China, the Japanese people had started interacting with Chinese long before the Qing dynasty. Not only had merchants of

⁹⁵³ For Wang's views on the writing of history, see "Cheng Yan Yutao Zhonghan shi" 呈嚴馭濤中瀚師 (A Letter to my Teacher, Yan Yutao), in *Taoyuan chidu* (Shanghai: Songyin lu, 1893), Vol.1, pp. 8. For more discussion of Wang's thoughts on the duty of historians, see Xin Ping "Wang Tao de shizhu jiqi shixue lilun" 王韜的史著及其史學理論 (Wang Tao's Historic Writings and Theories of Historical Writings), in eds. Wong Man Kong and Lam Kai Yin, *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, pp. 148-169.

the two countries traded with one another, intellectual exchanges, particularly poetry writing, had also flourished: more than a hundred poems on Sino-Japanese exchanges were written during the Tang dynasty.⁹⁵⁴ Chen Gaohua also estimated that about fifty poems were written for the Japanese during the Yuan and Ming dynasties.⁹⁵⁵ After the downfall of the Ming dynasty, a few Ming loyalists, such as Zhu Shunshui, Chen Yuanbin 陳元贊 and Xin Yue 心越 fled to Japan.⁹⁵⁶ Their literary works reveal the friendly relationship between Chinese and Japanese. However, these exchanges were described by scholars as “very limited” both in quantity and quality. Firstly, despite the enormous amount of Japanese going to China, Chinese seldom visited to Japan. Therefore, their descriptions of Japan only came from their imagination and written sources. Secondly, the few Chinese who went to Japan were confined to Nagasaki. After the closed door policy of the *bakufu* government, only unofficial interactions were still retained.⁹⁵⁷

Visits by Chinese intellectuals to Japan only became popular after the mid-19th century when both countries could no longer close their doors. Advances in transportation also facilitated travel between the two countries. Individuals went to Japan to travel, or even to earn a living. Envoys were also sent to Japan to establish

⁹⁵⁴ Zhang Buyun, *Tang dai Zhong Ri wanglai shi jizhu* 唐代中日往來詩輯注 (An Annotated Edition of Sino-Japanese Poems in the Tang Dynasty) (Si'an: Shangzi renmin chubanshe, 1984), here p. 12.

⁹⁵⁵ Chen Gaohua, “Shisi shiji lai Zhongguo de Riben sengren” 十四世紀來中國的日本僧人 (Japanese Monks traveling to China in the 12th Century), in *Wenshi*, 18 (1983), pp. 131-149.

⁹⁵⁶ Zhu Shunshui has been introduced in the previous chapters. His works are collected in *Zhu Shunshui yishu* 朱舜水遺書 (The Extant Works of Zhu Shunshui) published in 1913 and *Zhu Shunshui ji* 朱舜水集 (The Works of Zhu Shunshui) published in 1981. Chen Yunbin fled to Japan in 1628, his works are collected in *Yuanyuan changhe ji* 元元唱和集 (A Collection of Yuanyuan's *changhe* poetry) published in 1883. Xin Yue, original named Jiang Xingchou 蔣興儔, fled to Japan in 1676, his works are collected in *Donggao quanji* 東臯全集 (The Complete Works of Donggao) published in 1911.

⁹⁵⁷ Wang Baoping, “Shilun Qing muo Zhong Ri shiwen wanglai” 試論清末中日詩文往來 (A Preliminary Study of the Exchanges of Poetry and Prose between China and Japan), in *Wang Qing dongyou riji huibian: Zhong Ri shiwen jiaoliu ji*, p. 1.

official relations and observe the development of Japan for strategic reasons. These two groups of people had substantial contact with Japanese, from all walks of life, and put the Japan they saw into poetry. The most notable recent research on this extant of works are Wang Baoping's articles on Chinese literati's travel poems in Japan and a collection of these poems in *Wan Qing dongyou riji huibian: Zhong Ri shiwen jiaoliu ji* 晚清東遊日記滙編：中日詩文交流集 (A Collection of Travel Diaries to Japan in the Late Qing: A Collection of Exchanged Poems between Chinese and Japanese), which contains nineteen collections of poems, written from 1878 to 1891.⁹⁵⁸

In his preface to the collection which contains poems written both by officials, like Li Shuchang, and non-officials, such as Ye Wei 葉煒, Wang Baoping analyzed the poems according to the poets' identities and divided the development of Sino-Japanese intellectual relations during the late Qing into three periods. The first, in the early stage of Emperor Guangxu's reign, was a time when non-official interaction was relatively active. Ye Wei, Chen Honggao 陳鴻誥, Wang Zhiben 王治本, Wei Zhusheng 衛鑄生 and Wang Fanqing 王藩清 were the most important poets. Because they went to Japan to earn a living, their concern was whether the poems would be popular among the Japanese. Most of the poems are descriptions either of their gatherings or of Chinese objects and culture that the Japanese were expected to find interesting. As Wang Baoping pointed out, they seldom showed the slightest interest in Japanese society. Rather than writing poems in response to contemporary Japan, they devoted themselves to introducing the trivial concerns of Chinese intellectuals to the Japanese.⁹⁵⁹ The second period lasts from 1877, when the

⁹⁵⁸ See also, Wang Baoping, "Shilun Qing muo Zhong Ri shiwen wanglai" in *Wan Qing dongyou riji huibian: Zhong Ri shiwen jiaoliu ji*, pp. 1-16. Wang Baoping, "Wan Qing wenren zai Riben—Guangxu nianjian yu Ri wenren kao" 晚清文人在日本——光緒年間寓日文人考 (Late Qing Literati in Japan: A Study of Chinese Literati in Japan during Emperor Guangxu's Regim), in *Riben xuekan*, 4 (1998), pp. 139-151.

⁹⁵⁹ Wang Baoping, "Shilun Qing muo Zhong Ri shiwen wanglai", in *Wan Qing dongyou riji huibian: Zhong Ri shiwen jiaoliu ji*, pp. 7-8.

first Chinese embassy was established in Japan, until 1895. Wang regarded this period as an era of poetic exchanges among the diplomats, the most significant of whom being He Ruzhang, Huang Zunxiang, and Li Shuzhang. Wang pointed out that the poetry exchange activities were becoming more systematic and political, and their scale was increasing. He emphasized the political discourses of these poems, focusing mainly on the diplomats' objective in establishing harmonious relationships with Japanese in the hope of promoting a better relationship between the two countries. Poems were regarded as a most effective tool for engaging with the Japanese. During the third period, after 1895, when the Sino-Japanese War took place, the exchange activity diminished as it was more difficult for literati or diplomats of both sides to be friends.

While the article gives a full picture of the development of the poetic exchanges between Chinese and Japanese, Wang Baoping did not consider Wang Tao to be an important figure. Although he mentioned Wang Tao and regarded him as an important person in the first phase of Sino-Japanese literary exchange, he did not elaborate on Wang's poems.⁹⁶⁰ One reason I will suggest is that Wang Tao is difficult to fit into the categories divided by Wang Baoping. Wang's poems, as I will show below, contain features of both official and unofficial poems. He was a commoner, traveling to Japan for his own purposes, and yet he was different from those literati who earned a living in Japan, being an intellectual who always considered himself to have a national duty. Indeed, Wang's poems in the travel diary were very specific to his own experience, thus confirming his ambiguous identity as neither an official nor a commoner. Hence, it would be hard to put Wang Tao into the categories suggested in the article.

Another reason for scholars to neglect Wang's poems is that, as Li Chifang suggested, they were considered works written out of courtesy, not serious compositions. Li commented that although these poems demonstrated a sophisticated style, they did not contain much content, and therefore were "worse" than Wang's

⁹⁶⁰ Wang Baoping, "Preface", in *Wang Qing dongyou riji huibian: Zhong Ri shiwen jiaoliu ji*, p. 2.

youthful works.⁹⁶¹ However, I will argue that style and content are not separate elements; they are interrelated to each other as different content will influence the style and form being used. In addition, some scholars also pointed out that because many of these poems were about Japanese geisha, they were not considered worth recording. These poems involving Wang's own private life were marginalized. They are considered irrelevant in the analysis of the political value of the travel diary, and appropriate only to show Wang's "conservative" side.⁹⁶² These are the reasons why Wang's poems about Japan are often overlooked while on the other hand, Huang Zunxian's *Riben zashishi*, a series of poems aimed at introducing Japan and praising the Meiji reforms, were given a lavished praise.

This judgment of the poems of Japan is, however, at least not in accord with Wang Tao's own view. When Wang compiled his poems into *Henghuaguan shilu* in 1880, he preserved all the poems about Japan (all of which also appear in the travel diary) while weeding out many of his earlier works. Ten years later, Wang Tao collated his poems again, and all the poems about Japan were retained. Nevertheless, according to Wang Tao's selection criteria, these poems were worth publishing and preserving as examples of his personal trademark.

In this chapter, I will first focus on Wang's *changhe* 唱和 poems, refuting the idea that they are stylistically sophisticated, yet dry in content. On the contrary, Wang Tao saw these poems as a successful rendition of his unrestrained feelings and ambitions. I will show that these poems are written in a much more straightforward style than his previous works and contain a powerful transmission of emotion through the interactions between poets. I will then examine Wang's poems about the women he met in Japan, a unique feature of this travel diary which has been neglected by most researchers. I propose to study these poems by integrating them into three contexts: Wang's general view of the nature and function of poetry; his

⁹⁶¹ Li Chifang, "Wang Tao de wenxue yu jingxue" 王韜的文學與經學 (Wang Tao's Works of Literature and the Classics). In *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, p. 194.

⁹⁶² Zhong Shuhe, *Zouxiang shijie: Jindai zhishi fenzi kaocha Xifang de lishi*, pp. 159-160.

ideas on writing about private life and romantic experiences; finally the broader literary trend of the exploration of women during late Qing China and Japan.

14.2 *Changhe* Poems

The genre *changhe shi* 唱和詩 (sing-and-response poem), describes the nature of most of Wang's poems in *A Travel to Japan*. The reason for a lack of research into this poetry is, perhaps, not because of Wang Tao or anything found in the poems, but the traditional view towards *changhe* poetry. Gao Cheng 高承 (c.a. 11th century) traced its origin back to the legendary figures, Shun 舜 and Gao Yao 皋陶 who sang and responded to each other.⁹⁶³ In fact, during the Han, and Six dynasties, *changhe* was a common activity among literati, or officials and emperors. Some scholars even suggested that it was during the *changhe* activities, that the five-word verse poetry matured.⁹⁶⁴ It was a major activity in intellectual circles during the Tang and Song dynasties. Articles discussing the *changhe* poems of Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), Bai Juyi, Ouyang Xiu and Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002-1060), have placed them as the most significant works among the enormous amount of *changhe* poetry throughout China's literary history.⁹⁶⁵ However, these scholars also noticed that

⁹⁶³ Gao Cheng, *Shiwu jiyuan* 事物紀原 (The Origin of Objects), in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 136. The original reads, “帝舜與皋陶乃廣載歌，則唱和之初也。”

⁹⁶⁴ See Wu Chengxue, He Zhijun, “Shi keyi qun: cong Wei Jin Nan Bei chao shige chuanguo xingtai kaocha qi wenxue guannian”, 詩可以群：從魏晉南北朝詩歌創作形態考察其文學觀念 (Poetry as a Means of Social Intercourse: An Investigation of the Literary Ideas during the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties from Poetry), in *Zhonggou shehui kexue*, 5 (2001), pp. 165-174.

⁹⁶⁵ See Tang Yinfei, “Zhong Tang changhe shi lunshu” 中唐唱和詩論述 (A Discussion of the *Changhe* Poems of the Mid-Tang dynasty), in *Wenxue yichan*, 3 (2001), pp. 49-58. Wu Dashun, “Lun Ou Mei changhe shi de chuanguo dongji” 論歐梅唱和詩的創作動機 (A Study of the Motives of the *changhe* poems of Ouyang Xiu and Mei Yaochen), in *Xueshu luntan*, 1 (2004), pp. 142-145. Wu Dashun, “Shizi youyi yu changhe shi: lun Ou Mei changhe shi dui Yuan Bai changhe shi de jicheng yu chaoyue” 士子的友誼與唱和詩——論歐梅唱和詩對元白唱和詩的繼承與超越 (Intellectual Friendship and *Changhe* Poems: A Discussion of the Inheritance and Unprecedented Features of

despite the popularity of *changhe* poems among literati, traditionally critics did not pay much attention to them. Some considered them just the product of games, others criticized their lacking of aesthetic value. As *changhe* is an interactive activity, poems are written with the primary function of communication and exchanging ideas. Therefore, the poems must be viewed in the context of the interaction, in other words, how *chang* (the initial poem) and *he* (the responded poems) are linked. The basic format of *changhe* poems was well established by the Mid-Tang period. Normally, there were two or more poets, writing poems based on a theme, using the same form or very often the same rhythms in the same sequence used in the first poem, known as *ciyun* 次韻. While poems based on the same theme enabled a discussion of ideas among the poets, those that used the same form and rhythms required great skill. Therefore, apart from an exchange of ideas, the game is also a competition of poetic talents. Sometimes, the display of skills was the most important element in the game.⁹⁶⁶

In *A Travel to Japan*, *changhe* was a frequent activity among Wang Tao and the intellectuals he met. Although this activity is not unique among the Chinese intellectuals or diplomats traveling in Japan, their records did not give much detail about their interactions, and they seldom recorded others' responding poems during the *changhe* activity. Wang's work, on the other hand, records both his works and those of others, making the analysis of *changhe* possible. More importantly, Wang wrote these works with a serious attitude, and he felt proud of them. In a letter to Yu

Ouyang Xiu, Mei Yaochen *Changhe* Poems to the Yuan Zhen, Bai Juyi), in *Huihua Xueyuan xuebao*, 2 (2004), pp. 76-79. Wu Dashun, "Ou Mei *changhe* yu Song shi gexin" 歐梅唱和與宋詩革新 (The *Changhe* Poems of Ouyang Xiu and Mei Yaoheng and the Revolution of the Song Dynasty Poems), in *Chuanshan xuebao*, 1 (2004), pp. 131-134.

⁹⁶⁶ The most famous example is Han Yu's 韓愈 use of difficult and obscure rhythms to challenge Meng Jiao 孟郊. Han's "Shiding *lianju xu*" 石鼎聯句序 (Preface of *Lianju of the Stone Vessel*) also described the excitement of *changhe* activity when one poet struggled hard to beat others and continue the series of poems. See Qian Chonglian ed., *Han Changli shi jinian jishi* 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋 (Explanation and Chronology of the Poems of Han Yu) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 849-851.

Yuanmei 余元眉, he concluded the main feature of these poems to be a reflection of his unrestrained spirit.⁹⁶⁷ Therefore, these poems are unlike courtesy poems written merely to flatter guests.

By the time Wang Tao traveled to Japan, he was no longer a failed, exiled literatus, instead, he was leading a successful life in Hong Kong. He was one of the founders of the first Western style Chinese newspaper *Xunhuan ribao*, he was widely regarded as a master of current affairs and was well-received in Japan. Many poems praising his talents and knowledge had been written about him. This boosted his self confidence which was revealed in the poems he wrote in response. When he visited Kyoto, he met Wu Hantao 吳瀚濤 (1855-1919), an official working in the Chinese embassy in Kobe. They quickly became friends and wrote so many poems that Wang Tao hardly had time to record all of them. Ultimately, two groups of seven words regulated poems were recorded.⁹⁶⁸ I use two from each group to demonstrate how interaction was conducted through poetry. The first poem written by Wu Hantao is a general description of Wang's life and ambition, Wu likened Wang to Li Bai by using phrases related to Li in the poem.⁹⁶⁹ This metaphor on the one hand pointed out Wang's Bohemian personality, while on the other hand it praised his literary talents, especially when it came to writing poems, and this idea was further elaborated on in the second poem. Wu also showed an understanding of Wang's grievances about his drifting life, describing him stamping his feet in frustration. Finally he concluded that Wang's misfortunes were due to the unstable world. On the whole, the poem was written in a pitying tone. Wang, however, expressed his positive attitude towards his own life in his poem in reply. First, he said that he believed in, rather than resented,

⁹⁶⁷ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 239. The original reads, “賦詩言志，東遊之作，頗有豪氣。”

⁹⁶⁸ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 190-192.

⁹⁶⁹ Wu used two lines from Du Fu's descriptions of Li Bai. Wu's “跋扈飛揚意態雄” comes from Du Fu's “Zeng Li Bai” 贈李白 (To Li Bai) “飛揚跋扈為誰雄”; “白也世人皆欲殺” comes from Du Fu's “Bu jian” 不見 (Not Seen) with the preface “I have not heard from Li Bai, “殺人皆欲殺，吾意獨憐才。” In *Quan Tang shi*, p. 2392, 2459.

Heaven. In response to Wu's comparison with Li Bai, Wang humbly said that he felt embarrassed by the praise. However, a further response to that comparison came in the third line when Wang told Wu that he not only wanted to be like Li Bai, excelling in poetry, but he wanted to "learn to use the sword" alluding to his ambition to protect the country. Considering his unfortunate life, presumably referring to the disputes with the Taiping rebels, Wang felt it to be important to experience great events, whether extraordinary disaster or serious failure. However, these disasters and failures did not prevent him from developing into a talented patriotic intellectual. Unlike the discontentedness Wu described at the end of his poem, Wang described himself as a bird, flying energetically in the clear autumn sky.

Another poem written on this occasion, the third poem Wu wrote about Wang Tao, displays an interesting argument between the two men. In this poem about Wang's journey to Japan, Wu first described Wang's interest in courtesans, his good relationship with the intellectuals, how Wang's name had become famous in every corner of the islands, and how every courtesan admired Wang. Finally, he praised Wang's skills in literature for being as bright as a light shooting up to the stars. Wang Tao was not totally dissatisfied with Wu's descriptions, feeling that Wu had undervalued him and the significance of his trip to Japan. So, he started with the reasons for his visit to Japan: he had great ambition and did not want to be mediocre. Having exhausted the limits of both east and west, he knew which was better. Concerning his literary skills, Wang said that he knew very well that if there was anything he was proud of, it was his in-depth knowledge of international affairs. Finally in response to Wu's description of his fame, Wang said that he cared nothing about that.

Examples of Wang's exciting and confident feeling when talking about his aspirations can easily be found in the poems in *A Travel to Japan*, unlike those contained in *Jottings of My Roamings* and *Henghua guan shilu*. On some occasions, such feelings were clearly due to the arousal by poems written by other intellectuals for Wang Tao. For example, the first time Wang met Kameya Seiken 龜谷省軒

(1838-1913), Kameya wrote a poem for Wang, comparing him to Zu Di 祖狄, a general of the Western Jin dynasty, in terms of their great vision.⁹⁷⁰ While Kameya also mentioned Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (1140-1207) and Du Mu 杜牧 (803-853?), referring respectively to Wang's brilliant ideas in state affairs and Bohemian personality,⁹⁷¹ Wang was obviously more pleased with the allusion to Zu Di, as he responded twice in his answering poem. Kameya felt pity for Wang for not being understood by the world, but he assured Wang that his talents had the best use: writing history. Here he very likely referred to Wang's work on the Franco-Prussian War. In Wang's poem in response, started with outlining his great ambition, saying that having been carried by a wind from Heaven, he arrived at the edge of the sky. When thinking over his life, he said he wanted to wash his feet and let the water flow ten thousand miles. *Zhuo zu* 濯足 washing feet and water flowing ten thousand miles allude to "Yu fu" 漁父 (The Fisherman) in the *Chuci*, in which Qu Yuan is portrayed as a frustrated exiled patriot. A fisherman advised him to forget his worries, suggesting that when the waters of the Canglang 滄浪river were clear, he could wash the tassel on his helmet, implying working in the court; when the water was cloudy, he could wash his feet, implying being a recluse.⁹⁷² The flowing water is a metaphor for the world. In his poem in response, Wang presented himself as someone washing his feet but thinking about the water flowing for ten thousand miles, implying that although he was not working in the court, he was still concerned

⁹⁷⁰ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 204-205.

⁹⁷¹ While both Xin Qiji and Du Mu were poets, Xin Qiji was also a renowned patriot who devoted himself to recovering the north of China by presenting memorandums of military strategies. See *Meiqin shulun* 美芹十論. See Deng Guangming and Xin Gengru eds., *Xin Jiaxuan shiwen jianzhu* 辛稼軒詩文箋著 (Annotated Poems and Prose of Xin Qiji) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995). Du Mu was famous for his romantic poems and romantic experiences. See Miao Yue, *Du Mu nianpu* 杜牧年譜 (Chronicles of Du Mu) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1980).

⁹⁷² Hong Xingzu annotated, *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注 (Supplementary Explanations on the Song of Chu), pp. 295-299, here p. 298. The original reads, "滄浪之水清兮，可以濯我纓。滄浪之水濁兮，可以濯我足。"

for his country. Then he talked about how things could be ever-changing just like the shape of clouds, referring to his unlucky life.

However, it was the clear water of Japan that aroused his thought of the whip of Zu Di. The metaphor of water echoes the previous lines, a symbol of a clean world in Japan. The whip of Zu Di alluded to a comment from his friend, Liu Kun 劉琨 who, afraid that Zu Di would be ahead of him, equipped himself so that he was always ready to recover northern China for the court. The allusion was later used to describe people working hard to contribute to the state.⁹⁷³ By responding to Kameya's mentioning of Zu Di, Wang naturally turned to expressing his political thought. First, he referred to the present situation, whereby Westerners had long been prepared to show off their strengths, so the countries involved (referring to both China and Japan) might want to build warships. Wang commented that "Rather than sighing wistfully when circumstances became difficult, (the states should) think thoroughly before the rain." (與其臨事歎拮据, 綢謀未雨思綿綿) In fact, Wang did not think that building warships, modernizing weapons or strengthening military defence could prevent the problem of Western invasions. For him, the success of the West was built on many other factors, most importantly political system, education and recruitment methods, and the emphasis on economic development. During his stay in Hong Kong following his journey to the West, Wang kept thinking and writing about how and what China could learn from the West while not losing the essence of Chinese culture. This could be what Wang was referring to here.

Reading this line in terms of Wang Tao's views of Japan, however, the in-depth thought was also about urging the Japanese to consider seriously about the right way and pace of their Westernization. Then, Wang suggested, looking at China and Japan as a unity that could work together against the West. He even said that he believed it was Heaven's will that he had traveled to Japan, implying that the suggestion he brought with him was also correct. By referring to his own travel, the poem turned

⁹⁷³ Fang Xuanling, *Jin Shu* 晉書 (The Book of the Jin Dynasty), (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1987), p. 1695.

back to Wang's private life. He was disappointed that he could not make any solid contribution apart from writing books: he felt like a small insect that could never push down a big tree. However, this did not mean that he had lost his spirit, again citing the example of Zu Di. When Zu Di was young, he discussed state affairs with Liu Kun. They were so excited that they could not sleep. By dawn, they heard the crowing of a cock. Zu Di pulled out his sword and danced to show his excitement.⁹⁷⁴ Wang Tao used this allusion to show that his patriotism could never fade away even though now he was just an unrestrained commoner.

Changhe poems based on a same theme also show the different concerns of different poets. Some written by Wang Tao, in particular, reveal his concerns about Sino-Japanese relations. Although as Wang claimed, he did not want to talk much about politics, this does not, however, mean that he could put the subject out of his mind. In previous chapters, I have shown how Wang Tao concealed his messages and opinions within the narration of history and his biographies of Japanese intellectuals. In poems, sometimes, he used a rather straightforward approach. A group of *changhe* poems can serve as an example.

On one occasion, Wang Tao, Huang Zunxian and a few Japanese intellectuals visiting Koranku-en, explored its relationship with Zhu Shunshui.⁹⁷⁵ Since I have already analyzed Wang's narration of Zhu's story and the implication, here I focus on the poems composed after the visit. Wang Tao, Huang Zunxian, Kameya Shoken, Mukoyama Koson 向山黄村 (1826-1905) and Masuda Hiroshi participated in writing a collection of poems on the visit. Huang Zunxian's poem was primarily concerned with the story of Mito Mitsukuni and Zhu Shunshui, contrasting their worries and the relaxed atmosphere the poets enjoyed during the visit. The poem ends on a poignant note, with a description of a worn-down hall and crows chirping at dusk. Kameya's poem first traces the history of Koranku-en. Zhu and the gathering of elites in this place served as a parallel to their visit, with many honorable guests

⁹⁷⁴ Fang Xuanling, *Jin shu*, p. 1694.

⁹⁷⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 209-211.

coming from afar. The poet urged all the visitors to display their poetic talents on this occasion. Sakea and Masuda's poems focused on the scenery of Koranku-en; although they choose different parts of the garden to describe, the picture of a relaxing and enjoying spring visit was very similar.

Wang's poem, however, appears to be the one with the most obvious political content. He started with a brief narration of the visit and the history of the garden. While Huang Zunxian saw Mito Mitsukuni as a recluse, Wang disagreed and regarded him as a historian and educator. The second half of the poem is devoted to Wang's reflections on their visit. His heart was full of complex feelings when visiting this historic site. All he was concerned with was who was how he could contribute like Mito Mitsukuni and Zhu Shunshui. But what kind of contribution was Wang Tao referring to? He went on, for the first and most direct time, to criticize Japan's attitude towards Western learning. In the opening up of Japan by the West, the Japanese had actively changed their conventions, and Western learning had become the most esteemed subject. To Wang, all these changes were too dominating, and could be compared to the actions of a dictator like Huan Wen 桓温 (312-373).⁹⁷⁶ The juxtaposition of what Zhu had contributed to the development of Japan and the present trend of thought that only valued Western learning reveals Wang's worry about the radical Westernization and the reduced interest in Chinese culture in Japan. The descriptions of a dark forest and dusk seem to deepen his feeling. At the end of the poem, Wang Tao seemed to forget his worries by describing wine drinking. His mind, however, was still on politics as he mentioned Sun Quan 孫權 as an example of a powerful leader. Sun Quan was one of the military leaders sharing power with Liu Bei and Cao Cao during the Three Kingdoms period. The success of Liu Bei and Sun Quan was often traced back to their victory at the battle of Chibi, in which Sun made the correct choice to ally with Liu. Concerning the allusion, it seems odd to mention Sun Quan as there is no obvious links to either their visit to Koranku-en or to any of the historic figures in the poem. However, considering the historical context,

⁹⁷⁶ Huan Wen was a talented but dictatorial general of the Eastern Jin dynasty.

Wang's opinion on Sino-Japanese relations and what he hinted at in the poem, the mentioning of Sun Quan must stem from his worries. As Japan was undergoing drastic change at that time, interest in Chinese culture was falling in its status among intellectuals who turned to Western learning, and ideas like "leaving Asia and entering Europe" were popular. Wang Tao, on the other hand, always wanted an alliance between China and Japan and thought that this was the best choice for the development of both countries. Sun Quan was used as a model here to urge the Japanese intellectuals (both those he met during the visit and his intended readers) to consider his proposal.

In the above examples, I have shown the two basic subject matters Wang Tao included in his *changhe* poems: personal life and political concerns. In terms of quantity, poems about his personal life by far exceed those with a political discourse. This was mainly due to the fact that Wang Tao traveled to Japan as an individual. However, unlike individuals who went to Japan to earn a living, Wang Tao was an intellectual who knew and cared about international affairs. Therefore, even in poems about his personal life, ambition and hope, he expressed his deepest concern in maintaining harmonious relations with Japan, recruiting talents for Chinese government and urged the Chinese officials he met to contribute to the modernization of China.⁹⁷⁷ It is, therefore, right for Wang Tao to describe these works as poems that could reveal his concerns in an unrestrained manner.

14.3 Wang Tao's *Yanshi*: Poems to Japanese Courtesans

Compared to *Jotting of My Roamings*, Wang's diary of his visit to Japan reveals much of his private life, especially his interest in women, to be specific, maids and courtesans. Wang Tao is a famous figure in the history of *yanshi* 艷史 (romantic literature) of the late Qing period. He was notorious for his frequent visits to brothels and his interest in commenting on women, most of whom were courtesans. Wang

⁹⁷⁷ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 192 and 308.

Ermin in an article which discusses all the women Wang came across in his life adopted an objective attitude; rather than analyzing the subject in terms of moral standard, he focused on the works' historical value.⁹⁷⁸ In this section, I will focus on their literary aspects.

The subject matter of romance, especially with courtesans, is often known as *yanqing* 艷情 or *ceyan* 側艷.⁹⁷⁹ The word *ce* 側 (frivolous) indicated that these romantic experiences were considered to be inappropriate. *Ci* poetry, because of its origin in the entertainment quarters and convention of writing about women (courtesans), was always considered of a lower status in literature. Similarly, novels writing about romance were criticized as *huiyin* 誨淫 (teaching licentiousness). Poetry, in particular, was traditionally supposed to be devoted to more serious subjects. *Yanshi* 艷詩 (seductive and alluring poetry) or *gongti shi* 宮體詩 (palace style poetry), the main motifs of which were women's appearance and their romances, were always either subjected to criticism for a lack of moral standards or among Qing critics, such as the Changzhou School (常州派), interpreted as a self-allegory of a frustrated scholar's expression of self pity. Either interpretation shows an attitude of disapproval of the subject itself. Wang Tao, however, was very open about his interest. There were many *yanshi* in his final collection of poetry, and he openly talked about and defended this obsession. This can be explained from two perspectives: his views on the nature and function of poetry and his unique philosophy of recording beautiful talented women.

Although Wang Tao did not regard his literary writings as the foremost achievement of his life, he had been educated in a traditional manner which enabled him to understand how to write poetry. In fact, Wang enjoyed writing poems so much that by the age of twenty one, he had already written several hundred, which he

⁹⁷⁸ Wang Ermin, "Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing" 王韜生活的一面——風流至性 (An Aspect of Wang Tao's life: romantic and emotional). In *Journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, 24.6 (1995), pp. 225-262.

⁹⁷⁹ *Yanshi* only refer to poems writing about women other than one's wife, for example, *daowang shi* 悼亡詩, memorial poems for the deceased wife, is not considered *zeyan* 側艷.

stored according to the time and place at which they had been written.⁹⁸⁰ However, it was only by 1880, that he compiled and published five hundred forty three poems into *Henghua guan shilu*. This edition already included all the poems about Japan he had written during his journey the previous year. When writing the preface, he emphasized the narrative and reflective nature of poetry. While Li Chifang pointed out that Wang's poems were not revolutionary in form and content, and that his ideas on poetry were conventional, Li failed to mention the important point that Wang paid heavy attention to the matter of whether a poem revealed something of its time. For Wang, a poem must bear the mark of the author's experiences in the contemporary world. When Wang republished his collection in 1890, he added eighty seven more poems. The postscript of this collection, again, reveals that Wang thought the main function of poems was for people, particularly himself, to be able to get back to the past in a vivid way.⁹⁸¹ In short, for Wang, poetry was supposed to record his own experiences, true feelings and reveal the time in which he lived. In this way, we see the reasons for preserving these *yanshi* within his selected poetry—whether as a record of unique personal experiences (the particular kind of *qing* he engaged in his relationships with different women) or as a reflection of contemporary society.

In his biographies of courtesans, *Haizou yeyou lu* 海隅冶遊錄 (A Record of Sensuous Travels to the Corners of the Sea) (the first three *juan* were finished in 1860, the four appendices were finished in 1878), he proposed that these records were for later generations to ponder upon history, just like the white-haired (old) palace maid who talked about the prosperous reign of Tianbao 天寶.⁹⁸² Again, the idea of making a record of history inspired him to write records of courtesans.

As for Japan, he had a long interest in the history its courtesans. Before he went

⁹⁸⁰ Wang Tao, "Preface", *Henghua guan shilu*, p. 1, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 426.

⁹⁸¹ Li Chifang, "Wang Tao de wenxue yu jingxue", pp. 194-195. Wang Tao's claim can be found in the preface and the short introduction of *Henghua guan shilu*, p. 1 and index page, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, p. 426 and 438.

⁹⁸² Wang Tao, "Self Preface of *Haizou yeyou lu*", in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 9, pp. 7-9, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, pp. 620-621.

to Japan, he read *Dongjing fanchang ji* 東京繁昌記 (A Record of the Prosperity of Tokyo) which recorded the vanity fairs held in Tokyo during the Tokugawa period. After reading this work, Wang Tao was sad and wanted to recapture the sensation of this lost world (歎歎想慕不已).⁹⁸³ Therefore, when he was in Japan, he wanted to make his own record of courtesans as a contemporary history. When writing a series of ten poems for the courtesans of Yoshiwara, he made it clear that it was to add information of the history to courtesans (補花月之舊聞).⁹⁸⁴ He first described the general environment and the regulations of Japanese brothels, making the record similar to a guide book, like his previous works. Then, each poem contained a description of one courtesan, focusing on her most distinctive features, whether her beauty or her talents. To make the record most precise, Wang added footnotes under each poem, further explaining the meaning of the images and metaphors he had used. Each poem is like a short biography of the courtesan. Many of the poems about courtesans in *A Travel to Japan* were written in this nature. In order to make a record in a limited amount of words, these poems focused on visual images, describing mainly the courtesan's face, skin, hands, and details of their clothes, although other sensuous images were also used. While these poems look rather like historical records, others were related more closely to the poet's thoughts and experiences.

Wang's poems of women can also be viewed through his private life and his unusual philosophy of relationships between men and women. Wang's first wife, Yang Mengheng 楊夢蘅 was very important to him although little information about her has survived, except from her biography written by Wang Tao.⁹⁸⁵ Mengheng's given name is Baoai 保艾, after their marriage he changed her name to Mengheng. According to Wang, she was a quiet yet graceful woman with whom he was able to share his pleasure and pain. He also highlighted two moments of their relationship.

⁹⁸³ Wang Tao, "Du Riben *Dongjin fanchang ji*" 讀日本東京繁昌記, in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 10, pp. 19-20, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 640.

⁹⁸⁴ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 223.

⁹⁸⁵ Wang Tao, "Xianshi Yang shouren xiaozhuan" 先室楊人碩小傳 (A Brief Biography of My Deceased Wife Yang), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 11, pp. 22-23, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 658.

First, he and Mengheng enjoyed wine under the moon and the fragrance of a world of flowers. Second, Mengheng told him that she was destined to have a short life when they were watching the stars. The omen was then realized. Mengheng was married to Wang for only four years before she died of illness in Shanghai. Wang continued to think of her throughout the years. *Heng* is a legendary fragrant plant, which first appeared in Qu Yuan's "Encountering Sorrow", as a symbol of virtuous beauty. It matched Wang's courtesy name, *Lan* 蘭, which is a fragrant plant which also used by Qu Yuan. Wang Tao's poetry collection is known as *Henghua guan shilu*, (A Record of Poetry of the *Heng* Blossom Studio), and he named himself the master of Henghua studio. Although it was published in 1880, the name was already in use in Wang's early life. In 1858, eight years after Mengheng's death, Wang mentioned to his brother in law that he still kept Mengheng's hairpin and would not exchange it for anything.⁹⁸⁶ More significantly, his second wife, Li Lengleng, an adopted daughter of Lin Qianjin, changed her name to Huaiheng 懷蘅, which means to memorize Heng.

In 1877, when Ernst Major offered to publish Shen Sanbai's 沈三白 *Fusheng liuji* 浮生六記 (Six Records of My Drifting Life), a book discovered by Wang's brother in law in Shanghai, Wang contributed a postscript.⁹⁸⁷ When recalling the content of the book, Wang emphasized only two points. First, Shen had traveled extensively, which Wang regarded as a reflection of Shen's unrestrained spirit. Second is Shen's deep feeling for his wife. Wang mentioned a vignette, very similar to his memory of Yang Mengheng in her biography, in which husband and wife enjoyed wine in a romantic environment. He concluded "when did this happen? Now all has become illusion", and he said this was why the book was written: a record of the author's romantic experience. He then continued to comment on the unfortunate

⁹⁸⁶ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao riji* 王韜日記 (The Diary of Wang Tao) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), p. 50.

⁹⁸⁷ Wang Tao, "The Postscript of *Fusheng liuji*", in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 11, pp. 14-15, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 654.

fate of beautiful and talented women. Unlike others, as he claimed, although he also felt pity for the deceased young beauties, he regarded this fate as not a bad thing after all. Throughout history, there were many talented beauties, just like talented literati, whose virtue gradually decayed because of their disappointing life experiences. Therefore, if a beauty encountered someone who understood her, even if she died young there should be no sadness. Her unfortunate destiny would only tighten the bond between them. Wang wrote of their unfortunate fate: “the Creator’s jealousy is its will to preserve their completeness”. (造物所以忌之正造物所以成之哉！) Wang’s mention of the death of his wife at the end of the postscript reveals the link between his comments towards *Fuseng liuji* and his memory of his wife.⁹⁸⁸

Although one cannot conclude from this that Wang’s pain at the loss of Mengheng was his motive for recording the women he met or knew, it does at least show Wang’s unusual attitude towards romance and beautiful women. Wang’s attitude towards women in *Jottings of My Roamings* is completely different from the way in which he wrote about the Chinese and Japanese courtesans. He respected the ladies he met in Europe, appreciated their broad knowledge and relative independence, while in contrast, he felt pity for Chinese and Japanese courtesans. This is first revealed in the postscript of *Fuseng liuji*, and reappeared in his other works about women. For instance, in *Yanshi congchao*, a series of biographies of courtesans partly written and partly compiled by Wang Tao and published by Ernest Major in 1878, Wang again proposed the idea that beauties and talented always either died young or became fallen angels.⁹⁸⁹ Making records of them was a way to show that the author understood them which according to Wang Tao would ensure that their tragic lives had not been in vain. This intention echoed what he proclaimed in *A Travel to Japan* when writing a poem to a courtesan, called Kakumatsu (1863-?) 角松 with whom he became acquainted during his stay in Tokyo. He was attracted by

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid., Vol 11, p. 15.

⁹⁸⁹ Wang Tao, “Preface of *Yanshi congcha*”, in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 9, pp. 2-4, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, pp. 617-618.

her and loved her name, which can be translated as “the horn of a pine tree”. He playfully said that he wanted to be Zhu Yun 朱雲 who twisted the “horn” of Wulu Chuzong 五鹿充宗 (meaning beating Wulu in a competition on the knowledge of the Classics) and Tao Qian who alone stroked the “pine tree” (originally implying his virtue).⁹⁹⁰ From their first meeting onwards, Wang always asked Kakumatsu to attend to the intellectuals’ gatherings. After returning to Tokyo from Mount Nikko, he met Kakumatsu again and decided to write a poem to describe her beauty. In the preface, he first expressed his sadness about old age and lack of friends. Then he turned to explain his relationship with Kakumatsu. He wrote,

I am old now in blue clothes.⁹⁹¹ Being listless, I am also exiled to the remotest area in the world, bitter at having no true friends. My love for Kakumatsu is like (I have encountered) a natural precious flower that I cannot help taking care of and cherishing. My intentions are fair and not selfish.⁹⁹²

When defending his interest in courtesans, the reference to his gloomy and lonely life seems odd. In terms of what he thought about beautiful women, however, a certain coherence can be seen: a beautiful flower created by Heaven is destined to be unfortunate, and the only way in which he could help was by being her soul mate. His claim, on the surface, was a defence of his interest in women, but when read parallel with the postscripts of *Six Records of My Drifting Life*, Wang’s intention to

⁹⁹⁰ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 240. The allusion of Zhu Yun bending the horn can be found in Ban Gu *Hanshu*, 2915. “Bending the horn” is a joke made because the surname Wulu literally means five deer. The allusion to Tao Qian can be found in his “Guiqu lai ci” 歸去來辭 (The Return): “撫孤松而徘徊”, “I walk around a lonely pine tree, stroking it.” Trans. And eds. J. R. Hightower, in John Minford and Joseph S. M. Lau, *Classical Chinese literature: an Anthology of Translations* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000), Vol. 1, p. 518.

⁹⁹¹ A man in green alluded to Bai Juyi who grieved at the misfortunes of a lute player; and from then on this became a symbol of a frustrated literatus who had found someone with similar fate. See Bai Juyi, “Pipa xing” 琵琶行 (Song of A Lute), in *Quan Tang shi*, p. 4822.

⁹⁹² Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 264. The original reads, “余青衫老矣，落拓天涯，苦無知己。今之愛角松，譬諸天生一名花，不得不愛護珍惜之也。此意甚公，見者幸勿以私心測度。”

record these girls can be revealed: he wished to display his unique understanding of the destiny of beauties. Reading the *yanshi* in *A Travel to Japan*, the poet put a lot of emphasis on expressing pity for the women he met, with regard to their irreversible but unfortunate destiny with a tone of self-pity and wistfulness. For example, on one occasion, Wang Tao met a maid serving tea in a tea pavilion.⁹⁹³ He praised her as a delicate and charming girl, but such a exquisite lady was always bending her waist (折腰), which is a symbol of submitting oneself to reality, the most famous example being Tai Qian who refused to bend his waist for five *duo* of rice.⁹⁹⁴ The most miserable thing, however, was her acceptance of her fate as the poet said she was “used to” (慣) bending her waist. The poet found the only way in which he could help her was to ask her to serve tea but not wine, and to share his loneliness with her. (只教司茗不司酒，遣與王郎伴寂寞) Wine and tea represent two different kinds of lifestyles. Wine is always associated with an unrestrained, or even a loose life, while tea represents a more refined and tasteful attitude. By asking the maid to serve tea only and by being willing to share the loneliness which belonged to both of them, the poet implied that he wanted a spiritual communication between the maid and him. Despite his pity, the maid was still treated as an object of a man’s gazing. She is given no voice, no movement and no expressions, and ultimately she was “sent” to the poet.

On other occasions, when Wang Tao described girls with whom he had spent more time, and with whom he could thus identify more, the motif and devices he used in the poems are different. Xiaotie 小鐵 was one of Wang’s favourite courtesans during his five-month journey.⁹⁹⁵ He liked her name, which literally means a small piece of iron, and portrayed her as a resolute character capable of resisting the enormous heat of a furnace. Unlike other poems in which he devoted

⁹⁹³ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 203.

⁹⁹⁴ Shen Yue, *Song shu* 宋書 (The History of the Song Dynasty 420-479) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p. 2877.

⁹⁹⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 206.

many lines to descriptions of the appearance of the courtesans, in this poem, the descriptions of Xiao Tie were not particularly flattering. Despite her solid character, even a solid piece of iron could not escape the fate of decadence: “The spring of Willow Bridge has already ended, Xiaotie’s appearance becomes the same as Madam Xu” (柳橋春色今已盡, 小鐵容與徐娘並). This decadence was inevitable as Xiaotie’s body is as delicate as a flower. From the sadness of Xiaotie, the poet naturally turned to his own similarly unfortunate destiny. The poem roughly resembles the structure of Bai Juyi’s *Pipa xing* 琵琶行 (Song of A Lute), probably owing to the remarkable musical skills (singing) of Xiaotie. In fact, Wang Tao directly referred himself to Bai, using phrases from *Pipa xing*. For instance, lines like “In the remotest area, I have long sighed for my destiny. This is very alike Bai Juyi crying in his green shirt” (天涯我久嗟淪落, 差同白傅青衫哭), “When my poem was finished, Xiaotie looked lost” (詩成小鐵恹若失), “All the people fell silent, only the water clock was dripping urgently” (四座無嘩宵漏急).⁹⁹⁶

However, unlike Bai, Wang did not focus on the life story of Xiaotie, instead he wrote about his own life: “I rode on a raft sailing to the East. Frustrated, I watch flowers and sadly drink thousands of cups of wine.” (東遊特地泛槎來, 失意看花愁千斛). It was Xiaotie who understood him and accompanied him in expressing his frustration: “knowing that I am aroused by enthusiasm and singing unrestrainedly, the jade like hands hold the green lotus (the name of the ink stone).”⁹⁹⁷ This understanding linked them together and as a result, the empathy of a similarly unfortunate destiny of Xiaotie and Wang Tao was underlined.

Another aspect of Wang Tao’s intentions in recording women is even more interesting: a means to understand the world and the essence of *Chan* 禪. His visit to courtesans can be traced as early as when he was nineteen, traveling in Jinling

⁹⁹⁶ These lines are similar to lines in “Pipa xing”. Lines like “同是天涯淪落人”, “座中泣下誰最多, 江州司馬青衫濕”, “感我此言良久立” and “東舟西舫悄無言”. In *Quan Tang shi*, p. 4822.

⁹⁹⁷ The original line reads, “知我狂吟發清興, 玉手為奉青芙蓉”.

(today's Nanjing) for his civil examination.⁹⁹⁸ In 1852, he finished a book called *Huaguo jutan*, recording fifty six courtesans of the time. The biographies of these courtesans focus on their beauty and passion. After the book was transmitted, Wang's brother in law, Yang Yinzhan wrote him a critical letter. Wang recounted in his diary,

Today (I) received a letter from Xinfu, admonishing me to wipe out intimate language (綺語) and follow the essence of *Chan*. However, the gist of my book *A Dramatic Talk of the Kingdom of Flowers* has not deviated from the correct way. (I) used the language of a literatus to judge the famous courtesans. The floating clouds are in the sky and the (light of the) moon is upon the ground, all is emptiness and (becomes) illusion.⁹⁹⁹

In fact, in the preface of the book, he refuted the traditional idea that the aim of writing these seemingly frivolous records was to show negative examples. According to him, these records aimed to help readers to understand that everything in the material world was in fact empty. The discussion of beauties can be seen as the ship helping people to pass through the sea of bitterness.¹⁰⁰⁰ In the preface of *Yanshi congcha*, he repeated this thought, saying that he was not fulfilling the “knowledgeable” people’s aim of “criticize it once but urge it a hundred times”, rather he thought if people had not experienced *qing* 情, they would never be “enlightened”: “if the red quilts (a symbol of romance) are not warm enough, the morning dreams would never be awakened.”¹⁰⁰¹ In a gathering with some Japanese

⁹⁹⁸ Wang Tao, “Commoners visit the beauties”, in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 45-47.

⁹⁹⁹ Wang Tao, *Yingru zaji* 瀛壖雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of Shanghai) (The original read, “是日得莘圃書一函, 勸余屏綺語而歸禪旨, 然余作花國劇談一書, 大指亦無詭於正。以文人之筆墨, 為名妓下鍼砭, 浮雲在空, 明月滿地, 一片虛無, 反屬幻境。” Quoted from Wang Ermin, “Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing”, p. 227.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Wang Tao, “Preface of An Immense Talk of the Kingdom of Flowers”, in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 9, pp. 4-5, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 618-619.

¹⁰⁰¹ Wang Tao, “Preface of *Yanshi congcha*”, in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 9, pp. 3, in *Xuxiu siku*

intellectuals, Wang Tao wrote a poem, refuting their inquiry about conflicting values of being an intellectual and a Bohemian, saying that romance could also demonstrate the ultimate reason (*zhili* 至理).¹⁰⁰² All these showed Wang's idea of using records of women to reveal the essence of *Chan*, to show the emptiness and illusiveness of the mundane world. This thought of the short-lived happiness and emptiness of the mortal world also appeared in *A Travel to Japan*. In his letter to Yu Yuanmei, he confessed that throughout the journey he deliberately focused on light topics, and because he had seen so many beautiful courtesans, he found it as normal and as flavourless as chewing wax. He even used the state of Nirvana to describe his mental state.¹⁰⁰³ Therefore, in many of the poems, the motif of nothingness is present:

The sky of flowers is by nature as illusory as waves.

花天本是波瀾幻

My desire of allure stops when Peach Leave left me.

Deep within the lotus flowers, I confirmed the Chan of romance.

桃葉去時完綺願，

藕花深處証香禪。¹⁰⁰⁴

When Wang Tao first arrived in Tokyo, a courtesan called A Yao was called upon to serve him. He wrote a poem for her, however, after two days, A Yao found Wang's place too small and left. Xiao Yu, another courtesan was immediately called upon. When Oka Senji laughed at that, Wang wrote a poem. It started with the narration of the incident, expressing the happiness at meeting many beautiful fairies in the Spiritual Mountains. However, at the end, the poet was saddened by the fact that wealth, fame and even romance would vanish with time. The only thing one can do is to enjoy the present and forget about eternity.¹⁰⁰⁵ To represent the unpredictability

quanshu, pp. 618. The original reads, “交紅之被不暖，則神雞之夢不醒也。”

¹⁰⁰² Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁰³ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 239.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-271. Peach Leave is the name of a beauty during the Eastern Jin dynasty. Wang Tao used it here to represent the courtesan, A Yao.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 252.

and shortness of human desire, the story of Ruan Zhao 阮肇 and Liu Chen's 劉晨 encountering of two celestial maidens in a fairyland was repeatedly alluded to in these poems; Pengshan 蓬山, the spiritual mountain in the story was another name for Japan. Because the two men's adventure was meant to be a once-and-for-all experience, the brevity of their happiness was always implied. Wang Tao's way to cope with that was to enjoy the moment, writing lines like,

Fan Chuan (Du Mu) is old now but Autumn maid is still young,

I still wanted to continue our unfinished predestined relationship

樊川已老秋孃少，

要結今生未了因。

Don't be as hard-hearted as the young man from Wu,

Although throughout my life I used to be playful with relations.

休作吳兒木石腸，

平生竿木慣逢場。

For now I throw away my heart-breaking homesickness,

Satisfied with my temporary stay in Intensely Fragrant Hall.

A shabby immortal went to the Penglai island,

Chatting about the romance of the king of Chu

暫撇思鄉一寸腸，

且教小住鬱金堂。

神仙潦倒來蓬島，

雲雨荒唐說楚王。

Mr. Wang was wild and excited,

Don't laugh at him when he was too drunk to sleep"

王郎跋扈飛揚態，

莫笑今宵入醉鄉。

I am willing to live in the clusters of flowers all my life

甘在花叢過一生

These lines were all infused with such hedonistic thoughts.¹⁰⁰⁶

A third possible factor contributing to the many references to courtesans in *A Travel to Japan*, both in prose and poems, can also be seen as a result of Wang Tao's rendering of the literary trends at the time. The compilation of biographies of Shanghai courtesans were a product of the entertainment trends in the city. News about courtesans was regularly published in newspapers. Wang's poems and prose that commented on and ranked each courtesan became a popular activity as later be seen in Li Boyuan's *Youxi bao*¹⁰⁰⁷ Japan, at least as far as Wang Tao was aware, was not different. Two incidents give us hints. In 1880, Wang Tao republished his short story collection, *Dunku lanyan*. In the preface, he mentioned that when he arrived in Tokyo, he bought with him hundreds of copies of *Yanshi congchao* for selling. They sold out immediately.¹⁰⁰⁸ Later when Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844-1916) when to Yantai, Wang gave him *Rou putuan* 肉浦團 (The Prayer's Mat of Flesh), an erotic novel written by Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680?), and described how it became popular in Japan.¹⁰⁰⁹ Beautiful and talented courtesans were a part of intellectual life. Traveling away from home, being freer, perhaps, provided the best opportunity to visit those sensuous flower quarters. Oki Yasushi has shown how Chinese alluring and seductive literature, such as *Banqiao zaji* 板橋雜記 a record of the Qinhuai courtesans written in the Ming dynasty and later compiled in Wang Tao's *Yanshi congchao*, influenced Japanese travel literature.¹⁰¹⁰ Wang Tao's records of courtesans he met during his journey, on the one hand reflected his own interest and thoughts about women and history, while on the other hand, he may have thought about the reception of this

¹⁰⁰⁶ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, p. 242, 271.

¹⁰⁰⁷ See Catherine Yeh "Shanghai Leisure, Print Entertainment, and the Tabloids, *xiaobao*." in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers 1870-1910*, p. 205.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Wang Tao, "Preface", *Dunku lanyan* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991), p. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See Wang Ermin "Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing", p. 249.

¹⁰¹⁰ Oki Yasushi, *The Space of Chinese Red-light District—The World of Courtesans in the Qinhuai of the Ming and Qing Dynasties* 中國遊裡空間——明清秦淮妓女的世界 (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2002), here, pp. 24-26. For a Chinese translation, see Xin Ruyi, *Qinhuai fengyue, Zhongguo youli kongjian* 秦風月——中國遊裡空間 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2007).

subject matter among Japanese readers. This was a showcase for Wang Tao to display his skills in writing poems, and to present himself as a romantic literatus, a man full of emotion alongside his self image of a logical, knowledgeable master of the West.¹⁰¹¹

14.4 Conclusion

There are one hundred and twenty five poems by Wang Tao included in his account of his visit to Japan (excluding sixty three poems written by other intellectuals and recorded by him), making them an indispensable part of the travel diary. Writing *changhe* poems was the main activity during Wang's travel, and these poems carried a practical function of communicating with the intellectuals. Thus, they are not merely poems written for the poet himself, but were aimed at readers who would respond immediately. In fact, the value of these poems probably does not lie in how sophisticated they are, but how they were able to reveal a dialogue between Wang Tao and the intellectual he met. The section in this chapter about *changhe* poems aims to point out the dialogic nature of these poems and how they moved between personal and political discourses. While the prose seldom directly records Wang's attitude and opinions on the Sino-Japanese relationship especially about how the two countries should face Western invasion both in military and cultural aspects, the poems he wrote for Chinese officials in Japan and Japanese intellectuals supplemented the prose passages. In fact, as poetry was such an important medium of communication at the time, this can show that Wang had an obvious political agenda for his journey. Wang Baoping once described the poems of Li Shuchang as displaying both the cheerful mood of a literatus and serious political concerns of an official: these comments can also be applied to the poems wrote

¹⁰¹¹ As Wang Ermin concluded, even though romantic affairs between Chinese intellectuals and Japanese women were not uncommon, Wang's poems about them demonstrated unprecedented literary skills, even later poets did not produce works on the same subject of equal quantity and quality. See "Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing" p. 250.

during his travel to Japan.¹⁰¹² Unlike Li, Wang, who had no ambassadorial duties, showed a richer dimension of himself and the Japan he perceived.

While the *changhe shi* embodied both public and private discourses, *yanshi* in the diary represented the most private part of Wang's journey. The discussion of these seductive and alluring poems aims to show how they can be read within the context of Wang's other poems and his works on women (courtesans). Although I regard the subject as a private matter, to distinguish it from public matters, such as Wang's ideas of state affairs, Wang Tao made no effort to conceal it because it was a trend at that time for intellectuals to reveal a romantic personality. Personal affairs, letters, and diary of Wang Tao were all prepared for publication at some stage. It is with the hope of moving on from previous research which found it difficult to judge Wang's poems that I also bring in the historic context of these *yanshi* both in China and Japan.

Chapter 15 Conclusion

15.1 Wang Tao and Late Qing Foreign Travellers

The late Qing was a period of transformation which brought unprecedented change to nearly every aspect of Chinese society. In order to respond to the challenge posed by the West and Japan, Chinese intellectuals made great efforts to acknowledge their weaknesses, understand their enemies and learn from them, in

¹⁰¹² Wang Baoping, "Shilun Qing muo Zhong Ri shiwen wanglai", in *Wan Qing dongyou riji huibian: Zhong Ri shiwen jiaoliu ji*, pp. 10-12.

order to surpass them and revive the glory of China. One of these efforts was to travel to countries that had previously been looked down upon or ignored by intellectuals and the government. According to Zhong Shuhe, there were over three hundred travelogues of this type, written mainly by officials and non-official intellectuals. They provide an immense body of firsthand material about how educated Chinese saw the Western world and Japan in the nineteenth century, and the continued study of changing Chinese attitudes towards China and the world. This quest of understanding the modern world and China's position in it continues today.

This effort to integrate China into the modern world, however, initially faced enormous difficulties. As shown in Chapter 3, travellers faced not only physical difficulties in finance, transport and the long period of time taken for the journey, but also pressure from their peers and the traditional belief of Chinese superiority over other peoples. It was extremely difficult for intellectuals to admit that these "barbarian" countries were worth understanding in the first place. For many, these countries did not even exist on their mind map. The first step of intellectuals who saw the need to understand the West was actually to claim that these countries were out there and China could not ignore them. While it had been difficult to persuade conservatives to see the need to understand the modern world, it was equally problematic to advocate the idea that these barbarian countries could be better than China. It was impossible to suggest that these "barbarians" were civilized and had sophisticated culture, like, or even better than that of China. All these were inconceivable to those who had not experienced it in the flesh.

It is against such a background that one can see how extraordinary Wang Tao's perceptive ability was when compared to his contemporaries. Even looking at some later travelogues, one can see that Wang Tao wrote about most of the topics they covered, such as Western legal, educational and parliamentary systems which earlier travellers had seldom mentioned. In fact, what was observed and discussed generally depends on the perceptions of the traveller. Earlier travellers did not know much about the West apart from its military power, therefore they focused on it, whereas

later travellers, having realized that Western civilization did exist even before their journey, would search for evidences of the West being a cultured society. For travels to Japan, travellers' assumptions of its relation to China had also shaped their views during the journey. It could not, therefore, be assumed that every Chinese intellectual or official traveller, even though all came from a similar education background, would possess the equal amount of perceptiveness about cultures that sharply diverged from theirs. Some were more perceptive than others. I assume that those who were better prepared for their journeys would be in a better position to observe and judge. Among the early travellers, Wang Tao was certainly an intellectual whose knowledge about international affairs had surpassed most of his contemporaries before he made his trips abroad.

Wang Tao was among the first to examine the West in a thorough way, covering many political and social issues. As for Japan, before his journey, he had read about Japan, wrote about Japan and contacted Japanese intellectuals. When he was in Japan, he was not interested simply in recording the Western measures taken in Japan, but also wished to judge them. This realization of the need to learn and what to learn could not have come without a long period of contact with Westerners, such as Henry Medhurst, James Legge, and John Chalmers, and most importantly, not without his travels to Shanghai, Hong Kong, Europe and Japan. In this way, *Jottings of My Roamings* and *A Travel to Japan* can be seen as one of the best examples of an intellectual view towards these countries which were both enemies and role models.

15.2 *Jottings of My Roamings*: Self, Nation and the Imagined Other

Jottings of My Roamings is of prime importance in analyzing Wang Tao. First, compared to other travelogues of the same kind, it is strikingly personal. Although it talks more extensively about Western political systems, customs and education, it is clear that the traveller was himself the protagonist of the whole work. Wang Tao wanted to be remembered as an intellectual whose viewpoint was transformed from tradition to modernity and who was devoted to becoming a man of the world. No

other works of Wang Tao reflect his transformation better than this. The reason lies in the nature of travel itself. While the initial motivation of travel is to see the outside world, to learn about others, the ultimate result is often learning about oneself. Although traveling for the sake of exploration was not the initial reason for Wang to go to Shanghai, Hong Kong, Europe and Japan, by the time he completed *Jottings of My Roamings*, he had clearly realized the significance of these journeys to him. Therefore, his self transformation is bonded with his travels in this work.

In contrasting first world and third world literature, Fredric Jameson pointed out, “the story of individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society”, and “the telling of the individual story and individual experience cannot but ultimately involve the whole laborious telling of the experience of the collectivity itself.”¹⁰¹³ Here, I do not wish to go into details about whether or not this view is true for “third world literature”, however, I borrow it to describe *Jottings of My Roamings*, as Wang’s whole personal transformation was tied up with the nation’s future development. In the travelogue, Wang Tao made himself the representative of China and Chinese culture. He started with a traditional image of a man of letters, romantic, idyllic who had shown no particular interest in places outside the province of Jiangsu. Then, step by step, he went through his drifting life, opening his eyes to places outside China. He had found many Western practices useful and adoptable for China and expressed his willingness to learn. Eventually, he found his place in the modern world. When narrating all these experiences, Wang constantly reminded his readers that he was Chinese and all his observations and analysis were made on the base of this national identity. In this way, what he experienced was a metaphor of China’s transformation: from recognizing the changed modern world to trying to find its place within it.

Analysis of the reflections of oneself and home leads to the other side of the same token: the representation of the “other” (the place being visited). To a large

¹⁰¹³ Fredric Jameson, “Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism”. *Social Text* 15 (1986), pp. 69, 85-86.

extent, the self is reflected through writing about the other. Similarly, when writing about the “other”, one cannot escape the influence of his or her own background, their perceptive power, culture and for the late Qing travellers, the situation of China. In the case of *Jottings of Roamings*, it also includes the author’s expectation of the perceptiveness of his readers. Therefore, the “other” described in travelogues cannot be considered an innocent image. Instead, it is often an imagined one. Edward Said used “imaginative geography” to describe the Orient which was constructed by a series of “suppositions, associations and fiction”.¹⁰¹⁴ No matter whether it is Orient or Occident that is being described, both are more often a cultural construct rather than an objective display of physical geography. In the context of late Qing foreign travelogues, for example, although the Southeast Asian countries had not changed their physical location, they had shifted from “vessels of China” to “victims of European colonialism”. European countries changed from insignificant, barbarous countries to militarily strong invaders, and finally to highly civilized countries. These changes in the imagination of the “other” all depended on how the Chinese travellers wished to understand them for their own needs. For Wang Tao, Europe was portrayed by a series of images not only demonstrating its scientific and military superiority, but also its people’s moral virtues, diligence and rationality. Apart from these lofty images, Wang also introduced the West with images of mystery and sensation, which fitted in with the imagined reading public of his publisher, the *Dianshi zhai huabao*.¹⁰¹⁵ By publishing *Jottings of My Roamings* with a popular press, Wang was immediately involved in building not only a Chinese image of the West, which inevitably conditioned the assumptions of later travellers, but also an imagined new Chinese reading community which was expected to accept his understanding of the West. In this way, an intellectual view of both the Chinese nation and the “other” are

¹⁰¹⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 54.

¹⁰¹⁵ The “imagined community” comes from Benedict Anderson’s famous concept of a community (and ultimately a nation) first being imagined before it exists as a reality politically. See *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1993), pp. 31-36.

revealed in this travelogue.

15.3 *A Travel to Japan: A Disguised Message*

The same theoretical framework mentioned above can be applied to the analysis of Wang's *A Travel to Japan*, in which Japan was constructed through its historic relationship with China, representing its Sino-centric culture and therefore the possibility of an alliance. The ambivalent position of Japan was, however, also imagined through images of Japanese intellectuals who although possessing erudite knowledge of Chinese learning were inclined to reform and even Westernize Japan. This facet of Japan was posed as a threat to China and the decreasing influence of Chinese culture. What is intriguing about *A Travel to Japan*, nevertheless, is the initial assumption of its readership which largely determined how Wang wrote it and what he wanted to convey.

As the intended readers were Japanese, it is, therefore, not surprising that Wang chose to write differently from his contemporaries whose intended readers were Chinese. He did not report details of the political, military and education reforms in Japan as he did in *Jottings of My Roamings*, for Japanese readers would surely be familiar with all those subjects. The tone of his narration is, therefore, also not authoritative and instructive as he had no intention of educating his readers. In this aspect, the motivation for writing this travelogue was unique when compared with all other travelogues to Japan at the similar period.

In *A Travel to Japan*, Wang displayed his bohemian character by recording his romantic relationship with courtesans, something which has caused criticism from both his contemporaries and modern scholars who thought the subject was too personal. However, I will argue that even though there are copious descriptions by Wang of himself, they are monotonous and single-faceted when compared to *Jottings of My Roamings*. It was, perhaps, not Wang's wish to express what kind of person he was in this particular diary. Does the travelogue really as Wang claimed, contain only "matters of wind and the moon", or was personal romance just a

disguise to avoid any direct opposition and offence he thought his view might caused? Claiming to be apolitical is a strong political statement by nature. To be able to understand what he really wanted to elicit from this journey to Japan to his Japanese readers, I have examined the diary from two perspectives. The first aspect is a textual one, focusing on what Wang emphasized in the diary. Secondly, Wang's intentions in the diary should be viewed in relation to areas outside the text, for instance, his views of Japan around that period.

On the textual level, Wang had unceasingly, during his journey, looked for a relationship that should, and could, be established between the two countries. To fortify historical links, he gazed into history. To look forward to the future, Wang deliberately described his resonance with the elite class of Japanese intellectuals: they shared a similar vision towards the future of Asia. All the enthusiasm he showed should be examined against a background of declining relations between China and Japan when Japan started to challenge China from the mid 1870s. Wang wanted to encourage his Japanese readers to understand the bonding relationship between the two countries against the currently popular idea of *tuo Ya ru Ou*.

Paul Cohen described Wang's journey to Japan as "warm", "personal" and Wang as "going native".¹⁰¹⁶ This impression of closeness and ease is indeed present when one looks at Wang's descriptions of enjoyable banquets and drinking parties with Japanese intellectuals and courtesans. What Cohen overlooked, however, is that although on a personal level, Wang might feel at ease because he could communicate via brush conversation with Japanese intellectuals who had in-depth knowledge of Chinese culture and China, he was undoubtedly uneasy at the development of Japan's inclination towards Westernization, expressing his worries before and after the journey. Cohen pointed out that Wang did not see Japan as a threat as Wang expressed in his essays and letters that Japan's economy depended on China. Despite that, counter evidence can also be found suggesting that Wang was fully aware of the

¹⁰¹⁶ Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Qing China*, pp. 100-102.

potential danger Japan could pose to China. After his journey, he did suggest strengthening China's defence against Japan. In *A Travel to Japan*, however, what he cared about most was perhaps not Japan's threat as an enemy of China, but a crisis in cultural influence: the popularity of Westernization was distancing Japan from China. Therefore, he might not feel "close" at all to "Japan with the inclination for Westernization". He saw the undesirable consequence this might lead to if a Sino-Japanese friendship was not regenerated immediately.

15.4 Postscript

While Paul Cohen's classic research of Wang Tao gives us an image of a reform pioneer, Catherine Yeh's recent studies looked at Wang Tao against the background of a cultural history of Shanghai, revealing him as a bohemian literatus who adapted to a new way of life in the cultural playground of Shanghai.¹⁰¹⁷ Complimentary to these two images, I will propose that Wang Tao has a third facet, that of a traveller. Not only did he travel extensively, but he was also able to travel through different ideas, cultures, and political entities and he moved comfortably within different circles of elitists, popular magazine editors and general readers. He demonstrated a new kind of intellectual life which had never been imagined before him, but became increasingly popular in the second half of the nineteenth century China: walking out of China, observing and learning from the outside world, going back to China and devoting himself to the enlightenment and modernization of China. He charted his course of life through traveling, ultimately choosing to record his life experiences in the form of travelogues.

¹⁰¹⁷ Catherine Yeh, "The lifestyle of four *Wenren* Late Qing Shanghai." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.2 (1997), pp. 56-81.

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Appendix 1

1. A Brief Chronicle of Wang Tao

Year	Age	Wang Tao's Life Events	Supplementary Information
1828	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wang Tao was born on tenth November (the fourth day of the tenth month) in the village of Fuli, in Jiangsu province. 	
1836-42	9-15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From the age of nine to his teenage years, Wang studied the Confucian Classics, histories and fiction.¹ Wang was taught by his father, Wang Changgui and later on he described himself as gifted, having an extraordinarily good memory.² 	<p>1839 The First Opium War broke out.</p> <p>1842 The Treaty of Nanking was signed.</p>
1843	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the ninth month, Wang went to Kunshan 昆山 prefecture to attend the preliminary examination. His work was 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wei Yuan finished the first edition of <i>Haiguo tuzhi</i>.

¹ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan" 弢園老民自傳 (The Autobiography of the Old Man of Taoyuan), in *Taoyuan wen xinbian* 弢園文新編 (Newly Edited Essays of Wang Tao) (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1998), p. 371.

² Wang Tao, "Tiannan dunsou" 天南遁叟 (The Old Recluse of the South), in *Dunku lanyan* 遁窟謠言 (False Words of a Man in a Hidden Cave) (Shijia zhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991) p. 1.

		<p>greatly appreciated by the examiner, Yang Gengtang 楊耕堂 and he passed the examination.³</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Later in his life, Wang still had a clear memory of what happened in Fuli when the news of passing the prefecture examination came. All the villagers came to congratulate him and his family, but he stayed aloof, reading his books. He even claimed that passing the examination was not important, his great inspiration lay in his desire to serve the court with extraordinary strategies.⁴ 	
1845	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the second month, Wang went to Kunshan to attend the examination again and this time, he came third. Inspector Zhang Xiaopu 張筱坡 (1814-1862) recognized Wang's works as remarkable.⁵ 	

³ Wang Tao, *Manyou suilu. Fusang youji* 漫遊隨錄□扶桑遊記 (Jottings of My Roamings, A Travel to Japan) (Changsha : Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982) p.40.

⁴ Wang Tao, "Tiannan dunsou", in *Dunku lanyan*, p. 1.

⁵ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan", p. 367 Wang claimed to come first in this examination, however according to official records, he came third. See "Daoguan ershiwu nian" 道光二十五年 (1845) in Xu Jiachou ed., *Kunshan qingjin lu* 昆山青衿錄 (The Students of Kunshan) (s.n. Shazhou ju, 1894).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He changed his forename to Han 瀚, his courtesy name to Zijiu 子久 and used various sobriquets, Lanqing 蘭卿, Lanjun 蘭君 and Lanjin 懶今. “Lanqing” was identified by the Qing officials as having the same meaning as “Wan” 畹 which was sealed on a letter against the Qing army in 1862. 	
1846	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the seventh month, Wang travelled to Jinling金陵 (today’s Nanjing) to attend the provincial examination.⁶ He visited lots of tourist attractions and brothels, and he failed the examination.⁷ ● Wang stayed in Jinxi 錦溪 teaching the Confucian Classics. ● He married his first wife, Yang 	

⁶ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p. 47.

⁷ This failure was a blow to Wang Tao. Later in a letter to James Legge, he claimed that after this failure, he had stopped thinking about passing the civil examination and devoted his effort to researching the essence of the Classics and histories in order to serve China. In “Yu Yingguo Liyage xueshi” 與英國理雅各學士 (A Letter to James Legge, a British Scholar), in *Taoyuan chidu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), pp.75-76. In fact, Wang sat for the examination several more times when he worked for the London Mission Press, wishing to pass it in order to get an official position.

		Bao'ai and gave her the courtesy name, Mengheng. ⁸	
1847	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang's father went to Shanghai to teach. ● Wang Wan 王婉, his elder daughter was born. 	
1848	21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In Spring, Wang made his first visit to Shanghai, where he was much impressed by the Western influences and was particularly interested in the printing business of the London Mission Press.⁹ However, he was also aware of the Western encroachment in Shanghai.¹⁰ ● In his letter to Yang Xingfu 楊莘圃, his brother-in-law, he commented that the civil the examination as not being the way to recruit the best man. However, he went to Kunshan for examination again that autumn.¹¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Xu Jiyu's finished writing <i>Yinghuan zhilüe</i>.

⁸ Wang Tao, "Laoyuan laomin zizhuan", p. 371. See also, "Xianshi Yang shouren xiaozhuan" 先室楊人碩小傳 (My Deceased Wife Yang's Brief Biography), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 11, pp. 22-23, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), p. 658.

⁹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 50-52

¹⁰ Wang Tao, "Yu youren" 與友人 (A Letter to a Friend), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ Wang Tao, "Yu Jiudi Yang Xingfu shu" 楊辛圃書 (A Letter Yang Xingfu), *Taoyuan chidu*, pp.2-3.

1849	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● By the end of the fourth month, Wang finished compiling the first edition of his collected poems, <i>Henghua guan shilu</i>.¹² ● Wang's father died in the sixth month in Shanghai. ● Following serious flooding in the summer in the Jiangnan region, people in Fuli faced extreme difficulties. Wang was invited by Henry Walter Medhurst (1796-1857), and started working in the London Mission Press in the 9th month.¹³ 	Lin Zhan finished writing <i>Xihai jiyou cao</i> , with a preface by Xu Jiyu.
1851	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang's wife came to Shanghai to join him. However, in the 8th month, she fell sick and eventually died.¹⁴ ● Wang was not happy with his life in Shanghai, especially his job in London Mission Press. He expressed his resentment at the way Westerners translated the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the tenth of the twelfth month, the Taipings established their kingdom in the city of Yong'an 永安 where Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814-1864) was

¹² Wang Tao, "Zixu" 自序 (The Author's Preface), in *Henghua guan shilu*, *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 426.

¹³ Wang Tao, "Yu xiru Liyage shu" 與西儒理雅各書 (A Letter to James Legge), *Taoyuan chidu*, pp.75-76.

¹⁴ Wang Tao, "Xianshi Yang shouren xiaozhuan" 先室楊人碩小傳 (A Short Biography of My Deceased Wife Yang), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 11, pp. 22-23, n *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 658.

		Chinese Classics and their lack of knowledge. Also, he complained about the pressure of working for foreigners. ¹⁵	honoured as <i>tianwang</i> 天王 (the Heavenly King) and five other generals as kings. This marked the start of the Taiping Rebellion.
1852	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang was deeply concerned with the Taiping's destructive forces. When the Taipings invaded Guangdong, Wang wrote a poem expressing his desire to help the court.¹⁶ ● Wang married his second wife, Lin Ling 林冷. He gave her the courtesy name Huaiheng 懷蘅 in memory of his first wife.¹⁷ 	

¹⁵ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao riji* 王韜日記 (The Diary of Wang Tao), Fang Xing and Tang Zhijun eds., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), p.67. See Also, “Yu Yang Xingfu shu” 與楊醒逋書 (A Letter to Yang Xingfu), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ Wang Tao, “Wen ke tan jinshi yaogan” 聞客談近事有感 (A Discussion of What I Heard from a Guest), in *Henghua guan shilu*, p. 454. The original reads, “但願殺賊誓報國，上紓當寧南顧憂。不然坐籌幕府出奇計，兇渠自請長繩繫。”

¹⁷ Wang Tao, “Taoyuan laomin zizhuan”, p. 371. Lin Ling was the adopted daughter of Lin Qianjin 林謙晉, a literati in Shanghai. At first, Wang was unsatisfied with her being an adopted daughter and considered divorcing her. For more information see Wang Ermin, “Wang Tao shenghuo de yimian: fengliu zhixing” 王韜生活的一面——風流至性 (An Aspect of Wang Tao's life: romantic and emotional). In *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jidan*, 24.6 (1995), pp. 229

1853	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the 2nd month, Wang went back to Kunshan for the civil service examination. ● In the sixth month, Wang finished writing the first draft of <i>Yingru zazhi</i> 瀛壖雜誌 (A Contemporary Account of Life in Shanghai).¹⁸ ● In the winter, Wang started writing <i>Haizou yeyou lu</i> 海陬冶游錄 (A Record of Sensuous Travels to the Corners of the Sea) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Taipings occupied Nanjing 南京 and renamed it Tianjing 天京.
1854	27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the eighth month, he accompanied Medhurst on a journey to Moli 莫厘.¹⁹ ● Wang's second daughter, Wang Xian 王嫻 was born. She was unfortunately born mute.²⁰ ● Wang was converted to Christianity.²¹ 	
1856	29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the ninth of the second month, Guo Songtao visited the London 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Taipings were troubled by internal

¹⁸ Wang Tao, *Yingru zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌 (A Contemporary Account of Life in Shanghai) (Shanghai : Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), p.1.

¹⁹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp.53-54.

²⁰ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan", p. 371.

²¹ John King Fairbank ed., *Cambridge Chinese History* , pp. 629-630.

		<p>Mission Press and mentioned Wang Tao in his dairy.²²</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the eighth month, Medhurst went back to Britain. In the ninth month, Wang went to Kunshan to take the civil examination.²³ 	<p>problems.²⁴</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The second Anglo-Chinese War started
1857	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the fourth month, Xu Junqing 徐君青 (1800-1860) was appointed as governor of Jiangsu province. He went to Shanghai where he met Wang. ● Wang suffered from a sore foot in the fifth month and went back to his hometown. After exhausting all his money, he was forced to go back to Shanghai where he was cured by a Western doctor.²⁵ 	

²² For more information about their meeting, see Zhang Chichun, *Wang Tao nianpu* 王韜年譜 (A Chronicle of Wang Tao) (Shijia zhuang, Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p. 32.

²³ Wang wrote a poem for Medhurst's departure. See "Song Mai xishi huiguo" 送麥西士回國 (Seeing off Mr. Mai from the West), in *Henghua guan shilu*, p.456.

²⁴ The Eastern King Yang Xiuqing 楊秀清forced the Heaven King Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全to give him the title "Wan Sui" (萬歲) which means the emperor. The Northern King Wei Changhui 韋昌輝then killed Yang and the relatives of King Shi Dakai 石達開. Hong ordered the execution of Wei in order to comfort Shi. The Heavenly Kingdom was drastically weakened by this internal upheaval.

²⁵ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao riji*, p. 16. See Also Wang Tao, "Yu Yu Zhang Taifeng" 與郁丈泰峰 (A Letter to the Esteemed Yu Taifeng), in *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 14-15.

1858	31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang assisted Joseph Edkins (1823-1905) in the translation <i>Gezhi xingxue tigang</i> 格致新學提綱 (An Outline of New Studies in Science), and the book was published. ● In the ninth month, he travelled to Hangzhou 杭州.²⁶ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Treaty of Tianjin was signed.
1859	32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the twelfth of the second month, he went back to Kunshan for the civil service examination. ● When Xu Junqing was appointed as the provincial governor of Jiangsu, Wang wrote several memoranda, giving him suggestions on current affairs. In the 2nd month, Xu wrote a letter back to show his appreciation to Wang.²⁷ 	

²⁶ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 55-58.

²⁷ More information can be found in the two letters written by Wang Tao. In *Taoyuan chidu*, pp. 32-43.

1860	33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang got to know Yao Meibo姚梅伯, Zhou Xiaoshan周嘯山, Gong Xiaogong龔孝拱, Li Renshu李壬叔, Guan Xiaoyi管小異 and Guo Yousong郭友松 who later became his bosom friends.²⁸ ● On the eighth day of the eighth month, Wang's younger brother Wang Lizhen王利貞died.²⁹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the seventh month, the Taipings attacked Shanghai.
1861	34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He might have visited the rebel-occupied area twice in the spring, first in the second month at Hankou漢口and shortly after joined Joseph Edkins to accompany a religious group to Nanjing in a visit to the Taiping court.³⁰ 	
1862	35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● During the winter time, he went back to Fuli to take care of his mother. He was delayed by serious snow storms and could not return to Shanghai until the 4th month. 	

²⁸ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan", p. 368.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 371.

³⁰ Joseph Edkins, *Narrative of a Visit to Nanking* (London: Nisbet, 1863), p.245.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the fourth day of the fourth month, a memorandum signed by Huang Wan 黃畹 was discovered after a battle in Wang Jiasi 王家寺 in Qibao 七寶 prefecture in the Jiangsu province. When it fell into the hands of Qing officials, it was immediately judged to be Wang's work since its style looked so similar to his previous memoranda. The court ordered the arrest of Wang.³¹ ● When Wang returned to Shanghai, he heard about the matters relating to the memorandum, so he hid in the office of the British Consul, who was the son of Henry Medhurst. ● The Qing government asked for Wang's return, but the Consul refused and wrote a letter to explain the memorandum was not written by Wang.³² A scholar has 	
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³¹ The Museum of the Forbidden City, *Jianggu Congbian* 掌故叢編 (An Encyclopaedia of Folklores), v.10 (Beijing: 1928-1943), Section of Taiping Rebellion, pp.1-6.

³² *Ibid*, v. 20, pp.1-6.

³³ Lee Chifang, "Wang Tao (1828-1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship, and Literary Achievement" (PhD Thesis: University of Wisconsin, 1973), p73.

³⁴ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan" p.372.

		<p>argued, however, this shows that Wang had actually admitted authorship of the memorandum to Medhurst, since Medhurst could not otherwise have known the content of the memorandum.³³</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the twenty fourth of the seventh month, Wang's mother died: Wang felt deeply guilty about her death.³⁴ ● On the eleventh of the eighth month, Wang was forced to flee to Hong Kong, arriving eight days later. ● He changed his name to Tao 韜 and adopted the courtesy name, Zi Qian 子潛, as well as the sobriquets, Zhong Tao 仲弢 and Tian Nan Dun Sou 天南遯叟 (The Old Recluse of the South), all of which have the meaning of hiding. 	
1863	36	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In Hong Kong, Wang assisted James Legge (1815-1897) in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Taipings were defeated and the

³⁵ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, p.59.

		<p>translating the Confucian Classics.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He was dissatisfied with the food and hot weather of Hong Kong.³⁵ ● His family arrived at Hong Kong on the eighth day of the twelfth month. He also asked Yang Xingfu to mail his books to him.³⁶ ● In the 10th month, he spent seven days in Guangzhou.³⁷ 	<p>court regained Nanjing.</p>
1864	37	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang met Huang Sheng and with his help, wrote <i>Huoqi shuolie</i>. ● He wrote a letter to Ding Richang, stating the strategic importance of Shanghai and of maintaining harmonious relationships with foreign countries. At the end of the letter, he commented on Wei Yuan's <i>Haiguo tuzhi</i> and Xu Jiyu's <i>Yinghuan Zhilie</i>, and expressed his ambition to follow their examples.³⁸ ● Wang met some Japanese officials 	

³⁶ Wang Tao, "Ji Wuzhong Yang Xingfu" 寄吳中楊醒逋 (To Yang Xingfu from Wu Province), in *Taoyuan chidu*, p.72-73.

³⁷ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamingss*, pp. 61-63.

³⁸ Wang Tao, "Daishang Dingguancha shu" 代上丁觀察書 (A Letter to Ding Richang on Behalf of Huang Sheng), *Taoyuan chidu*, pp.90-92.

		led by the Japanese envoy, Ikeda Nagaoki. ³⁹	
1865	38	● Wang finished assisting Legge in the translation of <i>Shang shu</i> 尚書 (The Book of Documents).	
1867	40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A Japanese calligrapher Hachinohe Hiromitsu travelled to Hong Kong and made friends with Wang.⁴⁰ ● James Legge went back to Britain and invited Wang to come. ● In the winter, Legge wrote to Wang inviting him again and Wang set off on the twenty first of the eleventh month.⁴¹ ● On the twenty seventh of the eleventh month, Wang arrived at Singapore. Two days later, he reached Penang. Five days later, he reached Ceylon.⁴² 	● 1866 Sun Zhongshan (1866-1925) 孫中山 was born.
1868	41	● Wang sailed pass Aden, the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Suez Canal,	The first group of Qing diplomats, including Bin

³⁹ Wang Tao, *Wang Tao riji*, p. 214

⁴⁰ Wang Tao, “Song Riben Hachinohe Hiromitsu you Jinling xu” 送日本八戶宏光遊金陵序 (A Preface to a Japanese, Hachinohe Hiromitsu, for his trip to Jinling), in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 1-2, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 602-603.

⁴¹ Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 65-66.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 65, 68, 71.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.73, 75,78,82.

		<p>and reached Italy and France.⁴³</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● After spending about ten days in Paris, Wang went to Britain.⁴⁴ ● On the seventeenth of the first month, Wang arrived at Dollar accompanied by James Legge. He then helped Legge to translate <i>Chunqiu</i>. ● In his spare time, Wang travelled within Scotland, including Edinburgh.⁴⁵ 	Zhuang arrived in London on the fourth of the fourth month. ⁴⁶
1869	42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In spring, Legge accompanied Wang to visit the northern part of Scotland, including Huntly, Legge's hometown, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. 	
1870	43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the fourth of the twelfth month, Wang started his journey back to Hong Kong. ● Wang first travelled to Edinburgh, passed through London,⁴⁷ and reached Hong Kong early in the 1st month. ● Wang finished writing <i>Chunqiu shuorun kao</i>, <i>Chunqiu rishi</i> 	

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp.97-98.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 127-138.

⁴⁶ Bin Zhuang, Chengcha biji, p. 22. Also recorded in Wang Tao, *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp. 138.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 157-170.

		<p><i>bianzheng</i> and <i>Huangqing jingjie zhaji</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He started writing <i>Fa zhi</i> 法志 (A General History of France). 	
1871	44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang finished writing <i>Pufa zhanji</i>.⁴⁸ ● Wang and Legge finished translating <i>Shi jing</i>. 	
1872	45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The manuscript of <i>Pufa zhanji</i> was sent to Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and Ding Richang.⁴⁹ ● Zeng Guofan planned to invite Wang to be his aide but he died shortly after. Li Hongzhang asked his aide Feng Zhuru 馮竹如 to invite Wang on his behalf. However, in the end, Li's plan was not implemented.⁵⁰ ● Wang and Legge published <i>Chunqiu zuozhan</i> 春秋左傳 (Explanations of the Spring and 	

⁴⁸ Wang Tao, "Pu Fa Zhanji qianxu" 普法戰紀前序 (The First Preface of Franco-Prussian War), in Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, p. 14-17, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 609-610.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Zhang Chichun, *Wang Tao Nianpu*, 王韜年譜 (The Chronology of Wang Tao), (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p.103. According to Wang, however, it was he who declined the requests from Zeng and Li. Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan", p. 369.

⁵¹ Wang Tao, "Chuangjian Tonghua yiyuan xu" 創建東華醫院序 (A Preface to the Establishment of the Tonghua Hospital), in *Taoyuan wenlu weibian*, Vol. 8, pp. 24-25, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, p. 614.

		<p>Autumn Annals of Mister Zuo).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● By initiating fundraising events for the Tonghua hospital for the Chinese people in Hong Kong, Wang was appointed one of the Tonghua Hospital directors.⁵¹ 	
1873	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● James Legge left Hong Kong and returned to Britain. Wang wrote a preface, expressing his friendship with Legge.⁵² ● Wang finished writing <i>Wengyou yutan</i> 甕牖餘談 (Gossip from a Poor Man's Window). ● <i>Pufa zhanji</i> was published. 	
1874	47	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Xunhuan ribao</i> was established in Hong Kong and Wang became the major editor writing a daily editorial, following the example of Western newspapers. ● Wang finished writing <i>Dunku lanyan</i>.⁵³ 	
1876	49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Taoyuan chidu</i> was first published, which collected Wang's letters from 1846 to 1875. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Li Gui, a representative of commerce and customs, went to

⁵² Wang Tao, "Song Xiru Liyage guiguo xu" 送西儒理雅各歸國序 (Preface for the Leaving of James Legge for Britain) in *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, Vol. 8, p. 3-4, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, pp. 603-604.

⁵³ Wang Tao, *False Words of a Man in a Hidden Cave* (lack of publishing information, 1880), p.1.

			<p>the U.S. to American Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.⁵⁴</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Guo Songtao and Liu Xihong set off a diplomatic mission to Britain.⁵⁵
1877	50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Li Gui, back from the World's Exhibition, visited Wang in Hong Kong.⁵⁶ ● Wang's elder daughter died. ● In the autumn, Wang suffered from haemoptysis. 	
1878	51	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang's <i>Huaguo jutan</i> and <i>Haizou yeyou lu</i> were accepted for publication by the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 in Hong Kong. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Guo Songtao was appointed as envoy to France. ● Zeng Jize 曾紀澤 (1839-1890) was appointed as representative of

⁵⁴ Li Gui, *Huanyou diqiu xinglu* 環游地球新錄 (A New Record of My Voyage Around the World), (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985).

⁵⁵ Guo Songtao, *Guo Songtao riji* (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1983), p.106.

⁵⁶ Lu Gui, *Dongxing riji* 東行日記 (A Diary of My Journey to the East), in Charles Desroyers trans., *A Journey to the East: Li Gui's A New Account of A Trip Around the Globe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004), p. 301.

			the Qing court to Britain and France, following Guo's resignation.
1879	52	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Because of Wang's writings, especially the book <i>Pufa zhanji</i>, he won great appreciation among Japanese intellectuals. In spring, Terada Hirashi 寺田望南 invited Wang to travel to Japan.⁵⁷ ● Wang went to Shanghai and visited his hometown Fuli. Then, he went back to Shanghai and headed for Japan.⁵⁸ ● On the eleventh day of the thrid month, Wang arrived at Nagasaki.⁵⁹ ● On the seventeenth, he went to Osaka and visited an exhibition, brothels and other tourist attractions. At night, he went to Kobe.⁶⁰ ● The following week, he visited 	

⁵⁷ Wang Tao, *Fusang youji*, 扶桑遊記(A Travel to Japan), (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982), pp. 171-172.

⁵⁸ Wang Tao, "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan", p. 370

⁵⁹ Wang Tao, *A Travel to Japan*, pp. 179-181.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 182.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.193.

		<p>Yokohama.⁶¹</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● On the twenty eighth, he went to Tokyo and met many Japanese scholars and travellers.⁶² ● In the sixth month, Wang visited Mount Nikko.⁶³ ● In early seventh month, Wang left Japan for Shanghai. He had stayed in Japan for one hundred and twenty five days.⁶⁴ ● On the first day of the eighth month, Wang returned to Hong Kong. 	
1880	53	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He wrote “Taoyuan laomin zizhuan”.⁶⁵ ● The second edition of the <i>Taoyuan chidu</i> was published⁶⁶ ● <i>Fusang youji</i> was published in Japan by Hochi sha. However, this edition is said to have omitted Wang’s opinions regarding national defence and his visits to brothels.⁶⁷ 	

⁶² Ibid., 194.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 254.

⁶⁴ Wang Tao, “Zixü” 自序 (The Author’s Preface), in *Jottings of My Roamings*, pp.1-3.

⁶⁵ Wang Tao, “Taoyuan laomin zizhuan”, p.372.

⁶⁶ Wang Tao, *Taoyuan chidu*, pp.175-177.

⁶⁷ Wang Tao, “Taoyuan zhushu zongmu” 弢園著述總目 (Annotated Bibliography of Taoyuan’s Works), *Taoyuan wen xinbian*, p. 376.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In autumn, Wang's lung was infected and in winter, he got a disease in his eyes which left him unable to read. 	
1881	54	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● By spring, Wang had recovered slightly and made a short trip to Guangzhou. He returned to Hong Kong at the end of spring. 	
1882	55	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In spring, Wang travelled to Guangzhou again. During the 3rd month, he stayed in his hometown Fuli. 	
1883	56	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In spring, Wang fell seriously ill. He had to stay in Shanghai until the mid-autumn festival and returned to Hong Kong. ● <i>Taoyuan wenlu waibian</i>, a collection of Wang's essays about reform and prefaces to friends and books, was published in Hong Kong. 	
1884	57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● With the permission of Li Hongzhang, Wang moved back to Shanghai at the end of spring and lived there until his death. ● His collection of short stories <i>Songyin manlu</i> were serialised in 	

		<p>China's first modern illustrated paper, <i>Dianshizhai huabao</i>.⁶⁸</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Oka Senjin, whom Wang met in Japan, visited Shanghai and chatted with Wang Tao. He was shocked by the fact that Wang was addicted to opium.⁶⁹ 	
1885	58	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang planned to raise fund to establish Taoyuan shuju 弢園書局 (The Taoyuan Press). ● He made a short trip to Suzhou and Fuli in the spring. 	
1887	60	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wang was appointed as the director of Gezhi shuyuan, a school teaching Western knowledge in Shanghai.⁷⁰ ● Wang wrote a preface for <i>Manyou suilu</i>, but it is uncertain whether he finished writing and revising this book this year.⁷¹ ● <i>Manyou suilu</i> was serialized in 	

⁶⁸ The short stories in *Songyin manlu* were serialized in *Dianshizhai huabao* from the end of June 1884 to mid October 1887. Part of *Songbin suoyu* was also published in 1887, but was only finished in late 1888.

⁶⁹ For more information, see Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China 1862-1945*, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁰ Wang Tao, "Xu *Gezhi shuyuan keyi*" 序格致書院課藝 (Preface to the Lecture Notes of the Chinese Polytechnic Institute), *Gezhi shuyuan keyi* 格致書院課藝 (Lecture Notes of Chinese Polytechnic Institute) (Shanghai: Fuqiangzhai shuju, 1898), p.1.

⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of the edition and the compilation of *Manyou suilu*, see Chapter 5.

		<i>Dianshizhai huabao.</i>	
1889	62	● <i>Pufa zhanji</i> was revised and republished.	
1894	67	● In the 5 th month, Sun Zhongshan went to Shanghai and met Wang Tao. Sun had written a memorandum to Li Hongzhang, expressing his opinions on current affairs. Wang helped him to polish it. ⁷²	● The first Sino-Japanese War broke out.
1895	68	● Kang Youwei visited the Gezhi shuyuan, guided by Wang Tao.	
1897	70	● After prolonged illness, Wang died on the twenty third day of	

⁷² Cohen, Paul A. *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 3.

⁷³ There has been much discussion of the year of Wang's death, with the date being variously given as 1862, 1886, 1895, 1896 and 1897. On the basis of Wang's own writings and *Shenbao*, generally, scholars now agree that Wang died in 1897. There are divergent opinions about the precise death date of Wang Tao, one in the summer and the other in the autumn of 1897. Xu Zhimo 徐志摩, using a preface written by Wang's close friend, Miu Shaochu 繆少初, suggested out that Wang died in the autumn. See Xu Zhimo, "Wang Tao de zunian" 王韜的卒年 (The Death of Wang Tao), in *Shenbao*, 23rd January 1894. This became an authoritative conclusion although different opinions can still be found. For an overview of the discussion, see Xin Ping, *Wang Tao pingzhuan*, p. 238. Recently, Wu Guoyi, however, retraced information in *Shenbao* and found a funeral notice of Wang Tao on the 28th day of 5th month, recording the funeral arrangements and stating that it was thirty five days after Wang's death. This fixes the death date to the 23rd day of the 4th month 1897. See "Wang Tao zu nianyueri kaoshi" 王韜卒年月日考實 (An Evidential Study of Wang's Death Date), in *Duoshi zhaji*, 2 (2004), pp. 186-196. In Wu's next article, he traced *Xinwen bao*, a newspaper of Shanghai, and found an obituary of Wang Tao on the 24th day of the 4th month which stated that Wang was died the day before. See "Wang Tao zu nianyueri zai kaozheng" 王韜卒年月日再考證 (A Further Evidential Study of Wang Tao's Death Date), in *Journal of East China Normal University*, 5 (2004), pp. 113-116.

		the fourth month. ⁷³	
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2. A Translation of Wang Tao's "Taoyuan laomin zizhuan"

The Old Man whose surname was Wang, initially lived in the village of Fuli in Changzhou County, which lies outside the city of Suzhou. This was the place where Lu Tiansui of the Tang Dynasty lived as a recluse. The Old Man was born on the 4th day of the 10th month in the eighth year of Emperor Daoguang's reign (1828). His name was, at first, Libin. At the age of eighteen, he was admitted to a school in the prefecture as the best student. Zhang Xiapo of Qinzhong (Shanxi province), the vice minister and education inspector Zhang Xiaopo of Qinzhong commented that the Old Man's essays were remarkable. Later he changed his name to Han and his courtesy name to Lanjin. After many tribulations, he fled to Yue, and changed his name again to Tao and his courtesy names to Zhongtao and Qian. His sobriquet was Tiannan Dunsou (Old Recluse of the South). After the age of fifty, he called himself the Old Man of Taoyuan.

The Old Man is a descendent of the Wang family, prominent in the Ming

Wu's research accords with the earlier research of Wu Jingshan, who used records of Cai Er'kang 蔡爾康 and Qiu Shuyuan 邱菽園, both were Wang's colleagues and friends, stating that the death of Wang was in summer 1897. See *Wang Tao shiji kaozheng* 王韜事迹考證 (An Evidential Study of Wang Tao's Life Events), in *Shanghai yanjiu ziliu* 上海研究資料 (Research Resources of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Tongshe, 1936), p. 686. I believe that the records of *Shenbao* and *Xinwen bao* are more reliable sources, since Wang Tao was an important figure among journalists and his son-in-law, Qian Xinbo, was an editor of *Shenbao*.

Dynasty, which had originated in Kunshan. His ancestors were mostly court officials. During the upheavals that marked the end of the Ming Dynasty, his whole family gave up their lives for the monarchy, except for Bixian who was only a boy at that time. The succeeding four generations, Jinhou, Yisun, Zaiyang and Jukun were all Confucian intellectuals and became famous in the local schools. Zaiyang, also known as Pengzhong, was virtuous and erudite, and was particularly esteemed among the official scholars. As a result of Zaiyang's early death and the consequent coveting of the family fortunes by his relatives, the family moved to Fuli. His grandfather, named Kejin, whose courtesy name was Jingzai, was a businessman. He was honest, sincere, meticulous and quiet, and, being brave enough to do what he thought was appropriate, the villagers regarded him as a virtuous man. His father Changgui, also named Kentang and Yunting, was an official scholar who possessed in-depth knowledge of the Classics. He completed studying the Thirteen Classics when he was only nine years old, and was able to recite them fluently. He was recognised as a genius. Although from a poor family, he was courageous enough to face difficulties without complaint. He worked as a teacher for a living, and never visited cities. The Old Man had three elder brothers, all of whom died of smallpox within ten days. After his parents prayed at Wulin, thereafter, the Old Man was born.

During his childhood, the Old Man frequently dreamt about temples and the Buddha, and his soul was able to move freely in and out of his head. This happened until his teenage years. Being of a relaxed disposition, he never had the ambition to become an official. He hated the examination essays in particular. Even though he endeavoured to practice this kind of writing, he tended to write freely and could not follow the rules. After the death of his father, his family became even poorer so he was forced to find a job in Shanghai. By this time, Westerners had long been trading in China and literati had gradually befriended them. As the Old Man was interested in learning meteorology and geography from them, he went to their school (London Mission Press) to teach. Looking back now, at the thirteen years spent there, the old man can see that he was not fulfilling his ambition. Although Shanghai was located

at the frontier of the Province of Wu, it was a strategic location between north and south so carriages from all directions came here, bringing famous people on their travels. The Old Man made friends and wrote poems with them. They all regarded him as an outstanding personage of the state. Among them, Yao Meibo, Chang Xiaoshan, Zhou Taofu, Gong Xiaogong were his close friends. In the Western school (London Mission Press), Li Renshu of Haining, Jiang Jianren of Baoshan, Guan Xiaoyi of Jiangning, Guo Yousong of Huating, all famous because of their talents, became his bosom friends. The political situation at that time was becoming more and more difficult owing to the increasingly acute state of the rebellion. The Old Man, seeing the desolation and chaos, felt heartbroken but could do nothing. Whenever he was mellow with wine, he would chat passionately with his friends and they all clapped their hands with excitement. Their voices were so loud that the walls seemed to crack. Sometimes, they were so emotional and fervent that tears would run down their faces. Those who did not know them would call them bohemians, but they did not care about it.

After Jinling had become a bandit stronghold, rebels in Shanghai, aroused by the rebellions in Min and Yue, killed the officials and occupied the city. The Old Man thought up a remarkable plan to regain the city but in vain. He became greatly depressed, contracted haemoptysis and nearly died. In the eighth year of Emperor Xianfeng (1858), Xu Qing, a literary friend of the Old Man, became the provincial governor of Wuzhong. The Old Man suggested three strategies in more than a dozen memorials to him, namely to reconcile with the foreigners, to strengthen marine defences and to terminate the rebellion. All were well received. In the tenth year (1860), rebels of Jinling were defeated and fled to other parts of Wu with the result that Changzhou, Zhenjiang, Suzhou and Taitong were all occupied. By then, the southeastern part of China had been seriously devastated. Prefectures and villages were destroyed. The Old Man toiled even more single-mindedly. At that time, an official was appointed to organise a local township militia. The Old Man, realizing the greed, craftiness and cowardice of this wholly unreliable official, wrote several

memorials to him to help in the formulation of policies. The letters were, however, too straightforward and incisive with the result that the official was envious of him, even though still he treated him with respect on the surface. Many of his suggestions were enforced and proved effective. The most important suggestion was to allow Westerners to command and teach the soldiers to use western guns. The legion was named The Army of Guns. This was widely implemented later on and eventually helped to restore the southern Jiangnan Region. The official used the Old Man's suggestions but nevertheless abandoned him, and even tried to defame him. So the Old Man wrung his hands, shed bitter tears and embarked on his reckless wanderings.

At that time, the rebels set up fake government offices in the prefectures of Jiangsu, and designated the natives to be the officials. The rebels extorted heavy taxes and levies on the people, and checkpoints were springing up everywhere. The Old Man acquainted himself with those officials through secret contact, and persuaded them to do the right thing. The Old Man told them that Commander Zeng (Guofan) was a skilful general. He had not reached here just because he was fighting in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River. By then, Anqing had already been regained, and reinforcements were close at hand. It was time for those officials to think about their future. Because the Old Man had encouraged the native officials to be loyal and to seek office, they agreed to persuade some of the rebels to become spies. Some officials succeeded with their persuasion while others, more cunning, hesitated to switch sides. The Old Man secretly stirred up trouble amongst the rebels so that they distrusted one another and internal strife resulted. The spies were anxious to contribute to the struggle and the situation became favourable for the court. The Old Man was, however, suspected of committing treason, and was facing serious punishment. Those who heard of this matter were frustrated. The Old Man quickly returned to Shanghai, still planning to write a defence. Eventually, the dispute could not be settled, so he was forced to sail to Yue and stayed in Hong Kong. From then, he decided to live in seclusion and concentrate on learning the Classics. He wrote

Maoshi jishi (Explanations of Mao's version of the Book of Songs), which explained the commentaries of Mao. Later, when he saw Chen Shuofu's *Maoshi zhuan* (Biography of Mao) and Hu Muozhang's *Maoshi houjian* (Commentaries on Mao's Explanation of the Book of Songs), he decided to abandon his work.

In the second and third year of the Emperor Tongzhi (1863), Li Gongbao (Li Hongzhang) gradually regained the prefectures of Wuzhong. The Old Man wrote a letter to Gongbao on behalf of a person of Yue, suggesting policies for managing the aftermath of the rebellion, finding out more about the foreign countries and learning their strengths. Most of the suggestions were accepted.

In the winter of the sixth year of Emperor Tongzhi (1867), after James Legge invited him to the West to assist in the translation of the Chinese Classics, he was able to travel to foreign countries. He saw strange and exotic scenery, assessed the relative sincerity of the folk culture, came to know the vicissitudes of Western countries, and become familiar with their military strengths. On his visit to Paris, he saw spectacular palaces, lovely women, noisy markets and abundant properties. It was as prosperous as the British capital London. Both were important centres of Europe. After arriving at Britain, he lived in the western part of Scotland. Because of its proximity to the North Pole, the climate was always cold. During spring and summer time, there was daylight throughout the night. The mountains and rivers were pure and elegant while the cliffs and valleys were barren but beautiful. Travelling here was entertaining and relaxing. In the second month of the ninth year, he returned to Yue. Throughout those three years, the Old Man traversed over ten thousand *li* by himself. Once, he climbed up the helmsman's tower and let his eyes gaze into the margins of the sky, and his aspirations washed by the boundless sea. The waves overwhelmed his great ambitions and the storms cleaved his remarkable courage. He felt pity for his and other people's misery and indignant at China's deprivation. He grieved at his old age and unsuccessful life and shed bitter tears.

After the Old Man returned from the West, some officials were aware that he had suffered an injustice. Some wrote letters to him, encouraging him to seek an

official position, while some asked others to invite him to become an aide. The Old Man declined all their requests. The esteemed Ding of Fengshun, a noble man of his generation, greatly appreciated the Old Man.⁷⁴ He said that none could match the Old Man's knowledge of current affairs and foreign relations, and spoke highly of him to the important officials from all over China. Thus, the important officials first came to hear of the Old Man. Alas! Ding was the Old Man's closest friend. The Old Man, therefore, tried to express his gratitude by working for him. However, because he was suffering from interminable misery, the Old Man's strength and talent were so exhausted that he was fit neither for fighting nor for writing. He could provide neither polished passages of prose nor carvings on bronze and stone that could praise the virtuous deeds. He had been discarded by the noble dynasty and exiled from a prosperous world.

In 1871, the Franco-Prussian war started and continued for over seven months. The Old Man put the relevant events together and wrote *Pufa zhanji*. Though the war between France and Prussia was the main theme, the book also revealed the complicated relationships between a number of European countries. Those who wanted to write about foreign issues thereafter were able to refer to this book as a model. The book was written in a hurry, it is a jumble, but it might be revised at a later time. The Old Man was confident that this book would be famous to posterity. In 1873, colleagues in Hong Kong raised funds to start a press, publishing a newspaper, and the Old Man became the person in charge. Therefore, he was now able to publish his own works.

In the fifth year of the Emperor Guangxu (1879), the Old Man travelled to Japan in order to convalesce from his old illness and cleanse his thoughts. First, he went to Shanghai by land and sailed to Jinchang in order to see the scenery of his hometown again. Having been away for twenty years, he felt the town was still the same but the

⁷⁴ Ding Richang 丁日昌 (1823-1882), a native of Fengshun county of the Province of Guangdong, had been an aide of Zeng Guofan and helped to organize the Jiangnan Arsenal. Later, in the reign of Emperor Guangxu, he was in charge of the Fuzhou Dockyard.

inhabitants had changed. He was similar to Ding Lingwei who travelled back to his hometown after becoming an immortal. The Old Man had never expected to be able to return to his hometown after so many upheavals and tribulations.

In Japan, the Old Man travelled to the famous tourist attractions in Kiyou, Kobe, Settsu and Kyoto. He stayed in Edo for a hundred days and made friends with the worthy officials. On one occasion, so many people, holding presents, visited him that there were great piles of shoes outside his house. Drinking and literary gatherings were organised daily. They composed and replied to one another's poems in an unrestrained way. In the midst of his journey, he made an excursion to Mount Nikkon where he saw all the waterfalls and exhausted every remote and secluded place. When he was about to leave, the officials organised a farewell dinner for him at Nakamura Restaurant. Envoys and their assistants added up to more than a hundred people. The Japanese told him that such a banquet had never been held in their country, even though it was several thousand years old.

The Old Man lived in the eastern part of Yue for a long time. He was so depressed that at times he wished to return to his hometown where he could live a pastoral life. He wanted to live in a place between Moli and Dengwei where he could build a three-roomed house, open up a five-*mu* garden and collect myriads of books. He hoped to buy one to two *qing* of fields and wander around them while reading books. He wanted to live a leisurely life until his death. This wish, however, could not be realized. Was that his fate?

Alas! The Old Man worried about his country every day, despite being exiled and living in a remote area. Once, he said that the situation of the state had dramatically changed during this period of more than ten years. The imperial troops had mopped up the rebellions of Fa (the Taipings), the Nian, the Hui (the Muslims) and the Miao. Commander Zuo (Zongtang), who had fought in Xinjiang, had enlarged the nation's territory by ten thousand *li*.⁷⁵ His contribution had impressed

⁷⁵ Zou Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885) helped to suppress the Taipings in 1860. He was appointed to suppress the Nian in 1866, the Hui in 1868 and the rebels in Xinjiang in 1875.

the people in China and his dignity had been recognised abroad. This was a sign of the resurgence of the state. Various western countries, however, wanted to open markets in China and reinforce their commercial activities with military strength. They reached every port and set up offices and forts. With many warships in the sea, the Westerners took advantage of their strength to humiliate China. When they came, the court had to respond. When they made demands, the court had to satisfy them. When a quarrel arose, over a dozen enemy states would wage war on China. With so many troops encamped in the nation's most strategic points, China was on the brink of losing its sovereignty. Alas! This was the result of the court's inappropriate use of the loose rein policy. Recently, Japan has annexed the Ryukyu Islands while Russia has occupied Yili. The court has sent envoys to enquire about these matters. The state was anxious about antagonising the foreign countries. Nevertheless, the situation remained dangerous. The Old Man on the one hand was anxious about the severe situation faced by the state, while on the other hand he was furious about the perverse internal policies. These exacerbated his old illness to the extent that he felt he would rather die without regret than carry on living.

The Old Man had a younger brother named Lizheng, whose courtesy names were Shuheng and Ziqing. He died at the age of twenty-seven by when he had not yet graduated. The Old Man had an elder sister named Ying, courtesy name Bofen, who married into the Wu family of Zhou Village. She died in the sixth month of 1873. The Old Man's wife named Yang Mengheng, Bao'ai, with her courtesy name Taifang, died in Shanghai after they had been married for only four years. He then married his second wife, named Lin Lin, whose courtesy names were Huiheng and Lingling. She stood by his side through all his difficulties. The Old Man did not have a son; but he did have two daughters. The elder daughter Wan, also named Shaoxian, married an able man, Qian Zheng of Wuxing. She died when she was still young. The younger daughter Xian, also named Xixian, was mute from birth. Alas! He could not understand why Heaven was so cruel to him that he had no son and his daughter had died.

Counting from his ancestor Bixian, more than two hundred and forty years had passed. A total of seven generations, five of which produced only one son, added up to a total of fifteen men. The Old Man had three cousins who died one after another. Consequently in spite of an ancestry dating back to the Ming Dynasty, the Old Man was now the only male descendant left in the family. Since Heaven wanted to discard his family, who could make it flourish again? Though Heaven had not harmed the Old Man alone maybe it wished to harm his entire family. He was afraid that after his generation, the Wang family would have no male offspring. Alas, how sorrowful! What was strange was that, although Wang's great-grandfather married Miss Sha, his grandfather married Miss Li and his father married Miss Zhu, none of these three families had any descendants. The Old Man's younger brother married Miss Xia, and their children died young. The Old Man first married Miss Yang, and started encountering continuous tribulations. He then married Miss Lin but still did not have children. His great aunt married into the Wang family. His aunt married into the Cao family. The result was that in the end his family had no posterity. The Old Man had no kinfolk and just a few close relatives. With only himself in this world, there was only his shadow to mourn for his body. Was this loneliness destined by Heaven? Whenever the Old Man thought of it, he would pull out his sword to hit the ground cursing to the walls and questioning Heaven.

As a child, The Old Man followed his parent's instructions that he should complete studying the Classics from the age of nine to his teenage years. He also added to his knowledge by familiarising himself with the histories. This was the foundation of his scholarship. After then, he wandered around and had no time to study those books thoroughly. He did not support his father even for one day. When his mother moved to Shanghai, they sailed on sea, travelled on land, and although they had nothing delicious to eat, his mother did not appear to be dissatisfied. She merely encouraged him to be loyal, virtuous, thrifty and honest. The Old Man's mother, as a matter of fact, was so erudite and knowledgeable about the rituals that she taught the Old Man the meaning of every word by the time he was four to five

years old. As they enjoyed the cool of the summer evenings, she told him stories about rigorously chaste people of the past. The Old Man would burst into tears when he heard the sufferings of those people. This was why he was familiar with novels when he was only nine to ten years old. Later, following the rebellion in *Suzhou*, his mother became seriously depressed. When the Old Man encountered difficulties, she died from anxiety. The Old Man felt remorseful for the rest of his life and he was so upset that he felt as if his heart had been ripped out. Even if he were to give up his life, he could not redeem the mistakes he had made. Although he was still alive, his life was never the same as before.

The Old Man's prose and poems did not belong to any literary school. He composed whenever he felt like, and could not restrain himself. During his whole life, he never had the need to write a draft. He always wrote for his guests, even such writings were over a thousand words long. Those who did not agree with this style said that these writings were produced too recklessly. After being slandered, encountering many tribulations and seeing much chaos with his own eyes, he meditated on the past and was depressed by the present. He grieved at parting and mourned for the deceased and would sing and laugh for no apparent reason. His feelings always switched between sad and happy. This heartbroken person, living under Heaven, had special aspirations.

Recently, the Old Man has been frustrated and dispirited. He is not in a mood to do anything. Since last winter, he has suffered from haemoptysis, and has spent his days next to the medicine stove. He was afraid that when he died, his literary works would be destroyed and burned by others. Therefore, first, he collated and gave the 8-juan *Shilu* (Records of Poetry) to the publisher. His many other literary works were still kept inside his suitcase. Although they were not good enough even for plastering windows or covering pots, he arranged and collated them merely because he had nothing else to do as he recuperated. His works include 60 *juan* of *Chunqiu zuoshizhuan jishi* (Explanations of Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Zuo from Various Sources), 3 *juan* of *Chunqiu shuorun kao* (A Survey of the Calendar of

Spring and Autumn Annals), 1 *juan* of *Chunqiu rishi bianzheng* (A Discussion of Solar Eclipses in Spring and Autumn Annals), 24 *juan* of *Huangqing jingjie zhaji* (Notes of the Qing Dynasty Explanation of the Classics), 6 *juan* of *Yingru zazhi* (A Contemporary Account of Life in Shanghai), 3 *juan* of *Taishi xiefen lu* (A Record of Anger towards the Issule of Taiwan), 14 *juan* of *Pufa zhanji* (A Record of the Franco-Prussian War 1871), 36 *juan* of *Siming bucheng* (A Supplementary Account of Foreign Affairs), 8 *juan* of *Fa zhi* (A General History of France), 8 *juan* of *E zhi* (A General History of Russian), 8 *juan* of *Mei zhi* (A General History of the United States), 16 *juan* of *Xishi fan* (Treatise on Western Issues), 12 *juan* of *Wengyou yutan* (Gossip from a Poor Man's Window), 3 *juan* of *Huoqi shuolue* (An Introduction to Firearms), 1 *juan* of *Chengfu manji* (Jottings of my Boat Trip Travels), 3 *juan* of *Fusang youji* (A Travel to Japan), 7 *juan* of *Haizou yeyou lu* (A Record of Sensuous Travels to the Corners of the Sea), 2 *juan* of *Huaguo jutun* (A Dramatic Talk of the Kingdom of Flowers), 16 *juan* of *Laotao zhuiyu* (Miscellaneous Notes of a Glutton), 12 *juan* of *Dunku lanyan* (False Words of a Man in a Hidden Cave), 16 *juan* of *Songyin manlu* (Carefree Jottings of a Songjiang Recluse), 8 *juan* of *Taoyuan wenlu* (Essays of Wang Tao), 12 *juan* of *Taoyuan wenlu weibian* (A Supplementary Collection of Editorials and Essays), 8 of *Henghua guan shilu* (Poems of the Henghua Studio), 12 *juan* of *Taoyuan chidu* (Letters of Wang Tao) and 4 *juan* of *Taoyuan chidu xuchao* (A Supplementary Collection of Letters of Wang tao). There are altogether twenty six books.

Writing a biography when one is still alive is not a common practice. However, the Old Man, afraid of being forgotten, briefly recorded his life.

Appendix 2 A Translation of *Jottings of My Roamings*

Explanatory Notes of the Translation

1. In the translation, I will follow as closely as possible, the original works. Historical references and allusions will be explained in footnotes. Footnotes are essential to show the richness, especially giving historical parallels, of Wang's writings and will help readers to understand the many implied meanings.
2. Certain episodes which have been translated previously will not be included. These include: Episode 11, Episode 13 and the beginning of Episode 14 until Wang left Hong Kong translated by Yang Qinghua. Ian Chapman has translated six parts of the book, all of which record Wang's journey in Scotland: Episode 38 "Visiting the Museums" from "余之埃丁漢也" to the end with the title "Edinburgh", Episode 42 "Travelling in Huntly" from "西國儒者" to "詎非終身之識語哉" with the title "Aberdeen" and from "越三日" to "亦其一也" with the title "Huntly", Episode 43 "Travelling Twice to Dundee" from the beginning to "而不徒在口舌間也" with the title "Dundee", Episode 45 "The Third Return to Edinburgh" from the beginning to "勝如灌醍醐也" with the title "Returning to Edinburgh", and Episode 46 "The Dancing Party" except from "全所識諸女士" to "而慨世之兼全者難矣" with the title "The Dance".¹
3. Transliteration: Chinese names are given in the *pinyin* system. Where possible English names will be given in English, only those that cannot be found will be written in *pinyin*.
4. Geographical names and people's names: Places outside China are written in English. Places that cannot be identified will be written in *pinyin*. Chinese names are written in *pinyin*, while names of Westerners are written in English except for the unknown ones which are written in *pinyin*.

¹ Eva Hung ed., *Renditions* No. 29 & 30 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1988), pp. 37-41 and No. 53 & 54, pp. 164-173.

5. Distances and measurements: Wang Tao always noted down distances and size. To avoid confusion when converting Qing dynasty measurements into modern units, I will transliterate them. The following conversion is taken from *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Comprehensive Dictionary of Chinese Words) (1994).

Linear measures:

li 里: 1 *li* equals to 500 metres.

cun 寸: 1 *cun* roughly equals to 3.45 centimetres.

zhang 丈: 1 *zhang* equals approximately 3.45 metres while 150 *zhang* equal to 1 *li*.

xun 尋 and *chang* 常: 1 *xun* is 0.8 *zhang* while 2 *xun* is 1 *chang*.

ren 仞: linear measurement unit. 1 *ren* is 0.7 to 0.8 *zhang*.

Area measures

qing 頃 and *mu* 畝: area measurement unit. There are two calculation of Chinese *mu*. 1 *mu* in Northeast China is 1000 square metres while in other parts of China, 1 *mu* is 666.7 square metres. 100 *qing* is 1 *mu*.

Volume measures:

dou 斗: 10 litres

Weight measures:

jin 斤: 596.8 grams

6. Official Titles and Government Organ names: I mainly use Charles O. Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (1985) as a reference.
7. Text: Three editions of *Manyou suilu* are collated and compared. I mainly follow the manuscript. The poems are compared against the ones in *Henghua guan shilu*. The letters are also compared against the ones in *Taoyuan chdu*.

The Author's Preface

In the past, General Lin Jianting of Changbai wrote *Hongxue yinyuan* (The Predestined Relationship between Swan and Snow), Marshal Zhang Nanshan of Panyu wrote *Huajia xiantan* (Idle Talks of the Elderly), and Chief Hu Hexuan of Shunde wrote *Gaiyu conglu* (Anecdotes Written in a Filial Son's Spare Time). These three books, with illustrations, are accounts of their travels. They wrote books to ensure longevity for their names. In the past, when people edited their poems, they would provide a volume for each position they held, recording the places they passed through and unforgettable up and down emotions. This is particularly true as beautiful scenery will easily be forgotten once left behind. When one tries to remember them afterwards, it feels like chasing after the vanished. Once not recorded in poems or pictures, scenery will pass away with the wind and dust, and eventually become dreams and bubbles. Would this not be a great pity? This is why I wrote *Jottings of My Roamings*.

Even in the prime of my life, I was not famous, let alone now that I am old. From the age of twenty, I worked as a copier in Shanghai. Leaving my old house on the shore of the Song River, I listened to the sound of the Xiepu tides. My hope of supporting my family was always vain. Being a man of letters, I could barely make a living. I was confined to local alleyways despite my interest in great mountains and valleys. Gazing at the misty waves, I would dream of my hometown. Because of the need to feed myself refrained me from being a recluse.

Later on, all of a sudden, there were rumours about me, so I had to flee. As a result, I rode on the strong wind and cleaved through the tidal waves, sailing to Hong Kong and travelling overland to Guangzhou. There, I visited the ruins of Wei Tuo and researched the relics of Liu Yan.² The birds and blossoms of the barbarian regions

² General Wei Tuo was sent by Qin shi Huangdi sent to conquer South China. After the downfall of the Qin dynasty, Wei Tuo established the Nanyue dynasty until it became a tributary state during the Han dynasty. Liu Yan was a king of the Nan Han dynasty during the Five Dynasties. He gave himself the name Yan which composed of a dragon and the sky radicals (龔), implying him to be the legitimate emperor. Both kingdoms are located in Guangdong, and Wang Tao used them as the symbols of

stirred up nostalgia and broke my heart. Miasma and rain of the south made me sigh at the sorrow of a wanderer. I was forced to set off again on a boundless journey. I climbed onto Zong Que's boat, sailing with the wind,³ and rode on Zhang Qian's raft, passing by the moon.⁴ I sailed to Japan in the east and ascertained Alan in the west.⁵ The places I passed through are all worth recording.

Thriving Singapore and bustling Penang are the most prosperous places among the countries in the South-eastern Ocean. India was where Buddha preached while Ceylon was where he was born. These two places are still sparkling with Buddha's wisdom and have retained his spiritual vestiges. Moreover, I saw the barren brown mountains of Aden and the angry waves of the Red Sea. Egypt has been famous since ancient times. Among the earth tombs and stone coffins, I sought for mummies a thousand years old. The ancient characters and coins unveiled secrets of the past.

I was greatly astonished at the drastic change in climate when I passed through the Suez Canal. On arrival in Italy, I was revived by the refreshing scenery. From there, I drove to France, passing through Lyon on my way to Paris where I saw noisy avenues, prosperous city scenes, spectacular palaces and luxurious merchandise. How thriving it was! The golden and jade buildings tower high up in the sky. One can hear the raucous sound of music over ten *li* of roads. This is a place for big

Guangzhou.

³ Zong Que 宗慤 lived during the Song Dynasty of the Six Dynasties. When asked about his ambition, he said, "I wish to ride on the wind and cleave the waves." In Shen Yue 沈約, *Song shu* 宋書 (The History of the Song Dynasty). The original reads, "慤年少時, 炳問其志, 慤曰: '願乘長風破萬里浪.' 炳曰: '汝不富貴, 即破我家矣.'" p. 1971.

⁴ A raft that can pass through the moon is recorded in Zhang Hua's 張華 *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Account of Wide-Ranging Matters), which has not mentioned Zhang Qian. The original reads, "近世有人居海上, 每年八月見槎來.....乘之, 到天河." (China: Chaoyang zhengshi, 1918), p. 3. In Hu Zi's 胡仔 *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (The Encyclopaedia of a Fisherman Recluse in *Tiaoxi*), he quotes *Jing Chu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 (The Annual Records of *Jing* and *Chu*) that Zhang Qian rode on a raft and pass the moon. ("漢武帝令張騫窮河源, 乘槎經月而去.") (Taipei: Shijie Shuju, 1966), p. 71.

⁵ Alan refers to areas between the Caspian Sea 里海 and the Aral Sea 咸海.

spenders and France is truly the richest place in Europe. I crossed the seventy-*li* channel between France to Britain. What I saw there was very similar to France. There were so many scenic spots in both Britain and France that I could hardly visit them all. I decided to record with my precious pen only those places that I had seen with my own eyes.

In the spring of 1874, I lived a leisurely life in Guangdong before I went to Japan. I travelled from Nagasaki to Kobe, passing through Osaka and reached Kyoto. Thereafter, I travelled again from Kobe to Yokohama. I stayed in Tokyo for over four months and made an excursion to Mount Nikko. This mountain was renowned as an immortal den, and Westerners treated it as a summer resort. The greenish peaks embraced one another, while spring water flew in the thousands of valleys. The landscape of Japan was more impressive than that of the West. In addition, sharing the same written language, we composed literary works responding to one another. It was remarkable to make friends overseas with those whom with one could appreciate literature.

On my journeys to the East and West, I used either the fire tubes and wind wheels (i.e., ships) or carriages that were as fast as the wind and lightning. I was never delayed or alarmed on sea or on land. It has been enjoyable. I passed through ten countries covering seventy thousand *li*. The waves assisted my great aspirations, and my remarkable courage rode the storms. I was proud of my travels. What made me feel delighted was that I was the first to travel to the West. Neither officials nor famous literati had ever had this opportunity. In my early days in Britain, I gave a lecture at Oxford University. Students there, wearing top hats and robes, were very courteous. I presented them with a discussion of the similarities and differences (in cultures) and suggested that the highest *Dao* would be the Great Unity. Students appreciated my speech greatly as they had never heard of this notion. When I walked on the roads, the police drove away the children who were laughing at me. Whenever I asked the way, people would accompany me and not leave me alone until we reached the destination. The elderly in the village took off their hats and greeted me

when we met each other on the road. When asked (for the reason of their politeness), they answered, “We wish to follow Confucius.” Some nosy people wanted to find out my planned itinerary, so that they could publish it in newspapers before I arrived. People took photographs for me free. Acquaintances invited me to their homes to attend banquets and meet friends. They hung flags on their roofs to indicate that they had a guest from afar. They did this to show that they were honoured and delighted. These are all because I am the first Chinese to visit these places, and, in those days, rarely could a Westerner meet a Chinese literatus.

In Japan, I was received with great respect again. I followed in the footsteps of all the famous people to visit Mount Nikko. When we encountered perilous places, there would be eight people to support my sedan chair. People in the front and at the back sang songs to boost their morale. When I was about to leave, the colleagues held a farewell dinner in the Nakamura Restaurant where, unexpectedly, I met over a hundred people. I was seated next to the envoys. I have never had such a sumptuous banquet at which famous people highly esteemed me. Though I had not achieved success in my own country, I was greatly honoured by foreigners and literati thousands of miles away. How fortunate! I lived in Fuli when I was young. Even though nobody knew what I was really like, and much else besides, my writings were criticized by many. Why did Heaven treat me in such a way?

Now, I am tired of wandering around like Sima Qian, and have fallen seriously ill like Sima Xiangru.⁶ Back from the mountains, I rested in a hut like a recluse. I want to stay in a room in Wu but remain as a guest in Shanghai. I stayed in my house everyday writing books, polishing my sentences, and ignoring any other things. Thinking of the past, I find my memories have become dreams already. When I raise

⁶ Sima Qian 司馬遷, the Grand Historian, spent his youth travelling around China to collect materials for writing *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records). See *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 3293. Wang Tao alluded to him to refer to his long distance travel. Sima Xiangru, a great writer in the Western Han dynasty, was always fallen ill as he constantly felt thirsty. In his old age, when Emperor Wu heard that he was seriously ill, he sent an official to collect his books. See *Shiji*, p. 3035. Wang referred to first, his illness (haemoptysis) and also the writing and compilation of his books.

my head to think deeply, however, those recollections appear before my eyes. My friends, who chat with me about my travels during their visits, are enchanted by my foreign experiences. All of them ask me, ‘Why don’t you arrange your travel accounts and compile them into a book? This can inspire conversation and broaden others’ horizons. Why don’t you follow Zong Shaowen’s example and travel in your own armchair?’⁷ At that time, someone good at drawing promised to help. There are altogether eighty illustrations appended to *Jottings of My Roamings*. My writing is incomparable to that of the three gentlemen, nevertheless, I write to entertain myself only.⁸

In 1887, after the two stars had crossed the Milky Way for seven days, the Old recluse of the South, Wang Tao, wrote this preface at the Hut of a Recluse in Shanghai.

⁷ Zhong Bing 宗炳, courtesy name, Shaowen 少文, loved to travel around and had travelled far and wide in his youth. After fallen ill and unable to go travelling, he unfolded paintings of landscape that he had visited in his room as a substitute. This is known as *woyou*, armchair travelling and became popular during the late Qing. In Shen Yue, Song shu 宋書 (The History of the Song Dynasty), p. 2279. The original reads, “好山水，愛遠遊，西陟荆、巫，南登衡岳，因而結宇衡山，欲懷尚平之志。有疾還江陵，嘆曰：「老疾俱至，名山恐難遍睹，唯當澄懷觀道，臥以游之。」凡所游履，皆圖之於室，謂人曰：『撫琴動操，欲令眾山皆響』。”

⁸ The three gentlemen refer to Lin Qing, Zhang Weiping and Hu Hexuan mentioned at the beginning of the preface.

1. Gazing at the Lotuses on the Duck Pond

I was born in Fuli, a place named after Lu Tiansui (833-883), who was named Tiansui zi, a recluse of the Tang Dynasty.⁹ Not willing to work as an official, Lu spent his time with Pi Rixiu composing poetry. His appellation was the Master of Fuli. He expressed his aspiration in his literary works, later collected as *Jianghu sanren zhuan* (The Biography of the Indolent Man of the Countryside). After his death, because of his moral courage, the locals thought of him with respect. As Lu loved to watch duck-fights, there was a fence named Duck-Fight Fence. The villagers built a square pond in the shape of a mirror, in which water swirled round. In the middle of the pond was the Cool Breeze Pavilion. A small bridge was built as a passage from east to west. Elms, willows, peach trees and plum trees were planted all around the pond. At midsummer, refreshing green plants were in abundance. Bluish green shadows covered up the edges of the eaves of the pavilion. If the windows were opened fully, a cool wind would assail one's robe. Inside the pavilion was the statue of Lu Tiansui sitting upright with a book in his hand. His beard and eyebrows look real. According to a legend, the manuscript of his *Lize congshu* (Collectanea of the Fisherman) was found in the stomach of this statue, and it was only because of this discovery that the book survived. I believe that whether people are famous or unknown is pre-destined. Just over a hundred paces from the pavilion is Lu's tomb. Some said that this was only where Lu's clothes were buried, in order to provide remains for people to ponder over. Inside the pavilion are antithetical couplets, on of which was written by my teacher, Master of the Qingluo Studio.

⁹ Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 was a genius man of letters who despised the world and did not try to get an official position. Instead, he went travelling around with his friends and he hated to talk to mundane people. Ji Yougong 計有功, *Tanshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (Explanatory Notes of the Tang Poetry), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 962-963. The original reads, “龜蒙，三吳人也。幼而聰悟，文學之外，尤善談笑，嘗體江、謝賦事，名振江左，居於姑蘇，藏書萬餘卷，詩篇清麗……中和初，遭疾而終。……龜蒙少高放，從張搏遊，歷湖蘇二州辟以自佐。嘗至饒州，三日無所詣。刺史蔡京率官屬就見之，龜蒙不樂，拂衣去。不喜交流俗，不乘馬升舟，設蓬席、茶竈、筆牀、釣具往來。”

White wine and yellow flowers: Yuanliang sleeps alone at the Chongyang Festival.¹⁰

A misty raincoat and a straw hat: Zhihe has sailed for ten years.¹¹

Contrasting these two gentlemen alongside Lu was most appropriate.

There were lotuses in the pond, half of them red, the other half white. During the blossom season, the pure fragrance would spread far and wide. With a breeze in the morning, the moon in the evening, or the twilight dew, the scenery became even more impressive. In summer, poets living in the local villages held meetings at the pavilion to compose poems. Members of the elite would come to enjoy wine on such occasions. I was always the last to be invited but the first to arrive. At that time, I was young and fond of drinking wine. I tried to make a beautiful Jade Pipe Goblet by picking the freshest lotus stem, and piercing it with small holes before pouring wine into it over and over again. I felt that the wine became extraordinarily fragrant and pure, and I could drink many *dou* of it. I also mixed the lotus blossoms with thin powder and then grilled them into fragrant pastes. It was crispy and delicious and could relieve hunger. Because of such behaviour, my friends in the poetry society laughed at me, ‘You are a real flower-eater and wine-sleeper.’

Every year on the twenty fourth day of the sixth month, famous people were invited to celebrate the birthday of the lotus plant. Ladies who could write poetry could also join in although they would not attend the celebration. In 1847, Lady Gu Huiying was elected the best poet, while in 1848, Lady Cao Suwen was the champion. They can be compared to the talented Xu Shu whose poetry was so brilliant that her husband Qinjia had to step aside.¹² This was certainly enough to exhibit the great

¹⁰ Yuanliang 元亮 is the courtesy name of Tao Qian 陶潛.

¹¹ Zhang Zhihe 張志和 wrote a lyric poem in the tune of Yu Ge Zi 漁歌子. The original poetry reads, “西塞山前白鷺飛，桃花流水鱖魚肥。青箬笠，綠蓑衣，斜雨細雨不須歸。” In Zhang Zhang 張璋 edited, *Quan Tang Wudai ci* 全唐五代詞 (Complete Works of the Tang and the Five Dynasties Lyrics) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 57.

¹² This refers to Qin Jia’s 秦嘉 wife, Xu Shu 徐淑 of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Once, Qin travelled to fulfil his official duty in such a hurry that he could not meet his wife. Xu wrote a passionate and highly polished letter to him.

talents of women. I regard lotus as the gentleman's flower because of its four virtuous features; clear fragrance, lasting charm, spotless virtue and pure colour. I could never agree with the flatterers who sycophantically describe the physical appearance of a reclusive and virtuous man through the misguided line 'lotus blossoms look like Liu Lang'.¹³

The period for gazing the lotuses started from its first blooming. Gatherings were held every three days, with only four pots of food and fruit. This showed that people preferred sincerity to luxury. Fuli, being a region of rivers and lakes, had many water plants. Plums and melons were immersed in water and lotus roots blended with ice. Colours of red and green were piled up haphazardly on plates. They could relieve the summer heat.

Friends of the poetry society, inspired by Lu's lifelong interest in rearing ducks, built a shed and kept some clean and adorable white-headed ducks. In between the red and green, there were white feathers dancing around. This was not a common scene. Around the pond were stone fences carved with images of ducks. All the ducks faced Lu as he himself faced southwards. Ducks are among the most stupid of all birds,

¹³ Liu Lang refers to Zhang Changzong張昌宗, the favourite of Wu Ze Tian 武則天. An official of Wu, Yang Zaisi compared Zhang's face to a lotus blossom. The original reads, “易之兄司禮少卿同休，請公卿宴其寺，酒酣，戲曰：「公面似高麗。」再思欣然，翦縠綴巾上，反披紫袍，為高麗舞，舉動合節，滿坐鄙笑。昌宗以姿貌倖，再思每曰：『人言六郎似蓮華，非也；正謂蓮華似六郎耳。』其巧諛無恥類如此。” In Song Qi 宋祁 and Au-yang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (The New History of the Tang Dynasty), (Taipei : Zhong yang yan jiu yuan, 1999), p. 4099.

however, since Lu wrote the phrase ‘able to speak’,¹⁴ ducks had been kept in the gardens for the enjoyment of the literati. The words of literati are of such extraordinary influence.

I left Fuli nearly forty years ago. When looking back, the past has become like a dream. Whenever the lotuses bloom, I feel I am once again in the midst of the Lotus Pavilion and the Duck Pond.

2. Seeking out Plums in an Ancient Villa

In front of the Haizang Monastery of Fuli lies the Plum Blossom Villa owned by the Secretarial Personnel, Xu Yuanyou of the Ming Dynasty. The villa was later transformed into a monastery. There are a few paintings of the villa; all are drawn by famous artists. The one I saw, drawn by Gu Yuanzhao in the style of Zhuang Shuping, was excellent. Xu’s eldest grandson Wang Yan, also named Xiaozhuo, wrote a long poem to trace the history of the villa. Later, the paintings were owned by the Yan family in the village who asked people to write poems about the villa. Two regulated poems written by Mr. Wei Xiu, courtesy name, Guanfu, were the best.

The first;

There are still traces of sea on the silk, and mountain drawn with ink.

My grief for the state is unbearable for me even to mention.

The plum which belong to no one, thrive on the old snow.

¹⁴ From the biography of Lu, there was a rider from the official post station who as he passed by Lu’s house killed one of Lu’s ducks with a slingshot. Lu told him because his ducks were precious that they could talk, so killing them could result in persecution. The rider was scared and offered to compensate. After Lu got the money, he laughed at the rider and told him that the only word his ducks could say is their name. The rider was furious and Lu finally gave him back the money. In Ji Yougong, *Tangshi jishi*, p. 963. The original reads, “龜蒙居震澤之南，巨積莊產，有鬥鴨一欄，頗極馴養。一旦，有驛使過，挾彈斃其尤者。龜蒙詣而駭之曰：『此鴨能人語。』少頃，手一本手本云：『待附蘇州上進，使者斃之，奈何！』使人恐，酬以囊中金。龜蒙始焚其章，接以酒食。使者俟其稍悅，方請人語之由。曰：『能自呼其名。』使人憤且笑，拂袖上馬。復召之，還其金，曰：『吾戲耳。』”

The sound of the clock indicates the appearance of a cold frost that will leave a mark on the moon.

The shrine of Land's God still has Recorder Wang inside.

The Samgharama Monastery has Mr. Gu as its doorkeeper.

The offspring of the Garden of Zi has vanished like dust.

How can they repay their gratitude to their grandfather who was a native of Pingquan.

The second;

I live as a recluse in the Studio of Ailanthus, sighing at the ever-changing world.

Looking back, I see white lotus appear from the fragrant clouds.

With changes in dynasty, who will still know this villa was built in 1627?

I cannot bear to sing poems and ponder over the year 1644.

The painter of Wangchuan (Wang Wei) is my predecessor.

The moral courage of Mr. Fuli has influenced generations of worthy people in his hometown.

Water flows continuously to southward from the Six Streams.

At dusk, the sobbing sound of the tides encircles the sky of zen.

The monastery had more than two hundred years of history, in spite of its dilapidated state, its original dimensions have survived. Behind the entrance door was a large pond crossed by a stone bridge. Next to the pond was the long collapsed Autumn Flood Pavilion. The Ailanthus Studio, located right at the rear of the monastery, was the only place still complete. Its eight doors, inscribed with poems, were not damaged. After finishing my studies, I would go there straightaway for meditation. Reputedly, in its prime time, banquets were often held in the villa with beauties coming from brothels, and musicians and artists playing silver *zheng* and sandalwood clappers. In the large open space outside the Studio of Ailanthus, there once stood towers, pavilions and terraces. One could still imagine them among the remaining piled up stones, the flowing spring water and the winding corridors. The pond was so wide that it extended beyond the monastery. Next to the pond were some

single-storey houses with red doors and crystal green windows. The scenery was secluded and tranquil. The monks rented out the houses to commoners. Red and white lotuses were planted in the pond so that people could pluck them easily. At blossom time, fragrance would spread far and wide and all the houses were filled with the pure scent. My relatives once lived here. At dusk, they put tealeaves onto a pistil and took them out the next morning. After boiling the tealeaves with spring water, one could feel the scent penetrating his teeth when drinking the tea. Today, the houses have all been demolished for firewood. Even the lotuses are not as abundant as they were in the past.

The villa was named after plum blossoms. When winter came, blossoms were everywhere: an ocean of scent and snow. Sparse shadows of plum blossom with dim fragrance were flowing in the moonlight,¹⁵ creating a realm of quietness. After becoming a monastery, the moon terrace, the cloud houses, and in short the whole setting was changed drastically. Within less than twenty years, boundless ocean had changed into mulberry fields. When I was young, there were many plum trees, their trunks stretching out in different directions. They looked lovely during blooming. I gathered together with two or three friends, stepped on the snow, searched for plum blossoms and headed towards the pure scent. We were filled with unrestrained zest. We always feasted in the Ailanthus Studio with a kettle of wine and a box of fruit, all homemade products enough for a big feast. I laughed, ‘Plum blossoms are pure while we are mundane. If the blossoms were conscious, they would regard us as gluttons. How is it possible for us to dream of the purity of Mount Luofu?’¹⁶ At that time, Mr. Zhang Ziyan was there and said, ‘One should have famous wine in order to appreciate famous flowers. Although, the plum blossoms with jade pistils and jasper

¹⁵ The expression comes from Lin Fu’s 林逋 poem *Shanyuan Xiaomei* 山園小梅 (In Praise of Plum Blossom). The original line reads, “疏影橫斜水清淺, 暗香浮動月黃昏。” In *Lin Hejing Ji* 林和靖集, (Taipei: Xuehai shuju, 1974), p. 18. This became a standard phrase to describe plum blossom.

¹⁶ This refers to a story set in the Sui Dynasty. When a man, Zhao Shixiong 趙師雄 travelled in the Mount Loufu 羅浮山, he met a fragrant girl. He discovered himself sitting under a plum tree when he woke up next day. The allusion is generally used to mean meeting immortals.

petals are, indeed, species of the immortal world, we can also be banished fairies since our hearts and guts are as innocent as ice and snow, and we remain aloof from the material world?' Not long after this, Ziyan died. Afterwards, it was difficult to find a suitable companion with whom I could visit the plum blossom. In 1849, a serious flood destroyed nearly all the plum trees. Thereafter, I travelled to Shenjiang (Shanghai) and rarely went back to the village. The ever-changing world makes one sigh with emotion.

In the autumn of 1852, Master Yutao carried the painting to Shanghai so that I was able to read it again and wrote twenty-eight words on it.

Less than half of the plum trees are left.

I unfold the old painting to ponder over the plum blossoms.

Thinking of my homeland, I feel sad and lonely.

A trace of twilight descends on level barren land.

During the Taiping Rebellion, in 1860, the painting was destroyed by fire.

3. Listening to the Pine Trees at Baosheng

Baosheng Chan Monastery of Fuli, built during the Six Dynasties, was enormous. Its towers and pavilions were spectacular: it was the grandest temple in the Wu Province. Despite gradually falling into disrepair, it still extended more than a hundred *mu*. According to legend, because the statues of the eighteen disciples of Buddha had been carved by famous artisans, their facial expressions, both happy and sad, looked life-like. At the back of the temple, there were meditation rooms on both sides. The monks, residing there at that time, were mostly eminent ascetic masters. When I was young, I heard of Master Youcui, being aloof from worldly needs, who would gather with local worthies to write poems. I also heard of Mater Shen Si, courtesy name Qiuqing, who formed close friendships with the monks. Although there were many monks in the monastery, sacrifices were few. Therefore, other monks who arrived seeking shelter would leave and head for other places almost immediately. Few

people would stay in the monastery during the year, except from the first till the fifteenth of the first month. This was the busiest time. Women from the local villages would come from far and wide to gather here. At the open space outside the monastery, there were drama performances, folksong singing and dancing. The sounds of drums, gongs and flutes continued from morning to night. Outside the monastery were many booths selling toys and puppets: a true paradise for the local children. Next to the monastery were a few tea shops. The Striking Bamboo Pavilion, the oldest one, which was about to fall down had been propped up with wood for the last forty or fifty years already. This was originally the hall for monks to discuss Buddhist classics. At that time, blossoms fell haphazardly like rain (Buddhist words of wisdom), inspiring the audience. Now this place was used to provide tea for lay people. The vicissitudes of life made me sigh with emotion.

Outside the temple was a large open space planted with pine trees, which stood tall and erect with branches stretching out in all directions. The bark looked like the scale of an angry dragon, grabbing out. Covered with frost, the pine trees looked even greener. Hundreds of crows nested in the trees. Every dawn and dusk, they cried and hovered around: even the sky was darkened by them. When the west wind blew, there rose a wave-like sound. At that time, I followed my father to the studio of Mr. Shi and lived in the three rooms in his backyard which was very close to the monastery. As my head lay on the pillow, I could hear the souging of the wind through the pine trees all night, just like angry running horses and great waves. There seemed to be storms even when the weather was fine. I suspected that Master Eighteen (Shiba Gong, i.e. the pine trees) and the Lady from the Feng family, (Fengjia yi, i.e. the wind) were fighting against each other in the sky, making a sound like thousands of soldiers and horses running. It was, however, also similar to leaves falling from thousands of mountains and spring water flowing through thousands of valleys. I sat up and listened to it quietly. I was so bewildered and filled with unbearable sadness, that I felt my body had nothing to rely on and I had nowhere to go. If travellers heard it, their homesickness must be heightened and they would sigh

at the loneliness of wandering.

The Elder, Jiang Busong, also named Tingtao (listening to the sound of waves), who lived nearby, had excellent knowledge of Buddhism and loved to talk about Buddhist classics. He made friends with the monks in the monastery. As he wanted to eat the vegetarian food provided by the monastery, the monks looked down upon him, receiving him only after the bell for finishing dinner had struck. In his old age, his belief in Buddhism strengthened and listened untiringly to the Buddhist eulogy all day long. Unexpectedly, the rebels of Guangdong invaded the village and he was unfortunately killed in the main hall of the monastery. A flag was wrapped around his head where he had been wounded by a weapon. For a kind-hearted man like him to suffer such misfortune, how unsympathetic Heaven was! He had once told me that, 'Listening to the sound of pine trees can inspire you to understand the realm of Chan and the happiness of Chan,' I agreed with his words wholeheartedly. Later, the pine trees dried up, ossified and were eventually cut down by the monks for firewood. None have survived. What a shame! When the rebels of Guangdong set up offices in Fuli, they wanted to demolish the monastery, using its bricks and stones to build houses. Fortunately, a local official bribed them; otherwise, the monastery would not have survived.

I went back home three times in 1882, 1885 and 1887. When visiting the monastery, I wandered around and could not bear to leave. The rooms on the two sides had all collapsed into ruins, not even a rafter had survived. Nobody bothered to ask about it. At that time, I travelled with Sheng Kuanfu and Xu Renkua and told them the story of listening to the sound of the pine trees in my youth, and we all sighed. The historic monastery of the Six Dynasties had declined into its present state, becoming only an ornament in the village. Why had the people just stood aside, allowing it to decay?

4. Climbing up the Mountains and Gazing into the Distance

When I was sixteen, I went to Lucheng to take the prefectural examination. Not until the examination ended did I have time to climb up Mount Saddle (Ma'an). It is located in the northwestern part of the town, covering an area of three *li* and is seventy *zhang* in height. It is named Ma'an because it has the shape of a saddle. Previously, it was mistakenly known as Mount Kun (Kun shan). Mount Kun originally belonged to Huating in Songjiang, and Kunshan prefecture was named after it. Later, the mountain was placed in Huating prefecture while the borders of Kunshan prefecture were realigned in the southern part of Mount Saddle. Because this happened a long time ago, people nowadays do not know the history, and therefore call the mountain "Kun shan" by mistake. According to Zhu Changwen's *Tujing xuji* (Supplementary Notes of Classical Maps), it was also known as "Kun shan". This was the reason why the mistaken assumption lasted for so long.

On the day of my visit, a few people, including Yinchan (A Chan Recluse), Meishi (An Intellectual of Plum Blossom), Lixian (A Wine Immortal) and Xiangke (A Guest from River Xiang) accompanied me to climb up the mountain. We rode upon the wind and our sleeves fluttered. I had been cooped up for days, so my mind was cheered up immediately. When we reached The Halfway Pavilion (Banshan ting), two of my friends felt a bit tired and sat down to take a short rest. I felt so unbearably hot that I took off my coat to allow the wind to blow onto me, but the breeze was so cold I had to put my clothes back immediately to defend myself against it. Then I said, "How delightful! This is the masculine wind of a king."¹⁷ Gazing towards the deepest part of the setting sun in the distance, I saw a monastery with an open door, and on the southern part of the mountain, a forlorn dilapidated ancestral shrine and a corner of a sparse forest. As it was already the end of the ninth month, the barren mountain was full of falling leaves and the sound of the bells conveyed an autumnal mood. Although the mountain was not very high, the stony paths were rough. The

¹⁷ This alluded to Song Yu's 宋玉 *Rhapsody of the Wind* 風賦, describing the wind of a king as pure and clear, good to people. The original reads, "故其風中人.....清清泠泠, 愈病析醒, 發明耳目, 寧體使人, 此所謂大王之雄風也." In *Songyu Ji* 宋玉集, (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2001), p. 45.

Grotto of Embracing Jade (Baoyu dong) was encircled by a stone fence, so visitors could not enter. Inside was an old solemn stone statue of the Buddha. Previously, it was known as Grotto of Master Xiangchan (Xiangchanshi dong). In the Liang Dynasty, Master Huixiang used his uncanny craftsmanship to build this monastery. The stone statue was carved later. I continued climbing up to Tower of a Hundred *Li* (Baili lou), which was at the summit of the mountain. This mountain has an outstanding peak from which I could look in all directions without obstacles. The farthest I could see was over a hundred *li*, which is why it is called Tower of a Hundred *Li*. The four walls of the tower were defaced by the many terrible poems written by travellers. The monks in the monastery detained me to have some tea. The water was pure and clear. In the courtyard, there were a dozen stone vats for storing rain water to make tea for guests. This was necessary because there were no spring in this mountain. The rocks of the mountain were exquisite. Some busybodies bought the stones to sell as trifles. The price was nearly a hundred tael of silver for a handful of stones. Those from the rear of Mount Saddle were mostly white in colour with few blemishes, without signs of carving. (Patterns on the stone) looked like enchanting peaks and the prettier ones were like either a spring breeze blowing away from the peaks or autumn water producing ripples, demonstrating the exquisite craftsmanship of the immortals. Thus, they were known as “ingenious rocks”.

That year, the chief examiner of the prefecture examination was District Magistrate Yang Gengtang from Shu (Sichuan). After reading my works, he highly appreciated them as, although I was still grouped with the children, they were outstanding. From then on, whenever I went to take an exam, I would climb this mountain. This was why I wrote the line “The scenery of Ma’an remained roughly the same. I would write poems during every visit.”

In the spring of 1859, I felt listless staying in my studio, so I invited my friends to see the plum blossoms on the peak and visit the mountain. I had just recovered from a sore foot but was able to manage the climb, so I went straight up to Pavilion of Prosperous Literature (Wenchang ge). I climbed up to the highest place and gave out

a long shout, which echoed round the surrounding mountains. In a room in the west of the pavilion was a statue of the immortal Zhuge Si, who became a widower in his middle age. He had a daughter who was very wise but died young. Thereafter, he abandoned his worldly relationships and set off on his travels. In the spring of 1850, he appeared to the mortals and spoke about all the things that had happened to him. He drew a small ink portrait of himself, with great ease and verve. Looking closely, one could just discern a man's beard, hair, face and eyes in between the cloudy atmosphere. The man appeared like an immortal floating in the air, demanding to be worshipped in the mountain. Zhao Yuanlin of Xinyang recorded this on his behalf. I wandered around one side of Pen Peak (Wenbi feng) for a long time before heading down the mountain. Then, I went to the Hall of the Flower God (Huashen dian) and ordered the doorkeeper to cut some firewood and boil up tea. I lay down and looked at the verdant mountain. It looked as though it wanted to throw itself on top of me. When I thought of the past, my recollections seemed to become dreams. Then, I asked the abbot for a pen and ink, and wrote a poem on the wall:

I am still not famous even though I am already thirty years old.

Despite having fun on this occasion, I regret making this visit.¹⁸

I shed tears when I see this old mountain again.

Though talking with old friends about the past makes me happy.

My writings are filled with foreboding and worries about the wars.¹⁹

My life is miserable, but full of romantic emotions.

When can I buy some fields and become a recluse?²⁰

Only then, I can travel to the river banks and meet up with the gulls.²¹

¹⁸ This is a Buddhist allusion, generally meaning to enjoy the present.

¹⁹ The wars may refer to the conflicts between China and Britain and the Taipings Rebellion.

²⁰ Buying houses and fields refers to be aloof from worldly matters. During the period of the Three Kingdom, Liu Bei 劉備 criticized Xu Ji 許汜 for his selfishness as he wanted to be a recluse and was unwilling to save the world. In Biography of Chen Deng 陳登, in Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi* (Taiwan: Dingwen shudian), p. 229.

²¹ This is an allusion to Lie Zi 列子. 'There was a man living by the sea-shore who loved seagulls.

My companion was a courtesan from the Tower of Red Flowers (Hongrui ge) who was a native of Lucheng. In the summer of 1854, we became sworn lovers and she was willing to become my concubine. Now, I have not seen her for a long time and she has let me down. Whenever I think of it, I feel disappointed. Alas! I lived in the remote coastal area where there are no mountains to climb and the heels of my wooden sandals are seldom broken. I have been deeply obsessed by travelling throughout my life. When will I have pairs of wax-coated sandals so that I can exhaust all the world's famous mountains?²²

5. Posting a Letter from Baixia

I was nineteen years old in 1846. In the seventh month in the autumn, I went to Jinling (Nanjing) to attend the provincial examination. I was accompanied by the Owner of Qinglou Studio²³ and the Slim Immortal. I headed off from Fuli, reaching Jinchang, passing Xishan and arrived at Biling. I sailed to Jingjiang along the Yangtze River. The Jin and Jiao Mountains were barely visible among the clouds. Gazing into the distance, the two sides of the Yangtze River were encircled by high cyan mountains. In the boat, I sat on a mattress, opened the windows and looked at the misty lights and the shadows of sails: a scene good enough to entertain my eyes and satisfy my heart. Arriving at Baixia, the boat moored outside the Western River Gate (Shuixi men). At that time, cold rain splashed onto the windows, and the sound

Every morning he went down to the sea to roam with the seagulls, and more birds came to him than you could count in hundreds. His father said to him, "I hear the seagulls all come roaming with you. Bring me some to play with." Next day, when he went down to the sea, the seagulls danced above him and would not come down. Therefore it is said, "The utmost in speech is to be rid of speech, the utmost doing is doing nothing." What common knowledge knows is shallow.' A.C. Graham translated, *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (London: John Murray, 1960), pp. 45-46.

²² The wax-coated sandal alluded to Liu Yiqing's 劉義慶 *Shishou xingyu* 世說新語 (New Account of Tales of the World), to suggest a leisurely life. The original reads, "或有詣阮(阮孚), 見自吹火蠟屐, 因歎曰:『未知一生當著幾量屐?』" (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 201-202.

²³ Qingluo Guanzhu refers to Gu Xing 顧惺, Wang Tao's teacher.

of the waves could be heard as I lay on my pillow. I was greatly depressed and could not sleep for the whole night. On the next day, I went to a hostel which was located at the house of the Gong family in Fishing Alley (Diaoyu xiang).²⁴ The five-roomed waterside pavilion was spacious. Its painted fences faced the canals while the sun shone on the sparsely weaved bamboo blinds. From the brothels on both sides of the river came the continuous sound of raucous music as if Gong's neighbour were wandering orioles (courtesans). All the visitors to the Qinhuai River had to pass through Gong's house. There were people in immaculate fragrant clothes and the women painted with oily powder and soft rouge, preserving the old customs of the Six Dynasties. My companions thought that they would enjoy themselves in the brothels, however, at that time, I was in love with someone so did not consider those girls with a single glance.

I knew a girl when I was young. We were sworn lovers and had pledged eternal love. Even though we had no idea about our future at that time, we made a resolute promise. Before I left, we agreed to write letters to each other to console our yearnings. Therefore, I wetted my pen, lit a candle and wrote a letter to her:

About to part, we asked each other to take care. We drank a bottle of wine and sang parting songs loudly. After passing Hushu checkpoint, I had exhausted the scenic spots, all of which aroused my feelings. In the blink of an eye, I saw the dim light from the mountains, waves going up to the sky, the shadows of sails, and heard the sound of the tides. When I gaze at the scenery of the Yangtze River, I feel sad that we cannot appreciate this spectacular view together. What a shame! Thereafter, I point at the deepest part of the white clouds where smoky trees create an atmospheric vista. This is where my hometown should be. I moored my boat at night for a while. There was a lot I wanted to say but all around me was quiet. My feelings were stirred. The winter cicadas disturbed my dreams while the bright lights of the fishing boats shone.

²⁴ Gong Cheng 龔橙 (b.1817), son of Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792-1841), lived in Shanghai from 1850 for twenty years, often in destitute circumstances. For more information, see *Eminent Chinese of the Qing Period*, p. 433.

Facing these, how could one not feel nostalgic? Fragrant mists, cloudy tresses, the bright moonlight and jade-like arms were the reasons why Du Fu missed Chang'an.²⁵ The horn pillow is permeated by the chill. I turn against the silver light and sit alone besides the window of the boat, feeling lonely and missing you. However, we meet each other every night in my dreams, and every day I dream about going back home. Despite the long distance of checkpoints and rivers, our souls stay with each other. Recently, the blossoms of the bay tree have been spreading their fragrance, and the hibiscus is in full bloom. The weather changes abruptly between warm and cold, sunny and rainy. I hope you will take good care of yourself that you should not sleep too late as it is so cold at midnight. I am afraid that your thin sleeves will be roused by the chill and the cold will seek you out. Moreover, the night is as colder than water, the moon as bright as frost. I linger aimlessly among the flowers looking at the sparse shadows of the leaves. Drops of dew wet my jacket, and a chilly wind pierces my bones. Are you standing by the side of a tulipwood hall and a mica window? It seems that if I call you, you will appear. Being a thousand *li* away, I express my heart with the few words in this letter. I do not care for the other courtesans dressed in greens and reds. I have written three seven-character poems just to express my longing for you.

The first Poem:

I still remember distinctly the last time we held hands.
 Before I left, you inquired about the date of my return,
 Hard to go away as I held your red sleeves.
 I felt regretful for my reputation as you knitted your turquoise brows.
 By moonlight the light-sailed boat sped along.
 So sad was the fading willow as it fluttered its silky twigs in the mist.

²⁵ Cloudy tresses, fragrant mists, bright moonlight and jade-like arms alluded to the poem "Yueye" 月夜(A Night with the Moon) by Du Fu 杜甫. The original reads., "今夜鄜州月，閨中只獨看。遙憐小兒女，未解憶長安。香霧雲鬟濕，清輝玉臂寒。何時倚虛幌，相照淚痕乾。" See *Quan Tang shi*, p. 2403.

One should not seek divination repeatedly with golden coins in the lengthy night.
There is an excellent verse to console your beloved heart.

The second poem:

For several days a refreshing chill has assaulted my curtain.
I fill up with a desire to wander as my wishes are always unrealised.
I still feel like drinking wine these days.
The only thing left is my soul which returned home last night.
Deep in the night, I listen sadly to the sound of hundreds of insects.
I am surprised hearing a lonely flying goose as the moon sets.
All that I am afraid of is that you sit among the flowers in the cold night,
And the fragrant dew and chilly wind will penetrate your silky clothes.

The third poem:

The sparsely bonded blind cuts off the mist from the stream.
Your bushy temples and long eyebrows are extremely lovely.
Like a cyan jade, you feel sad on this day.
When will I pass the final civil examination?
Both of us laughed as we wrote poems on the leaves of the phoenix tree.
Now, I sleep alone as a guest with cold quilt and blossoms of reed.
At dusk, I feel especially helpless in the rain.
The shimmering, withering light is beside the short window.
She immediately replied after receiving my letter. Her letter was also appended with
a poem.
Who am I fading away for? For whom do I spruce myself up?
My tender love is consigned to the jade flute.
It is already late at night and all the people have settled down.
I am desperately searching for parrots to pour out my listless feeling.²⁶

²⁶ This alluded to Zhu Qingyu's 朱慶餘 "Gong ci" 宮詞 (Palace Poem), which describes a lonely maid or a concubine who does not dare to complain, being afraid of being heard by the parrots. The original reads, "寂寂花時閉院門，美人相並立瓊軒。含情欲說宮中事，鸚鵡前頭不敢言。" See *Quan*

On the third day after the Seventh Night Festival,²⁷ she held a hurried farewell dinner with me. When we had finished half of the wine, her maid Jinjiao played flute for her and pressed me to drink wine. She immediately tossed off a poem of twenty eight words.

The sound of the flute is vague.

If this is not the music of parting, then it is the sound of grumbling.

People are different and times have changed.

The magpie bridge is still horizontally lying on the Milky Way.

She did not live long. She is like a snapped piece of jade and a broken orchid.

Whenever I think of her, I feel heartbroken. Even when Heaven is desolate and the land is old, my regret will never come to an end.

6. A Commoner Visited the Beauties

Since ancient times, Jinling has been the capital of several regimes, and even now, the vestiges of the beauties of the Six Dynasties still remain. The water is soft and the hills look tender. The flowers are bright while the willows are shady. During the Ming Dynasty, after the Thirteen Towers had been built, its brothels became the best in southeast China. I put on light make-up, socks and green shoes, and entered the brothels in search of excitement. In the Gong family house where I lived, the Tower of Beautiful Ripples (*wenyi lou*) was west of the waterside pavilion. Ren Suqin and Miao Aixiang were the best among the courtesans. Suqin ranked third in that year's list of courtesans. She was famous for her gorgeousness and fragrance. The Owner of the Qingluo Studio, Coral Reef Fisherman and I visited several brothels without finding anyone suitable, until at last, we were pleased by the lovely eyes and smiles

Tang shi, p. 5865.

²⁷ The Seventh Night (Qixi) Festival is based on the story of the weaving girl and the cow boy. Weaving girl is an immortal who falls in love with a man, the cow boy. The God of Heaven punishes them by allowing them to meet each other only once a year on the seventh day of the seventh month on a bridge made by cuckoos.

of those two sisters. Since we were satisfied with one another, a dinner was set up for us. Aixiang could drink lots of wine and was especially good at the finger-guessing game. When she played, her hairpin moved and the flowers in her hair soared up. She always won because of her remarkable skills. I lost to her so often I had to drink countless cups of wine. The next day, she invited me to visit Qinhuai River by boat. Acquaintances on the neighbouring boats laughed at me and said, “A Lan is sitting with two beauties. He is lucky enough to win their favour.” They called me A Lan because Lanying was my courtesy name. I felt embarrassed, so when the two girls invited me again, I declined their request.

On both sides of the Qinhuai River, there were red fences, green thresholds, embroidered screens and pearl curtains. At dusk, courtesans who finished their night-time make-up would show off their painted faces. The sound of the *guan* was bitter but the sound of *xiao* was lovely. The sound of the music made me feel sad. Suqin lived in the Tower of Beautiful Ripples. The place was arrayed with elegant furnishings, such as a duck-shaped burner for warming tea and a censer-burner in the shape of a wild beast. The tables and windows were clean and tidy. The room had an other-worldly atmosphere. Her pens, bed, ink stones and caskets were all laid out neatly. On the shelves, there were several dozen books protected by glass against dust. The books and ivory bookmarks appeared to be untouched. I asked Suqin whether she was literate. She smiled and said, “Is there anybody who doesn’t know any words? Do you think only graduates have bright and piercing eyes” I did not believe her. By chance, there was a copy of *Dream of the Red Chamber* (Honglou meng) on the table. I picked it up and questioned her. Her tongue moved like billowing waves and her remarkable thoughts poured out like a spring. Then, she asked me, “There are two explanations for “two stars getting their hair white together”. Which one is more reasonable?” I said, “Looking from the word ‘fu’ (to hint), the author refers to the consequence instead of the cause.”²⁸ Suqin also agreed

²⁸ “Baoshou shuangxing” and “fu” comes from chapter 13 of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*. The title of this chapter reads, “撕扇子作千金一笑，因麒麟伏白首雙星” (Tearing fans for a precious smile,

with me. She told me that she came from a decent family, but had been induced by some bandits to become a prostitute. This was not her original choice. Her tears trickled down when she told me this.

Miao Aixiang's original surname was Zhu. Miao was the brothel madam's surname which she had adopted. She lived in Waterside Pavilion of Small Ripples (*weibo xiaoxie*). When she looked at her shadow in the river, the whole pond became fragrant. Her house was divided into two parts. The outer part was displayed with antiques, including remarkable and many-coloured bronze ritual vases of the Shang Dynasty and tripods of the Zhou Dynasty. The inner part was where she kept her silk curtains and quilts. This room was extremely beautiful. Qingluo Guanzhu said, "This is truly a Cave of Attractive Fragrance." In total, I dined with them five times. Two days after the Mid-Autumn Festival, my companions suggested going back home, and boats had been arranged already. Su and Ai invited me to a special farewell dinner. Suqin had asked me to buy them some Huzhou silk. So I bought some for each of them and they treated me extraordinarily well. When Coral Reef Fisherman was slightly drunk, he told some jokes, and wrote a four-line poem for Suqin. The last sentence was "A poor man does not have worthy things with him. He can only give his three-inch writing brush instead of a gift of silk." Suqin read it and felt so abashed that her cheeks turned pink. She immediately picked a green fruit from the table, and threw it like an arrow at Yufu's forehead. Qingluo Guanzhu laughed and said, "I am afraid that even Mr. Pan (潘安) in his carriage was not able to suffer from such a lovely pain."²⁹ After parting from them, Qingluo Guanzhu wrote three poems to express his longing. I append them here.

the Qilin jade hints the marriage of two stars). Because of the word "fu" 伏, it appears that originally the author wanted Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉 and Shi Xiangyun 史湘雲 to be married. See *Honglou meng* (Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press, 1987), p. 494.

²⁹ Liu Yiqing's *Shishou xinyu* 世說新語 (New Comments to the Words of the World) recorded that because of Pan An's handsomeness, whenever he went out, even old women threw fruits to him to show their admiration. 「安仁至美，每行，老嫗以果擲之，滿車。」 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 326-327.

Lying next to the window, my illness worsens.
 Even Jiang Yan 江淹 would find it hard to think of writing anything.
 When the eastern wind comes, butterflies feel listless.
 The fragrant orchid from the south has another person in her mind.
 With wine at my side, I see her under the lamp light,
 I search for her in my dreams of flowers.
 Even greenish pearl and cyan jade cannot match her.
 Her courtesy name was Suqin.

*

I still remember the time when I entered Luoyang in a decorated carriage.
 Accompanying my immortal friends, we visited the brothels.
 The girls there were as pure as ice and jade.
 But as distant as flowers in the mist.
 Their writing was a match for that of Su Dongpo 蘇東坡.
 They do not have to belong to the Xie 謝 family to be able to produce good writing.
 The moon became perfectly round on the fifteenth day.
 The next day, however, was the day we separated from each other.

*

My precious letters never reach their destination.
 I feel sad though not solely for the beautiful moon.
 By the sea shore, I lose my coral net.
 From the angular pavilion, only the book-loaded painted boat comes back.
 My writings, like Cao Zhi's 曹植, will be praised by posterity.
 Her appearance looks just like Zhu Xizhen 朱希真 in her youth.³⁰

³⁰ Chu Renhuo 褚人穫, *Jianhu ji* 堅瓠集 [Collection of the Hard Bottle Gourd], "Zhu Xizhen, courtesy name Qiuniang, was the wife of of Xu Biyong, a merchant. Two of her ci-poems were listed as those boudoir poems, but the lines in the poetic commentary cannot be traced." (朱希真, 小字秋娘, 商人徐必用妻。二詞列之閨秀, 詩評中未知何據。) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe,

She will slightly frown, smile or speak sweetly.

Even a state official would love to be looked after by her.

7. Travelling in Jinling

When I stayed in Jinling for the examination, I went travelling everyday. Sometimes, I pulled on the oars along the sides of a lake, sometimes I rode on a donkey up a hillside. The places I visited were all worth recording. Slim Immortal and I climbed up the foundations of the city terrace which wind up the hill to a height of several dozen *zhang*. The crenulations were rubble, and the vestige of the past just about surviving. I said, “This is where Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty died of hunger. For all his life, he had blind faith in Buddhism, but such was his end. Buddhism was criticized for this by those who wanted to destroy it. Were it not for the phrase “give somebody poison and stab him with a knife” to explain the situation, people might suspect the Buddha to be inefficacious.” Quxian obtained from the villagers a piece of giant brick dated with a reign title of the first year of the Jin Dynasty. Both faces of the brick were perfect without cracks. When knocked, they gave off a deep sound like pieces of metal crashing together. Slim Immortal bought it for a price of several hundred coins which was a true treasure.

Thereafter, I visited the Cool Mountain (*qingliang*) again. Its highest peak is Wu Peak on which lies Greenish Jade Pavilion (*cuiwei*). The mountains wind up to Cock’s Crow Ridge (*jiming*). There were ten temples, but more than half were in ruins. The scenery was extremely bleak. By chance, I arrived at the temple of Guanyu 關羽 at the moment when an extraordinarily noisy, lively festival was taking place. My companion felt tired, so when we saw the flag of a wine shop,³¹ we went

1984), Vol 4, pp.6-7. Sometimes, Zhu Xizhen is also confused with Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真.

³¹ The phrase, “Looking forward to seeing the plum curtain” 杏簾在望 refers to a wine shop. It alludes to Du Mu’s 杜牧 “Qingming” 清明 (The Qingming Festival). The original line reads, “試問酒家何處有，牧童遙指杏花村”. The phrase Wang used comes from Chapter 17 of *Honglou meng*, in

in to buy some white wine and sat together taking a rest. I drank several cups of wine to relieve my thirst. Thereafter, we walked to the Cock's Crow Monastery. Inside is the white-clothed Bodhisattva tower. To the rear lies the city terrace and below is a lake. At its front is the Almsgiving Altar (shishi), the stone base of which towers up. One had to climb several dozen stairs to reach the highest point. I gazed into the distance and saw the gardens at the back of the mountain. Within the area of the hibiscus fence, there were many chrysanthemum bushes and crisscrossing fields. This was where the Cai family had built the Evening Fragrance Villa (wanxiang). Quxian told me that the people of this county had presented Cai with a phrase made up of words from the *Sishu* (The Four Books). The phrase was, "Zang Wenzhong lives in Cai. The Xiahou family stays next to the pine trees. There must be someone famous here."³² This was a serious tease.

Walking south-westwards, I passed Drum Tower Slope (gulou) and saw a high and spacious single tower. To its west was a desolated bell factory. Big bells were lying on the ground. Some people thought it was the remains of the Jingyang Palace. However, this could not be proved. Next to it was another bell tower with a big bell which was commonly known as the Male and Female Bell (cixiong). Several dozen paces from it was a stone fence well, known as "The Well of Humiliation" (Rujing), because it was where the last emperor of the Chen Dynasty and his concubines, Zhang Lihua and Kong had hidden themselves. Some called it the Rouge Well (Yanzhi jing) as the water which had the colour of rouge.

which Jia Baoyu describes a tower in the Grand Garden (dagan yuan) with the title 杏簾在望. p. 300.

³² The phrase "Zang Wenzhong lived in Cai" 臧文仲居蔡 comes from *the Analects*. The original reads, "子曰：『臧文仲居蔡，山節藻稅，何如其知也？』" Zang refers to an official of Lu living in Cai luxuriously. Confucius thinks that he is very unwise to do so. The phrase, "the Xiahou family planted pine trees" 夏后氏以松 comes also from *the Analects*. The king of Lu asked for the appropriate tree to be planted in his ancestral hall. A disciple of Confucius, Zaiwo 宰我 tells him the practice of previous dynasties. The original reads, "夏后氏以松，殷人以柏，周人以栗，曰使民戰栗。" Confucius thought that Zaiwo's answer was nonsense because it is the nature of land to decide which tree to grow.

On the north-eastern side was the Sui Garden which was the villa of Yuan Jianzhai (i.e. Yuan Mei) (1716-1798). Its ponds, rooms, towers and terraces formed a special realm. During its prime time, officials who passed through Jinling would visit this villa to appreciate its remarkable scenery. For several dozen years, the villa was used as a venue for literary meetings. I was born too late to meet Master Jianzhai. All his descendants had left to seek official positions elsewhere. I heard that there was a wonderful hut, known as the “The Blue Sky” (weilan tian). However, I did not have enough time to visit. Other places were desolate and not refurbished, creating a bleak atmosphere.

I went east to the Dignified Appearance Monastery (miaoxiang) where groups of peaks were encircled by greenish jade. The winding paths lead to secluded areas, and there is a small bridge with water flowing underneath. The scenery was beautifully embellished with rocks and blossoms. I passed by the Bamboo Hall, in which were tables, chairs and couches, all made of bamboo, creating an extraordinarily refined environment. I met the two courtesans, Suqin and Aixiang who were sitting quietly in the monastery, drinking tea and enjoying the leisurely atmosphere. When they saw me, they threw me charming smiles and glances of love. I just walked past as though I did not know them, because I was afraid that I would be criticized at my back.

I wrote six four-line poems to record my travels. I append them here.

Year on year, bamboo flute and pipe sob in the autumn wind.

In front of the curtain the swallows leave no shadows.

By chance, I see a young beautiful lady on the other side of the lake.

Her temple hair is pinned with lovely red flowers.

Many charming events of the Qinhuai River are now blurred.

People’s shadows and the fragrance on their clothes leave me feeling lost.

I have endured dreams of romance for all these years,

Now I cannot bear to play the old songs and listen to the *yao* strings.

A few ladies travel at night, walking under a sparse shade.
 Trees are planted all around the Dignified Appearance Monastery.
 Cut off by the willows, I can only just make out the ladies.
 Unaware, the rain is soaking my autumn clothing.

When I reach the Sui Garden, it is already dusk.
 The once former meeting place of literati no longer exists.
 Their unrestrained manner has disappeared like passing clouds and is now hard to recall.
 The moon is hanging with trailing plants, leaving only a faint trace.

The halls of the Jingyang Palace have long been empty.
 Big bells have fallen into the thick grass.
 Cold spring water flows unceasingly from the well.
 All I can hear is the disconcerted hubbub of insects all around.

Encountering rain, I fold a corner of my headscarf.
 I almost lost my way on the forks in the muddy roads.
 The foot of Cool Mountain is encircled by cyan plants.
 Riding on a donkey, I have been watching flowers by myself all day long.

8. The Masts of *Huangpu*

Ever since trading with the Westerners began, Shanghai has changed. In the midsummer of 1847, my father moved temporarily to the northern part of Shanghai to earn a living. I visited him in the first month of 1848. I was refreshed as soon as I entered Huangpu River. From the boat, I gazed into the distance at the misty and boundless river and the disorderly scattered ships. Along the banks of the river were Western buildings, so lofty that they seemed to be as far away as the clouds. There

were flying ridges on the roofs, painted beams, green windows and pearl blinds. There were people living inside the house who would emerge if you called them, even though the buildings looked like the three spiritual mountains beyond the oceans that you could gaze at but not reach.

At that time, Medhurst, a Western intellectual who was in charge of the Mohai shuguan (London Mission Press) used movable-type print machines to print books. People thought this was an innovative idea. When I paid a special visit there, I saw bamboo fences, pergolas, a chrysanthemum garden and a field of orchids: the place has a very pastoral atmosphere. On entering his house, my eyes feasted on the superb collection of books on the shelves. I met Medhurst's two daughters, the elder of whom was called Mary and the younger was called Helen. Just after sitting down, Medhurst poured some wine into crystal cups and pressed me to drink with great hospitality. The taste of this sweet red wine was not inferior to Gongjin's finest wine.³³ Medhurst also played the piano for me. The melody and cadence were harmonious. In spite of the foreign tune, the audience was overwhelmed with touching feelings.

Later, he showed me how the books were printed. The lathe was pulled by oxen. The axles flew around. Medhurst said they could print many thousand impressions a day. It was a really ingenious and fast machine. All the windows of the book factory were made of bright and spotless glass so that it could be called the "world of glass". The shelves holding the type moulds were tidily arrayed from east to west, according to the order of the dictionary.

Medhurst was accompanied by William Charles Milne, William Lockart, William

³³ Gongjin 公瑾 is the courtesy name of Zhou Yu 周瑜, a general of the Wu state during the Three Kingdoms. He was a young and talented general but was disliked by a senior general, Cheng Pu 程普. However, as Zhou was such a charming person, Cheng later changed his mind, describing meeting Zhou being like drinking a bottle of pure wine, and getting drunk without realizing. The original reads, "與周公瑾交，若飲醇醪，不覺自醉。" See Chen Shou, *San Guo zhi* 三國志 (A Record of the Three Kingdoms) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 1265. Wang Tao twisted the allusion and used it to describe the wine, but it can also hint at his increasing friendship with the Westerners.

Muirhead and Joseph Edkins. All of them knew Chinese.

Outside were the homes of western businessmen. Western countries designated officials to handle business affairs, so there were also government officials in the local offices. I heard that the Baoshun Company kept various precious birds and unusual beasts for the tourists.³⁴ Although there were some foreign companies outside the northern gate, it was quiet and bleak because of the desolate fields, open spaces and grave-mounds. A few families, however, did live there in scattered huts with hibiscus fences. People were able to see the countryside. I admired the tranquility. At that time, I wrote four poems to express my feelings. I append them here.

The first poem;

The sound of waves flows from day to night.
 Floating clouds and abandoned forts call to mind the ever-changing worries.
 The gate to the ocean is of great strategic importance.
 Ten thousand waves join up with the upper stream.
 To the east and south are vast and mighty markets,
 To the west and north, there is demand for the transportation of goods.
 In order to plan for the livelihood of people,
 The court eventually gives priority to reconciliation with the barbarians.

The second poem;

The vast watery world is sluggish owing to the chill of spring.
 Whales and crocodiles swim freely in waves after the ice has melted.
 People in the alleys are delighted by the end of fighting.
 I sighed at the difficulty of finding an able man in our state.
 When can I stop worrying for the state like the girl from Qishi?³⁵

³⁴ Baosheng Hang may refer to John Dodd & Company which was established 1866 and mainly worked for the Jardines.

³⁵ In Liu Xiang's 劉向 *Lie nu zhang* 列女傳, there is a story about a girl from Qishi 漆室 who worries about the state of Lu 魯. In D.C. Lau edited, *A Concordance to lienu ahuan*, (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuju, 1994), p. 30. Wang Tao uses this allusion to symbolise his worries.

I have just started crying loudly on this river.
 Ships from near and far and foreign traders gather here.
 This large city is lying on the river.

The third poem;

Talking about the beacon fire and the ashes in those previous years,
 Excess luxury will only engender disaster.
 In the court, Wei Jiang is planning reconciliation policies.³⁶
 At the margin of the ocean, the people of Loulan are looking suspiciously.³⁷
 The loose rein policy is by nature ill-advised.
 Those who can cope with the difficult situation are the most able people.
 There should be no delay in drawing up the state policies.
 It is grievous to see the state being so badly battered.

The fourth poem;

The border disputes have not been settled completely.
 From now on, defences cannot be neglected.
 There should be able officials to take charge.
 They should travel to the most remote territories to see the ships and carriages.
 Who will record the customs of the barbarians?
 Barbarians will appear in the book of merchandise.
 When will the officials fix the countless loopholes in their policies?
 Talking about the military supply otherwise is in vain.

It was the Lantern Festival when I arrived. Young men and women gathered in crowds, blocking the way. The sound of burning firecrackers continued throughout the night. The delightful music and the magnificent scenery were signs of a peaceful

³⁶ Wei Jiang was a general, recorded in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (The Explanations of Spring and Autumn Annals by Master Zuo), who advocated a peaceful policy.

³⁷ Loulan is an ancient country located on the Silk Road, west of Dunhuang. Wang uses Loulan to represent barbarians. Loulan appears frequently in Li Bai's poems, also referring to the invading barbarians. See *Quan Tang shi*, pp. 1697, 1701, 1705.

society.

In 1849, there was a serious flood and Yantian suffered from famine. In the sixth month, my father passed away and I was forced to go to Shanghai to find a job. Following this departure, I was away from my hometown for a long time. I missed the laughter and chat of my relatives. When I thought about the flowers and trees, my soul and dreams would go back home. When I arrived at Shanghai again in the late autumn, I anchored on the Huangpu, fastened the ropes and stayed for a while. Facing the lonely lamp in my solitude, I felt grief-stricken. The storms had stirred up my gloom and anxieties while the waves had exacerbated my sorrows. I had only been away two years, but my feelings of Shanghai were so different. This was due to the different situations I had to confront.

I stayed in Shanghai from the ninth month of 1849 to the eighth month of 1862, a total of fourteen years.

9. Embracing the Remarkable Scenery of Moli

Lake Tai is an enormous lake, covering as vast as thirty six thousand *qing* with seventy two peaks immersed in the lake, creating an incredible spectacular scene. In the middle of the lake are two towering peaks known as the Hills of the East and West. Moli is a secluded place, with peaks soaring up into Heaven: an immortal dwelling place. In the past, the Elderly Longwei gave Yu a seal and an inkpad on this mountain.³⁸ I have always thought of visiting here but had not had the opportunity.

On the twenty sixth of the eighth month of 1862, the weather had just turned cool. Two Westerners, Medhurst and Muirhead asked me to travel to Lake Dongting with them. Our boat embarked after four o'clock and passed the Great East Gate, just as the sky was getting dark. The demolished and ruined walls gave a bleak vista. I could roughly make out the beards and hair of the people on the city wall. At that time, the

³⁸ Longwei Zhangren 龍威 is an immortal who stole the books stored by Yu 禹. The source of Wang's interpretation of the story is still unknown.

city was occupied by the Taiping rebels, and the huts and houses outside the city had all been burnt down by the court army. Gazing from the riverside, I could see that after all the shelters had been removed, the Taiping rebels were actually able to see the court army and prepare for an attack. The boat went several dozen *li* by night before mooring at Zhou Pond. On the twenty seventh, it was so misty in the morning that we could discern neither villages nor houses. By noon, when we arrived at Minxing prefecture, the mist had lifted. The boat travelled for about a hundred *li*, thanks to a prevailing wind. We reached River Song at dusk, but we did not have time to visit the town. In the evening, the boat anchored at the mouth of the River Liu. At night, I heard the rain splashing onto the back of the sail. This made me feel sad as it aroused my longing for my friends. On the twenty eighth, the boat embarked from the mouth of the River Liu before I was awake, so I was not sitting next to the window and looking at the scenery of the Nine Peaks. Such beautiful scenery was missed by a narrow chance. The immortals of the mountains must have laughed at me. At noon, I passed the Zhou Villa and reached Tun Village by four o'clock. In the evening, I arrived at Tongli. On the morning of the twenty ninth, there was heavy rain and the sky was dark; as the boat passed through Tongli, no inhabitants had yet opened their door.

At noon, after passing through the Flower Stream Bridge, we finally arrived at Lake Tai. There was such a vast amount of water that neither islands nor shores could be seen. In the lake were flocks of several hundred wild ducks, hovering above the water. Suddenly, a strong wind whipped up the waves. The muddy water soared fiercely, tossing the boat. Fortunately, we were near to the harbour so we were not startled. As I sat on the front deck of the boat and gazed into the distance, the wind blew my hat into the water, reminding me of the much-told tale of Mount Dragon.³⁹

³⁹ In the Jin 晉Dynasty, General Huan Wen 桓溫held a gathering with his colleagues, including Meng Jia 孟嘉. During the banquet, Meng's hat was blown away by the wind. Huan asked others to write poems and make jokes about this, but Meng showed his good manners by answering poems without thinking. In *Jin shu*, p. 2580

Shortly after, I reached the Leaf Alley Village at the east of the mountains, and the boat moored next to the Big River Bridge.

The last day of the month was sunny. The scenery gave me an extraordinarily unrestrained feeling. After eating, I climbed up the highest peak of Moli by walking the winding steps from Xinmiao. Gazing at the lake in the distance, I could see the misty, secluded reflections of the piled up mountains. Medhurst and Muirhead could walk very fast, searching out the strange and visiting the secluded, displaying no sign of feeling afraid. After walking through the rugged rocks, my feet were covered in calluses and my waist almost snapped. Later, we rested for a while in the Bodhisattva Convent at the rear of the mountain. Then, we walked out from a dense pine forest, following a winding path. The path led us to secluded areas where the sparse bamboo was interspersed with green plants. Several dozen stone masons were rubbing the stones and preparing to inscribe characters on them. Asking about one tomb which soared upwards, I was told it belonged to the Pan Family. There were many tombs in a line so even the dead people could appreciate the beautiful scenery here. The various peaks in the eastern mountain ranges, with green summits and red cliffs, were uneven in height, and encircled one another. When I climbed up to the summit and gazed out, I could see green trees stretching out in many different postures. However, the place was desolated; it was a real ghost world. This made me sigh. Thereafter, I went around Yuwu Village, at the front of the mountain, back to the boat. Altogether, I had walked for more than twenty *li* in the mountains. Although I did not feel exhausted, I went back to the boat to have a rest. A police officer of Dongshan from Pinghu, Chen Zuochen, and the Brigade vice Commander, Chen Zuolin, from Anqing came to my boat and we talked at length about my visit. I had brought some Western wine and drank it with them. All of them regarded it as a good wine and showed their appreciation.

Some inhabitants of Lake Dongting have built fences along the mountain, piling up stones to make walls that only reach one's shoulder. The houses were built within the thousands of peaks. The mountain scenery is wonderful. Inhabitants there, however,

stay in their houses and never go travelling. This is like Guo Pinjia's poem, "Only then did I realise that even those living in the mountain can be mundane people. They shut their doors and let others appreciate the scenery." The mountains were located within the area of the Lake Tai. Even before the tenth month, it can be piercingly cold. I did not feel warm even though I embraced my cotton quilt at night. Water regions do, indeed, get colder earlier than other places.

According to legend, people living in the mountain areas of Dongting are so good at making money that many of them trade elsewhere. There are only a few local literati. Consequently, the attractions and vestiges are seldom embellished by gardens, ponds, pavilions, springs, rocks or plants. Inhabitants are good at growing fruit, and the mandarin oranges and waxberries are better than those produced in other regions. The fruit is taken to other places for money. At the time I came, it was already late autumn. The forest was sparse with leaves all over the ground, so the scenery was bleak. The various fruits had also ripened. Thus, I could not hope for any enormous Chinese dates. I was willing to pay a high price for the *biluochun* tea that grows in these mountains, but no villagers could provide me with any. There were only some extraordinarily large persimmons. Zuo Chen paid over a hundred coins for them, and they were sweet and delicious. At that time, I wrote a poem to record this. I append it here.

I sail by a boat from the east to the bank of Lake Tai.

I climb up the stones and peaks to broaden my horizons.

I see misty water continuing for a thousand *qing*.

In spring, the mountains everywhere are greenish jade.

The peaks are clustered so close together that I fear there are no paths.

The desolated island is so vast that I have seen no other people.

I go further up the highest peak of Moli.

The fierce wind blows away the headscarf of the esteemed Guo.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Guo Tai 郭太, who lived during the Late Han Dynasty, was a handsome man. He was eight *chi* tall, with a majestic appearance. Once, he travelled around the prefectures of Chen and Liang. When it

10. Sailing on the West Lake

I had been longing to see the scenery of Wulin for ages. However, due to worldly matters and lack of time, I had never visited there. On the twentieth day of the ninth month of 1858, I had a sudden inclination to travel, and bought a boat for the trip. My guide was Feng Zhousan from Dongou. At dusk, we moored at *Minxing* prefecture. It was very foggy in the morning of the twenty first day. At 8 o'clock, I reached Song prefecture and visited Surpassing the World Monastery. The abbot, Master Minghui showed me the way to climb up to Bodhisattva Pavilion. There was a piece of stone delicately carved into a statue. When water was poured on the statue, the image of Guanyin would become obvious. This was commonly known as "the Pouring Water Guanyin". On the morning of the twenty second, I reached Pinghu. After entering the city, I had some tea in Zhongbo Monastery. In the evening, I moored at the Eighteen Li Bridge. On the morning of the twenty third, I passed the outskirts of Jiaxing city. Thousands of inhabitants lived in houses arrayed like the teeth of a comb and the scales of a fish. By the western part of the city wall was the Zen of Tea Monastery, in front of which stood three towers of average height. In the evening, I moored at Stone Gate Bay. On the way from Jiaxing to here, I saw mulberry trees on both sides of the river. People raised silkworms to produce silk, earning hundredfold profits. This was truly the origin of the economy of the Southeastern people. On the morning of the twenty fourth, I passed Stone Gate prefecture, which was surrounded by low city walls. There were just a few families living there, and I felt that it was a remote and backward place. There were, however, lots of thieves who rob travellers at night time. In the evening, I arrived at the major Hanghuan checkpoint and moored my boat outside the city.

On the morning of the twenty fifth, I sailed to Pinewood Park. After breakfast, I went

rained, he deliberately folded up a corner of his headscarf. Later it became a fashion. See *Hou Han shu*, p. 2225.

to Bright and Joy Monastery. Next to it were booths run by the monks. At the rear of the main hall was the very large terrace of Buddhist Perception which had been recently repaired. Leaving the monastery, I saw the West Lake immediately. Looking into the boundless misty water, I saw mountain ranges clustered into thousands of different shapes; it was truly a spectacular scene. I followed the winding pier to the Big Buddha Monastery. The statue of the Buddha was so large that a mere half of his body filled the hall. Legend said this was the anchor used by Qin Shi Huang, as the saying goes, “Shi Huang sailed in the eastern sea and moored here as the West Lake was originally connected to the sea.” This was quite absurd. As I was feeling a bit tired, I went to the Maitreya Courtyard to have some tea. The courtyard was delicate and clean, with a few plants, like a fairyland. I gazed into the distance from Thirteen-Roomed Tower and was able to see the panoramic view of the lake and mountains. I meditated there for a while and felt that my body was no longer my own. I walked slowly to the side of Remnants of Snow on a Broken Bridge, and saw Emperor Qianlong’s calligraphies carved on a stele. More than one *li* from there was the Displaying Honesty Terrace. I looked up at the statue of the sage and pondered over this hero of the past. Monks in the Monastery showed me the jade seal of “Hanshou Ting Hou” (Neighbourhood Marquis of Hanshou).⁴¹ It was bright, smooth and dark in colour, a genuine antique; I could not bear to let it out of my hands. After drinking tea, I visited the Sage Voice Monastery where I saw 16 stone statues of Buddha’s disciples. Their beards and eyebrows looked life-like. Inside the Monastery, flowers and bamboos were thriving. The windows and tables were clean and bright. My worldly concerns were completely washed away after taking a short rest there.

On the afternoon of the twenty sixth, I called for the Zongyi Boat so I could visit the

⁴¹ The Marquis of Shou Ting is the title of Guan Yu 關羽 awarded by Cao Cao 曹操. Once Guan was captured by Cao but Cao treated him well and gave him a title of Markus. However, Guan was so loyal to his master Liu Bei 劉備 that he finally went to join Liu. In Chen Shou 陳壽, *San Guo Zhi* 三國志 (A Record of the Three Kingdoms), (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982), p. 939.

West Lake.⁴² First, I climbed up Single-Peaked Mount and saw the various attractions of the Releasing Crane Pavilion. On the wall was a small stone carved statue of Lin Hejing.⁴³ This mountain is located in the middle of the lake and can only be reached by a small raft. In the old days, there were three hundred plum trees, only a few of which survived. The mountain ranges and rocks were lofty and attractive, and the trees around the rocks were covered in mist. I felt relieved and inspired when I climbed up the mountain. This was inspiring. The tomb of Su Xiaoxiao which lies at the foot of the mountain can be reached by walking around for several hundred paces. Near the tomb was Tejian Hall, which had been built and repaired by a general. On top of the pavilion called *mucai* (longing for the talented). Busybodies competed with one another to praise it. Thereafter, my head was sore because of the wind, so I ordered the boat to return immediately. As a result, I was unable to visit the other attractions. When I climb famous mountains and visit ancient monasteries, I aim to calm down my heart, relax my mind and appreciate the attractions. To reach beautiful scenery, I pass through the creeping plants, search for secluded places, scramble up the rocks and take dangerous routes. I am not afraid of such difficulties. Those with a restless heart who rush to and fro like apes cannot understand my thought.

When I reached the bank, my headache was slightly better. The houses and villas built next to the lake are all owned by rich people. Zhousan had known the Shi family for a long time, and therefore was able to take me in and visit the Fortunate

⁴² The name of boat總宜船 may come from the last line of Su Shi's 蘇軾 poem "Yin hushing chuqing houyu" 飲湖上初晴後雨 (Drinking on the West Lake: First Sunny but later Rainy), which praised the West Lake as being as beautiful as the beauty Xishi, regardless of the weather. The original reads, "水光潑豔晴方好，山色空濛雨亦奇。欲把西湖比西子，淡妝濃抹總相宜。" In *Sushi Shiji* 蘇軾詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 430.

⁴³ Lin Fu 林逋, courtesy name Hejing 和靖 (967-1028), lived in the Song Dynasty and became a recluse after 40 years old. He lived on Mount Gu. According to legend, he regarded plum blossoms as his wife and cranes as his sons. (梅妻鶴子). In *Lin Hejing Ji* 林和靖集, (Taipei: Xuehai shuju, 1974), p. 18.

Recluse Mansion. The tower right in front of the lake was spacious, bright and clean. Inside the Jade Sky Pavilion were tripods in animal shapes and duck-shaped incense burners. The embellishments were very elegant. Opening the window and gazing into the distance, I exhausted all the views of the lake. If I could live here, I would sit down and appreciate that beautiful scenery.

On the twenty seventh, I called a boat and travelled to Flowing Gold Gate. I entered the city and visited God of City Mount. I went straight to its peak. The mountain was not very high, and its crenulations and huts were arrayed like eyebrows. The Qiantang River looked like a belt whereas the West Lake looked like a basin. The river and sky were so vast that I suddenly felt my eyes could see a long distance. Reading the line, “Riding on a horse, I am on the first peak of Wu”,⁴⁴ I realised that this was truly something to be proud of. There were lots of tea shops half way up the mountain. Leaning against the window, I gazed out in a leisurely way. The mountains thrived with green plants. Ripples were stirred up on the lake. What I saw were views that could inspire poets. When I left the city and rode on the boat, it was already dusk. I saw scattered stars, the pale Milky Way and a few lights from the fishing boats. The wind was so mild that not even a ripple was aroused, and my boat sailed as fast as a running horse. After this visit, I did not know when I would be able to come back again.

(Episode 11 translated by Yang Qinghua)

12. Recording My Travels in Vestiges of Guangzhou⁴⁵

⁴⁴ This is a line written by the Wanyan Liang 完顏亮 in the poem 南征至維揚望江左, a emperor of the Jin dynasty. The original reads, “萬里車書盡相同，江南豈有別疆封。提兵百萬西湖上，立馬吳山第一峰。” Quan Jinshi 全金詩 (Complete Poetry of the Jin Dynasty) (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1972), p. 26.

⁴⁵ Sui穗, meaning the stalk of grain, refers to Guangzhou. From legend, five immortals rode five sheep to Guangzhou and gave people six kinds of grain seeds. Therefore, Guangzhou is known as Sui, City of Five Sheep 五羊城 or Sheep City.

Hong Kong is an isolated island, standing alone in the sea and only reachable by a raft. I started my journey by going to the City of Sheep in the 10th month of 1863. My boat sailed as fast as a running horse on water as calm as a piece of whetstone. When I climbed up the helmsman's tower and gazed into the distance, I could see various places, including Lonely Sea and the Tiger Gate whose forts had long been in ruins. Although the waterway was deep, the distance between the two sides was substantial, making it difficult to defend. If the canon could not hit a distant target accurately, the forts were useless.

Inside the city, the houses and huts were laid out like fish scales. Merchants were bustling around all over. With its abundance of people and merchandise, it is truly a prosperous city, indeed one of the biggest in the south. I went to visit the Illusion Monastery on the southern side of the river. Apparently, this place had once been the garden of the Guo family. At the rear of the garden was a large and solemn open space where stood one of the grandest Buddhist halls in the south. I recorded the couplets written on the hall's columns on the spot:

A governor's house is converted into a monastery. The cyan sea, blue sky, and the old fig tree under the sun show the way of Buddhism.

Caoxi is the place to preach Buddhism. The pigeon flies and the deer runs around. The master leaning against the cloud obtains an insight into Buddhism.

According to legend, in front of the Orchid Appreciation Hall, the eagle-claw shaped orchids were planted by the Guo family. Some busybodies later built a pavilion as a cover for the flowers, and a fence to encircle them. People with knowledge of plants would know this was the night-blooming cereus. However, none of those who I visited knew this. Nearby were many gardens with various kinds of flowers, even the strangest plants were grown there. During the first month, flowers competed with one another for colour and fragrance. It was just like a Buddhist paradise. Thereafter, I visited the ancient Great Wisdom Monastery, also named "Bao Guang" by the emperor Liu Cheng of Nanyue. Master Da An died in this place. His body was left here and would answer people's prayers. "The mist and rain of Datong" was one of

the eight famous sights of the City of Sheep. Inside the monastery was the Longxia Well which had water throughout the year and would sometimes give out mist. Even the shadows of sails on the sea were reflected in the well. In West Gate, the most spacious place outside the city, were the famous Flower Forest and Longevity Monasteries. Bodidharma, who came from India after travelling for three years, stayed in Flower Forest Monastery. Once I visited there, I was unwilling to leave. Inside the city were several dozen bookshops. The shelves were full of new books, only around one in ten was old or obscure. The teashops looked elegant and clean, and the food was cheap and delicious, they were much better than that of Hong Kong. The weather of the eastern part of the Province of Guangdong was always like the start of summer, just as Su Shi wrote, “The four seasons are all like summer. Once it rains, the weather becomes autumnal.”⁴⁶

When I first arrived in Guangdong, I did not have many friends. At that time, the Left Minister of war, Meng Xing, and the son of a junior compiler, Wu were in the city, but I did not visit them. A friend of mine, living in the Huiai Hospital at the West Gate, asked me to stay with him. As soon as dusk fell every day, I went for a walk. The open space near to the hospital was called “Xinji” (the New Foundation). The streets were long with winding alley ways, truly an earthly paradise, full of pink, white dark and green colours. When asked, people told me that this was the brothel. This was no different to hell itself. Several *li* away was Valley Port, a place for mooring all sorts of painted boats. The boats were arrayed next to one another; the oars were lined up like a flock of geese. The river could be divided into three parts. Courtesans staying here asked for higher prices. Any guest who wanted to hold a banquet had to spend more than ten or several tens of taels of silver. Those who wanted to stay overnight with the prostitutes had to pay a similar amount of silk offerings. There were raucous sounds of flutes and singing, and the lights were bright throughout the night. This was a den for big spenders. Sea Pearl was located in front

⁴⁶ The line is from Su Shi’s “Zai Hanan fengtu shi” 謫海南風土詩 (A Poem on the customs of Hanan during my Banishment). In

of the Five Sheep post and was linked in the south of the city with the sea which was as flat as a palm. There was a tower from which one could gaze into the distance on moonlit nights. One could see the city far and wide as clear as one's own eyebrows. This was how the Pearl River got its name. It had once been a swamp of smoky flowers and a court of wind and moon (brothel). I travelled for ten days and returned by boat. I wrote a letter to a friend.

Unworthy person as I am, I have been on a journey. When Wang Can was living in Jin County (in today's Hubei Province), he expressed his feelings by sighing.⁴⁷ When Jing Zhong fled to other countries, he felt sad for himself.⁴⁸ I have always wanted to visit the City of Sheep in order to broaden my horizons and express my desires, pondering over the old frontier of Wu and Han and seeing the vestiges of Wei Ren. The famous academics Zhongyan and Ganquan were once within the prefecture while Liang, Qu and Chen are the most famed poets of the south.⁴⁹ I passed through White Sand Village, thinking about their moral courage. When I read *Chiya*, I felt sorry for myself just as the author did. I met none of these men when I visited the City of Sheep. This had been a place where one's inspirations could be stimulated;

⁴⁷ Wang Can 王粲 wrote "Denglou fu" 登樓賦 (Rhapsody of Climbing up a Tower) when he was at Jinzhou, experiencing upheavals. The rhapsody expresses his longing for his homeland. See Yang Dezhou 楊德周 compiled, *Jian'an qizi ji* 建安七子集 (A Collection of Works by Seven Great Poets of the Jian'an Period) (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), p. 260.

⁴⁸ Jingzhong 敬仲 refers to a prince of Chen 陳 in the Spring and Autumn Period. He was prosecuted by his brother and forced to flee to Qi 齊. When Marquis Huan of Qi 齊桓公 asked him to be his officials, Jingzhong declined his request because he felt sorry for himself. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, pp. 1879-1880.

⁴⁹ Zhongyan refers to Sun Fen 孫賁 (1338-1394), a scholar and a poet who spent most of his youth in Guangdong with his friends fighting against the Mongols. He was regarded as one of the Five Masters of the Nan Garden (南園五子). Ganquan refers a Ming philosopher, Zhan Roushui 湛若水 (1466-1560), a neo-Confucian scholar who set up Baisha and Ganquan Colleges. Liang refers to Liang Peilan (1629-1705) 梁佩蘭, courtesy name Ziwu 芝五. Qu Daijun 屈大均 (1620-1696), courtesy name Wengshan who is mentioned by Wang later in the letter. Chen refers to Chen Gongyun 陳恭尹 (1631-1700), courtesy name Yuanxiao 元孝. These three poets are known as the Three Poets of the South (嶺南三大家).

however, even people like Wengshan and Haixue are difficult to find now.⁵⁰

(Episode 13 translated by Yang Qinghua)

14. Mooring in Singapore

I worked with James Legge (1815-1897) in Hong Kong, translating the thirteen *Classics*. Later, when Legge went back to Britain, he invited me to travel to the West and help him compile books. In the winter of 1867, I embarked on my journey after he wrote me another letter of invitation. Friends in Hong Kong organised a series of farewell parties for me in the Apricot Blossom Restaurant (Xinghua), which all of us enjoyed. On the twentieth day of the eleventh month, I sailed on a ship, departing at ten o'clock in the morning. My companions were a French doctor Beide and a Prussian ship owner Jianwu. Both of them could understand some Chinese. The ship had everything I needed. The staff were all Westerners. Outside my room was the dining room, where I could sit and read outside meal time. After sailing for less than thirty *li* from Hong Kong, I began to feel dizzy and was unable to eat lunch. I lay down till the evening. At night time, with the light of lamps and candles, the ship was as bright as in daytime. The next morning, as my headache was slightly better, I struggled to climb up to the helmsman's tower from where I gazed into the distance. What I saw was a boundless and vast ocean without an island. Flying fish swayed their wings and soared in lines.

⁵⁰ White Sand village refers to the White Sand College, established by Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章 (1428-1500), courtesy name, Baisha (white sand). He was a renowned Confucian scholar. Zhan Roushui was one of his students. Haixue refers to the studio of Kuang Lu's 鄺露 (1604-1650), renowned poet and musician of the late Ming dynasty. Haixue is both his studio name and sobriquet. After the Qing army occupied North China, Kuang followed the Ming imperial family and was sent to Guangzhou as an official. He chose to starve to death when the Qing laid siege to the city of Guangzhou. *Chiyā* 赤雅 (A Dictionary of the South), mentioned later in the letter, was a dictionary (writing in the tradition of Chinese dictionary, such as *Erya* 爾雅) written by Kuang during his exile in Canton, which traces myths and origins of the Canton throughout history.

At eight o'clock on the twenty seventh, the ship arrived at Singapore and anchored in the main harbour, which is about ten *li* from the city centre. I landed and rented a carriage to find a restaurant close to the shores where I could take a rest. The gardens were spacious and the towers bright. With bushes and wild flowers, the scenery was pure and charming. The dinner was delicate and served with elegant and clean utensils. The red lichees, nuts and yellow bananas made the dishes look resplendent. All the customers were provided with ice. Winter time should be cold but this place was as hot as if it was in summer. The climate of the equatorial regions is so strange. Holding my friend's letter, I went by carriage to see visit Song Fulian. We went around the city in a house-drawn carriage. He told me that my old friend Qiu Tiansheng was also here. We went to visit him and met his family. His two daughters were dressed up in Malay costumes, with clogs and bucket-like dresses. When they heard me speaking in Shanghai dialect, they were surprised with this unexpected opportunity to meet a fellow townsman overseas. Qiu's wife, who could cook Shanghainese dishes, cooked a chicken for me. I had long missed my hometown's cuisine and found it incredibly delicious. They pressed me to stay overnight in their three-roomed house, which they had bought with their savings upon returning from Shanghai.

Early the next morning, Tiansheng, his son and I went to the city centre to buy some food. I asked, "Can we go to see the bustling avenues?" They answered, "Yes." We took a carriage instead of walking. In the city centre, there were bars and cafes similar to those I saw in Guangzhou. We went into a restaurant, and ordered and drank copious quantity of wine. There were many exotically dressed women from Chao prefecture. Their costumes were very different from those of Guangzhou, however, refreshing and novel. Singapore was known as Xili in the past, and many thousands of Chinese came to trade here. Ever since the Ming Dynasty, people started migrating here, buying land and raising their families. Although two hundred years passed, they still wore Chinese costumes, followed Chinese calendars, and performed the annual Chinese rituals, proving the long-lived virtue and dignity of the

Middle Kingdom. I heard that recently an envoy called Bin Chun passed through here, and people put on Chinese official costumes to greet him. From this, one could know that the people missed the precious artefacts and enjoyable lives of their homeland. If the court could send an envoy here to display its mercy and prestige, people would admire and seek to embrace China wholeheartedly. They would be willing to help China. Could Singapore not serve as a useful overseas buffer territory?

Singapore is a spacious place. Most Chinese lived on level ground and will seldom go to the secluded mountains and deep valleys. The natives lived among the piled up peaks, where the trees were lush and the forests deep and dark. They lived in huts and enjoy their lives as farmers. They are the ancient inhabitants of this land. They are so good at incantations that they can make living things grow, the birds fall from the trees, and can tame tigers so they can be taken to the market for sale, and people did not feel the tigers would assault them. How special were the natives' skills.

The rain falls every day, nurturing all living things. When it stops, the sun would come out. The weather, sunny or gloomy, could change in an instant. There were many kinds of colourful fruit hanging in lines on trees: jade, green, red and yellow. People living here must shower daily with cold water in order to avoid heatstroke. Grains, cereals, chicken and pork are so cheap that people can lead comfortable lives. They just need a piece of thin clothing for the whole year. There were many colourful parrots that had white feathers, green fur, red beaks and yellow claws. I bought two of them and caged them when I boarded the ship. The next day, as I forgot to restrain them, they flew away.

15. I Try to Bathe in Penang

All the islands of the South-eastern Ocean are covered by lush woods. Gazing into the distance, I could even feel the scent of bountiful green vegetation blowing onto my face. After travelling for two days from Singapore, I arrived at Penang, a British

colony. The name “Bineng” comes from the Min (Fujian) dialect. It is also known as Bilan and Betel Nut Island. This place has bright mountains and lovely streams: a pure and beautiful scenery. The western-style houses arrayed like a comb were imposing. Ships arriving here usually stop for about four hours to load coal. Two Westerners and I went ashore, where we took on a four-wheeled decorated carriage to travel all over. Doctor Beide said that there was a spring for bathing on the peak of a mountain so we headed off to have a look. The carriage went up the mountain so gradually that I was not conscious of its height. We saw more than half of the passengers from our ship when we reached the top. The bathing rooms were well ventilated and spacious. Just after being seated, the servants gave us wine and biscuits most politely. Just then, a servant said that they had already prepared the hot water and asked if we wished to take a bath. They then ushered each of us into a bathroom. I pushed the door, went in and climbed some steps. There was a square pool, spacious enough to hold a dozen more people. On testing the water, I found it cool and of an uncertain depth. Not daring to dive in, I just sat on the stones and washed myself, but the chill had already penetrated as far as my armpits and I could no longer endure it. I rushed out and called for some wine and drank it greedily. The ship owner Jianwu said that he did not want to stay at the bathing pool for too long. Since we still had time, we went back to the carriage and searched for other delightful places to enjoy ourselves. We passed by villas and famous gardens, all of which looked gorgeous with their cyan trees, greenish shadows, red blossoms and green calyxes. Some houses stood in the middle of the gardens, surrounded by fences and doors. On entering, I saw a bamboo blinds, a yew table and a carpet snugly covering the floor. The room was so clean that not even a tiny bit of dust could be found. Those who welcomed the guests were all girls. Their skin was slightly black, and their faces were so lovely that they could be compared with Mei Zhu.⁵¹ They pressed the guests to stay by offering them silver plates filled with betel nuts. When I

⁵¹ Mei Zhu 媚豬 was a concubine of Liu Chang 劉鋹 of the Nanhan 南漢 monarchy, who had black skin.

left the house, I asked Jianwu with a smile, “What is this place?” He answered, “It’s a brothel.” Jianwu was the kind of person who loved to go philandering, which was the reason why he had asked the driver to take him there. The driver took out from his jacket a register with the names of the courtesans. Then, we arrived at another brothel, which was better than the previous one. Jianwu was visibly pleased with it. Beide and I, feeling dispirited, however, drank wine and picked some fruit together. When we returned to the ship, we saw some Malaccans selling various goods. Their jewellerys and diamonds were mostly forgeries, so I pushed them away. At that time, the ship had not departed, so I climbed up the helmsman’s tower, leaned against the railing and gazed into the distance. I saw groups of children swimming in the sea. Their teeth were white, their lips were red, their skin as black as lacquer. When they saw foreigners, they would grin and beg for money. The small boats they sailed were made of wood. The two oars in the front and the rear shifted swiftly as if they were flying. Occasionally, the children stepped onto the boats and dived into the water. The boats seemed to sink with them. They went in and out of the sea, playing like seagulls and ducks. Westerns competed with one another to throw silver coins. They raised their hands to show the guests when they picked them up the coins in the sea. They caught the coins as nimbly as Xiang Wang got the pearl.⁵²

There are more than ten thousand merchants in this city, mostly from Fujian rather than Guangdong. I had heard of Mr. Xu, a refined person, who had been a captain, and had made lots of money. The native Malaysians were very primitive, they were hardly evolved from apes. The strange birds and small apes were also precious. The high mountains and lofty peaks in the south towered up to the sky. The waterfalls were a dozen or more *zhang* long. It was a pity that I did not have enough time to go to all these scenic spots, even though they were worth visiting.

After the ship had sailed steadily for a few days, the wind subsided and the waves

⁵² Xiangwang alluded to *Zhangzi*. He was the only one who caught the missed pearl of Huangdi. (〈莊子□天地〉:「黃帝游乎赤水之北, 登乎昆倫之丘, 而南望還歸, 遺其玄珠。使知索之而不得, 使離朱索之而不得。使喫詬索之而不得也。及使象罔, 象罔得之。」)

calmed down. Sailing was like staying in a house. Most of the islands I passed were round and covered in forests, thriving without any obstruction. As I had nothing to do on the ship, I opened coconuts to eat. The greenish ones were still tender and had lots of sweet syrup that could relieve thirst and drowsiness. The weather was nice. All the mountains appeared to the south of the ship. Sumatra was where the encircled greenish mountains and towering cyan peaks extended continuously for several hundred *li*.

I commented: The small southeastern states listed in *Zhifang waiji* (An External Record of Cosmography) paid tributes annually to China as a regular practice.⁵³ Since the mid-Ming period, as they were regarded as the gateway to the East, they were occupied by the European countries, which either annexed or picked away at them till none were left as China's vassal states. I happened to speak of this with Beide and we both sighed. It was said that the former chieftains of these countries like Singapore are now used by the British as mere figureheads. How unbearable it is to sigh at such changes.

16. The Buddhist Vestiges in Ceylon

Ceylon, located in the south-eastern part of India, is a large island in the South (Indian) Ocean. Its coastline stretches over a thousand *li*. I reached the port after sailing for five days from Penang, reaching the shore on a small boat. Near the shore, the wind and billows were so fierce that the silvery waves overturned as they crashed onto the rocks, rolling up pearls and splashing out snow, in a way similar to the Guangling tidal waves of the eighth month. Walking along the shore for a few *li*, I arrived at a city and found a particularly spacious hostel. The tower faced directly to

⁵³ *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 is a geography book written by Giulio Alenio (1582-1649, Chinese name 艾略儒) in the late Ming period. 共球 means regulation or practice (法)。(《詩經》〈商頌〉長髮): 「受小球大球，為下國綴旒……受小共大共，為下國駿龐。」王引之《經義述聞》:「球、共皆法也。球讀為掇，共讀為拱。《廣雅》曰:『拱、掇，法也……《詩》共字古本或作拱。』」)

the sea, so I could hear the raucous sound of the waves on my pillow at night. Two Westerners, Beide and Jianwu wanted to stay with me and I agreed with that. We took a lofty carriage and travelled around.

I climbed up a high mountain to visit an ancient monastery. There were four to five monks one side of whose bodies was covered by yellow robes. The size of the monastery was similar to those in China. The statues of Buddha, whether lying, sitting, or standing, all looked solemn. A monk chanted the Buddhist scriptures during the worship. His Sanskrit was so clearly pronounced that I could catch some words. He refused to accept any almsgivings. When I enquired about the vestiges of Buddha, he turned his head away and did not answer me, but when I recited *Dabei zhou* (The Great Pity Mantras), he put his palms together and listened: he seemed to understand my words.

After going downhill, I travelled around the gardens, where so many flowers and trees flourished that the forest had a greenish colour. There were, however, very few visitors. A cool breeze wafted by while I was driving the carriage to the rural areas. I saw Lamas of the Red Cap and Yellow Cap sects walking in the fields in a very relaxed way.

A native who could speak English was my guide. On entering a garden, I saw a boundless scene where men and women, old and young, strolling and sitting, roamed around and enjoyed the dusk view. The guide asked the gardener to pour wine into crystal cups to serve the guests. After one round, he held a silver plate to beg for money. Inside the garden was a hall full of precious articles on which one could feast his eyes. Earlier, I had seen the small monasteries whose stone pillars were carved with lotus blossoms on top of the octagonal columns. In this garden, I again saw the stone pillars carved with Sanskrit. Was such design popular among the people here?

Penetrating into the mountains, I saw flourishing trees and tall bamboos along the path. The scenery was quiet and secluded. There were birds singing sweet and agreeable songs in the forest. I asked my guide about the species of those birds, but he had no idea. As the Buddhist temple was built on the mountain ridge, I had to go

around the mountain in order to climb up there. There was an ancient monastery occupying a hillock on the mountain. It was so desolate that the statue of Buddha had started falling to pieces. The windows and doors were also damaged. Trees were few while moss and lichen spread all over the ground. As for the date of its founding, there were no stele records available for reference. I heard there was a relying Buddha statue, about three *zhang* in length, which could nearly fill a room. Next to it were two enormous statues of respected disciples of Buddha. The temple was located on sandy ground. The hall was narrow and shabby. I did not visit it as it was unremarkable.

I commented: Ceylon was where Buddha was born, and his vestiges were still persevered there.⁵⁴ After Buddhism arrived in China, Fa Xian of the Jin Dynasty, Hui Sheng of the Northern Wei Dynasty and Xuan Zuang of the Tang dynasty all made pilgrimages here. One could still explore their records in *Fouguo Ji*, *Xiyu Ji* etc. In the Yongle period of the Ming dynasty, a eunuch, Zheng He, brought ritual implements and precious flags as almsgivings for the monasteries in Ceylon. I heard that there were also relics of Buddha's body after he entered nirvana. They were worshipped with fragrant flowers. Among Chinese visitors, Zheng He was the only one who could carry out the duty to proclaim the power and might of China. After that, nearly no Chinese had been here. Further afield in Ceylon are places that have been inaccessible to Chinese since the ancient times. Therefore, one could hardly see any Chinese here.

The houses of Ceylon resemble those in Western style, although they are not as tall. Their windows were covered by reed blinds on the outside and installed with rails from inside. Therefore, one definitely could not see the people inside the houses when walking on the avenues. Jianwu wanted to visit the local prostitutes, but I declined his request tactfully. In the shops, there were many pieces of ivories and tortoise shells for sale. They were very expensive even though most of them were

⁵⁴ Buddha was born in north Ancient India which today lies within the territory of Nepal. The source of Wang's information is unknown.

forgeries. I bought a few as presents for others.

Ceylon had castles and forts, guarded by soldiers. There was a governor and a parliament to draw up policies. It was once a strong state with a large population, conquered successively by Portugal and the Netherlands. Then, the British drove them out and occupied the island. Initially, each tribe had its own leader who was elected by the people, but this system was abolished. There are barbarians, believed to be the descendants of the Tibetans, living in the remote areas of the island which most people have not visited. They eat fruit from the trees and meat from cave-dwelling animals, like the ancient people who held fur in their mouths and drank blood. Have they existed since the times of the Buddha? I did not have a clue.

17. A Banquet in Aden

Aden, a spectacular spot, is located at the mouth of the Red Sea. Although it lies in Africa, it originally belonged to Arabia. It was conquered and fortified by the British and became a western gateway to Europe. When the sun shines upon its brownish barren mountains which are bereft of a patch of grass or a tree, they turn red. Because no rain falls throughout the year, water is very precious here. Because meat, grains and vegetables are all imported from other countries the prices are raised to an extraordinarily high level. From Ceylon, one has to travel more than six thousand and four hundred *li*. Without this harbour, it would be impossible to restock coal, water and food. Apart from it, who else would be able to supply weary travellers with all these resources? As the British regarded this place as the only corridor to travel between East and West, it was heavily guarded. Arsenals, coal factories, post offices and restaurants around the harbour towered up in competition with one another. Since it is so close to Arabia, the British built forts. At the end of the mountain ranges are two hills extending to the east and west respectively. The hills are steep, and their rugged and unusual rocks point horizontally towards sea. The ten-*li*-wide gap between the two hills produces a natural harbour. Most western merchants lived close

to the eastern hill. More than two thousand soldiers guarded this place. The Arabians, who are Muslims, are by nature, fierce and cunning, killing people without thinking and they cannot be reasoned with. This was why so many soldiers were stationed here. Although it was the twelfth month, the weather was as hot as in midsummer. Because Aden lies to the south of the Equator, people have black skin, red lips, and their hair is as curly as wild grass.

On entering a very spacious restaurant, two or three servants immediately fanned me. A few western passengers from the same ship as mine pressed me to join their banquet. They gave me the menu and asked me to choose the most delicious food. About a dozen more male and female German musicians who had left their country and were passing through en route to India to become acrobatic performers, on hearing of the banquet played music for us. Their musical instruments were so unusual that I could not put a name to them. When one instrument struck up a tune, all the others would follow. The melody was sometimes impassioned and moving, sometimes sweet and agreeable, sometimes forceful and sonorous, and sometimes it sounded like horsemen sweeping through and mopping up in a battlefield. Suddenly, there was a thunderous crash and all the instruments stopped playing. The musicians stood up and went to our tables to beg for a reward using a silver plate. Some people gave them one or two coins.

Among the women, there was a girl about fourteen or fifteen years old. She was lovely and extraordinarily gorgeous, as charming as the moon and as delicate as flowers. She stared at me and smiled quietly. The other passengers told her, "He is a man of letters from China who knows poetry." The girl became even happier and excitedly asked them to request me to sing a song. I answered, "I cannot sing, however I suggest chanting poems of the past for you to wash away the mundane tunes of those instruments. Is that appropriate?" Others said, "Perfect." I chanted a seven-character regulated poem written by Gao Qingqiu. The pitch of my voice was high and sonorous, resounding like the sound of metal. I received applause from all the audience. Then I told the girl, "You should sing me a song in return." She

suggested playing the *qin* and singing songs, and encouraged me to drink some wine. Both her playing and singing were exquisite, sometimes as clear as tearing a piece of silk, sometimes loud enough to stop the moving clouds. I sat still, listening to it, and felt that my mind was enchanted. All the others said, “Today we have enjoyed a feast for our ears”, especially ordering champagne and treating the musicians to a drink. The girl drank three cups and poured some wine into a cup for me. I drank it in one mouthful. She saw my fan and asked to see the painting and calligraphy on it. She loved it so much that she did not want to put it down, so I gave it to her as a gift. She thanked me wholeheartedly, shook my hands and left. That night, the guests were all wealthy people. They were excited by the wine and were all drunk. When I returned to the ship, it was already twelve o’clock. The clear sea water rippled slightly and a bright moon hung in the sky. The sea and the sky seemed to be the same in all directions.

Aden also has a castle which lies about nine *li* away from the harbour. There were always carriages available, so one could reach the castle quickly. The native people usually use camels for transporting water, in order to avoid suffering from either sunstroke or thirst. The sand was fine and apparently could be rolled up just like pastry, boiled over a fire, and eaten. If this was possible, then the natives would never suffer from famine. How fortunate was this? Aden, however, has the most infertile land, the poorest people and has the most scanty amount of commodities.

I commented: in the past, when the British travelled through the eastern seaway to China, they passed round the Cape of Good Hope. From the reign of Emperor Xianfeng, they started going to the Red Sea via Aden, travelling overland for one hundred and seventy *li*, in order to reach the Mediterranean Sea. The whole journey was several tens of thousands of *li* in total and was a genuine short-cut. As a result, the natural advantage of the Cape of Good Hope is now of no use. Since the opening of the Suez Canal, ships could pass to the east and west directly, and the situation has changed again. I sighed at the volatility of geographical advantages.

18. Stopover at Cairo

After sailing for five to six days from Aden, I had journeyed for about three thousand and eight hundred *li* to Suez, a prominent state in ancient times which now belongs to Egypt. Near the shore was a bright and spacious hostel run by westerners. In the middle of the hall was a large aquarium filled with goldfish, with a fountain which sends water several *zhang* into the air. The fish swam around in a leisurely way. All of the passengers from my ship who came ashore gathered here to sip tea, drink wine and wander freely. Afterwards, some went back to the ship while others found hostels on land. At that time, Jian and Beide had already gone ahead by train, so I went with Xiawen, a secretary in a government department of India, who was hurrying back home after asking for a holiday with his son and daughter who were thirteen or fourteen years old. We were about to enter the Mediterranean Sea, and the climate suddenly became so cold that one needed to put on precious furs. As there was no heater in the hostel, I was shivering even though it was not as cold as outside. The delicacies offered were abundant and clean. After dinner, I fell asleep immediately because of tiredness. As a result, I declined Xiawen's suggestion to visit the city by night.

The next morning, I took a train straight after breakfast. After a slow start, it flew as fast as a nimble bird hurrying into the forest or a fierce wind blowing across a tiny little gap. With the forest and cottages disappearing with just one glance, it was impossible to gaze or observe in detail. The houses in the villages we passed through were mostly made of clay. The sun was now pale yellow and I gradually felt cold. After travelling for a long time, the train stopped by a road where there were a dozen or so shops selling food and wine. Men and women got down from the train one after the other to find a seat and have a drink. After a short while, the train bell rang to call back the passengers, and the train set off again.

I arrived at Cairo, the capital of Egypt, in the afternoon. Outside the city was a large open space, where the hawkers selling different kinds of fruit were mostly female,

with a yellow complexion, similar to the Chinese. However, they veiled their face with white clothing leaving only their eyes uncovered, which seemed to be staring straight at people. This was terrifying. On entering the city, I saw armed soldiers holding weapons lined up on both sides of the road, in accordance with the Western practice. The avenues were densely populated. Although the houses looked shabby, the setup of the hostels was magnificent and the rooms were delicately decorated. The food was especially sumptuous. The two sides of the long tables could seat more than a hundred people. During dining, some Germans came in and played sonorous and rhythmic music.

The city of Cairo lies three hundred and seventy eight *li* from Suez. I ordered a carriage to go around the avenues. After travelling northwest for about twenty *li*, I reached a mountain with a bountiful forest. I visited the surviving remains of the tombs of the ancient Pharaohs. There was a stone cave which one could enter only by hunching one's back. Inside, there was a stone coffin, which produced a deep sound when knocked. There was a magnificent church on the mountain peak with a hall nearly forty *zhang* in height that towered up into the sky. The walls were made of marble, giving off a strange mottled light that was unbearable to look at. An extraordinary crystal light hung in the hall as bright as thousands of candles, illuminating up everything regardless of distance. The guards knelt down in front of the guests and provided them with shoes when they entered the hall. They said that this sacred place should not be entered lightly and one should change shoes. The floor was made of incomparably fine and smooth marble. There were many donkeys here, strong enough to go a long way and were cheap to hire.

To make this excursion, I stopped for three days and waited to transfer to another ship. Then, I rode on a train again and headed for Alexandria which was a harbour of Egypt. From Cairo to Alexandria, one had to travel four hundred and eighty nine *li* overland. The roads and houses I passed through were similar to those of the capital city.

I commented: Egypt is a state whose relics have been famous in the West for a long

time. Owing to the occupation of the Turks, most people here believe in Islam. The Turks appointed their own governors as rulers. The governors, however, rebelled against the Turks and made Egypt an independent state with British help. The state started enlarging its territory and gradually became a strong power regarding the prestigious position it held in ancient times. The south-eastern tip of Suez lies on the shores of the Red Sea while its north-western part is connected with the Mediterranean Sea. It is the neck connecting the two seas. The railway built by the British to transmit documents and carry passengers became a short-cut to travel to the East. Since Ferdinand Vicomte de Lesseps, a Frenchman, built the Suez Canal, gradually fewer and fewer people used the trains. Politics and the people's lives are ever-changing. This made me sigh unbearably.

Westerners regard the Egyptian writings as ancient characters. On examination, British and French scholars have found that most characters were hieroglyphics, similar to ancient Chinese characters. I realised that whether at home or aboard, the Six Rules were always the rationale of written characters.⁵⁵ Later, various miscellaneous academic disciplines have tended to aim at easier solutions, and the rationales of ancient people have disappeared.

19. Passing through France

On leaving Aden, one enters the Red Sea; on leaving Alexandria, one enters the Mediterranean Sea. On the map, both shores of the Red Sea are mountainous, and the sea seems rather narrow. The weather was fine with a warm breeze and the ship was as stable as though it was on a whetstone. After sailing for four to five days, I climbed up the helmsman's tower and saw a boundless sea about five hundred *li* wide. According to legend, during the Shang Dynasty, Moses led the people of Israel

⁵⁵ The Six Rules were mentioned in *Zhouli* 周禮 (The Rituals of the Zhou Dynasty), and Xu Shen's *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (The Explanation of Chinese Etymology), in which Xu Shen 許慎 explained the formation of characters. Further information about each rule can be found in Xu Shen's Preface, in *Shuowen jiezi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), pp. 319-321.

out of Egypt while the Pharaoh (and his troops) chased after them. At the end, Moses and his people walked through the Red Sea. The Pharaoh and his men followed them but were drowned in the waves. To this day, whenever there is rain, the wails of the ghosts could still be heard. The waves on the Mediterranean were fiercer than on the high seas. This is because it was surrounded by islands and the waves swayed and whirled vigorously. The waves were tossing the ship so much that all the passengers could hardly eat anything. All I could do was to lie down.

After sailing for four days, I arrived at the Italian port of Messina. Habitually, ships would anchor for an hour. Gazing into the distance, I could see the accumulated white snow on the northern peaks. The weather suddenly became very cold. Flocks of Italians selling coral reefs gathered here.

The ship embarked at twelve o'clock. It was a sunny day. Looking through a telescope, I saw peaks, competing with one another, ridges, and rugged rocks. Some looked like squatting leopards and crouching lions, and others, having a human shape looked like the five immortals, holding tablets and wearing girdles, standing among the clouds.⁵⁶

Two days later, we arrived at the large French port of Marseille. Until then, I had never seen such a prosperous city with such resplendent buildings. The layout was magnificent. The jade and golden towers all soared up seven or eight floors high. The painted doors and carved fences made people feel that they were in the Milky Way. Not even the gathered clouds or the falling of stars could overshadow those buildings. On the spacious avenues, carriages flowed like water and horses ran like dragons. The traffic was as busy as a weaving machine. The lights were clustered more densely than the stars as if their flames were touching the sky. The luxurious supplies and beautiful furnishings in the hostel were things I had never seen before. When I

⁵⁶ The five immortals are mentioned in Wang Guowei, *Jinben zhushu jinian suo Zheng* 今本竹書紀年疏証 (The Explanation of the extant version of the Bamboo Annuals), compiled in *Ershiwu bieshi* 二十五別史(Histories Other than the 25 Histories) (Jinan : Qi Lu shushe, 2000), p.45. The original reads, “舜等升首山，遵河渚，有五老游焉。蓋五星之精也。”

went out, the carriage had already been prepared. The price was fixed so the drivers would not ask for more. When Xia and I travelled round the city, we saw abundant amounts of goods, enormous numbers of people and busy businessmen. Marseille is famous even among French cities. The staff in a bar where I went to have a drink were all gorgeous young ladies, aged between sixteen and seventeen. They were as sweet as flowers, and their eyes were as seemed to ripple charmingly. When they found out that I came from China, they all wanted to ask me questions. They admired my ornamented clothing so much that they nearly wanted to take them off and examine them. After a short while, a girl brought over a silver tray with eight crystal cups. Inside the cups was red wine, with the colour of amber. I said, “This is what was called ‘fine grape wine in a luminous cup’.”⁵⁷ The girl gave me a cup and pressed me to drink. I drank it in one mouthful and said to my self, “This is how she treats the guest with food and drinks. I should also not forget the rituals of social engagement.” Therefore, I ordered a waiter to bring me wine. The girl had great drinking capacity and finished several cups of wine.

Late that night, I took a train, travelling eight hundred and forty seven *li* before arriving at Lyon at eleven o’clock. Gazing from the train window, I saw lights like a myriad of stars shining as bright as daylight. The train did not have time to stop, but whirled on. At noon, I arrived at Paris, the capital of France. Its prosperous atmosphere and spectacular set up were incomparably greater than Lyon’s. Men holding halberds with red hats and black trousers, stood sternly and erect by the sides of the roads. No one dared to make any noise. Marseille was more than one thousand eight hundred *li* away from Paris. However, I arrived at Paris within fourteen to sixteen hours.⁵⁸ The trains were as fast as gales and lightning.

⁵⁷ Wang Han’s 王瀚 “Liangzhou ci” 涼州詞 (The Song Of Liangzhou) mentioned about the grape wine and illuminous cups. The original reads, “葡萄美酒夜光杯，欲飲琵琶馬上催。醉臥沙場君莫笑，古來征戰幾人回。” In *Quan Tang shi*, p.1605.

⁵⁸ The original text is 7 to 8 hours which should be the Chinese hours. The Chinese divided a day into 12 hours, therefore 1 Chinese hour equals to 2 hours in the West.

I commented: I passed through Italy from Alexandria. In Italy, there were many volcanoes. It was amazing to watch an eruption of fire from a distance even at night. Messina had continuous lights at night, its mountains and lakes had the same colour as daytime. I found its scenery remarkable. It is most enjoyable to see the vast amount of mist at the port of Marseille. Coffee shops in France were as many as stars gathered in the sky or chessmen placed on a board. From eight to two o'clock every night, men would come to have a drink. Courtesans would also come to tout for customers. Men and women laughed and flirted with one another in a happy atmosphere, rarely quarrelling with one another. "Among the mulberry trees and upon the River *Pu* where lovers plucked peonies and orchids presenting them to one another as gifts."⁵⁹ This proves that France has licentious customs. Britain, however, is different, perhaps because it still preserved the ancient traditions. Some say that in Paris, people who lived at the Madeleine or on the Avenue Italie employed young girls as their servants. The philandering young men would engage with them. This was, however, not a fixed rule, since servants employed elsewhere were all men. After embarking from Hong Kong, I arrived at Marseille in France after about forty days. If I had passed through Germany, then I might have reached my destination two days earlier.

20. An Overview of the Scenic Spots of Paris

The French capital, Paris, is a great European metropolis. Its large population, spectacular palaces, prosperous residential areas and beautiful gardens are the best at this moment in time and no other cities can compare. There are more than a million inhabitants, and it is defended by thirty thousand soldiers of the army who patrol street by street, standing solemnly and silently. Moreover, there are also policemen who pass to and fro as frequently as the shuttle of a loom. They stand on the left side

⁵⁹ River Pu and mulberry trees are symbols of dating mentioned in the *Shijing*. River Pu and mulberry trees are located in the Wei 衛 State where young people like dating with one another.

of the road, all of them looking magnificent. The hotels are spacious, six to seven floors high, with painted columns and carved ridges shining in gold and jade colours. Coffee shops on Rue Madeleine and Avenue D'Italie are numerous as the stars in the sky or chessmen laid out on a board. From eight to two o'clock every night, men come out to drink. Prostitutes would also come in groups, and were unconcerned with fickle talk and philandering. A client who found a prostitute with whom he was pleased could ask her for the price. This was not different from paying a little bit of money to look at Xishi in a Wu market. The roads are level and clean. Whenever the tar coated road is in the least bit uneven, craftsmen mend it instantly. The sound of running carriages continues throughout the night. The most impressive edifice in the capital is the palace. Its gate is next to the street and has towers hanging like a bird's wings from which a *ten-zhang* flag could be suspended. All carriages must pass through the gate. Inside are luxurious and bushy trees. Going further, inside are encircled ponds. Inside the iron gate is a restricted area which people cannot enter. If the king is residing in the palace, a flag is hung. If he is away in official business, there is no flag. Anyone wishing to visit the palace must wait until the king has gone. He should first go to see the consul from his own country and ask for a letter of reference. If the letter is accepted, normally he can go in and pay his respects. Near to the palace is where the rich merchants live and the big shops located. The layout was magnificent with wine shops and restaurants as numerous as the teeth of a comb. When customers go in and order food, the staff carry out the order immediately. In the city centre, the roads are wide and extend in all directions. Every few *li*, there is an open space surrounded by an iron fence, each one about a hundred *mu*, and planted with trees providing much shade. Visitors can also enter these parks to take a rest. Owing to the regulation of fresh air, inhabitants here seldom fall sick.

Paris is superior to all other places when it comes to storing books and appreciating artefacts as the French pay particular attention to reading. The abundance of books is unmatched by any other country. There are thirty five big buildings for storing books, and countless number of famous books and obscure compilations, all written in

Western characters, except for the Institut de France which has thirty thousand Chinese books, including the Classics, history, philosophy and literature. My friend Dr. Stanislas Julien (1797-1873) was in charge of this place. Although, Julien has never visited China, he is the leading scholar for the research of Chinese texts, and translating and promoting the Confucian Classics in France.

The museums were divided into different subjects, such as fauna, flora, manufacturing, machinery, antiques and famous paintings. The museums would search and collect things widely in order to fill out their collection. Although it is not the only museum in the capital, the Louvre is particularly famous with lofty halls and spectacular towers, its appearance is extraordinarily magnificent. When I visited the gallery, I saw several girls came in and started painting. Some producing sketches of sculptures and engravings, others producing full coloured works with an original and refreshing hue. On looking at the paintings closely, I found that the copies looked just as real. A girl aged only fifteen or sixteen had drawn six to seven landscapes with greenish colours different in density and perspective. Her works had a natural appeal. I lavished praise on her works there and then. As she was acquainted with my guide, she gave one of her paintings to me. I was very grateful.

One night, my guide and I went to watch a shadow play. On this occasion, more than a thousand people came. My seat was near to the front so I had the clearest view. All the landscapes, characters, towers and houses appeared in an instant. This was more vivid, novel and mysterious that I could ever have imagined. They showed capitals of every country, beautiful gardens and pavilions, lovely flowers and trees, and the misty coastal areas, all of which looked as though they were real. Moreover, there were lofty, majestic government offices of each country. I felt as if I was standing in those offices. The crystal palace of Paris was so spacious, gorgeous and multi-coloured that I could hardly look straight at it. Other things, such as the majestic towers and monasteries, shining pavilions and terraces, all had bright windows and beautiful doors. Even the tiniest was shown on the screen and the farthest just appeared before one's eyes. What were particularly remarkable were the

high mountain ridges of the Roman Empire and Arabia. There were layers of pointed hills and piled up flat peaks that they seemed to be the most perilous place in the world. It was fair to say they were truly spectacular. Other than these, the flying birds and running beasts also had strange appearances and mysterious behaviours. Some have lived since ancient times, while others originated from other places. I could not name them all. After watching the show, I felt my journey to Europe has not been in vain.

21. Vestiges of Paris

There are many vestiges of the former king Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) in Paris. Travellers who come here are still eager to see evidence of his outstanding achievements and eminent prestige. There was an Egyptian column, sixteen or seventeen *zhang* high and eight to nine *zhang* wide with a narrow top and a flat base. The four faces of the column were carved with Egyptian hieroglyphics that had cracked and become illegible. This was a relic of three thousand years of history, previously excavated by the Egyptians who regarded it as precious. Eighty years ago, the King of France attacked and occupied Egypt. When the French entered Cairo, they saw this rugged stone towering up. They loved it so much that they shipped it back to France on an enormous battleship at great cost. Passing through the Mediterranean Sea, it reached Paris, where it was placed on a main road, and a pavilion was built next to it. It seems to tower up to the Milky Way. The pavilion is known as the Egyptian Obelisk. I went up to the column, touched and examined it. The hieroglyphics looked like clouds. As the ancient people of China used clouds to make records and name officials, were the Egyptians also the descendents of Huang Di?⁶⁰ It was a pity that no able person has made ink rubbings from the column,

⁶⁰ There is a legend that when Huang Di became emperor, there were auspicious clouds. Therefore, Huang Di used clouds to make records and name officials. See Du Yu's 杜預 *Zuozhuan Zhushu Buzheng* 左傳注疏補正 (Annotations and Corrections of the Explanations of Master Zuo), Vol. 2

carried them back to China, and let those with in-depth knowledge about the past examine them.

In the past, the King of France formed an army and went to war with other European countries. He subdued all his enemies and almost succeeded in creating a united Europe. He melted the cannons captured in previous battles to build a high, spacious, magnificent and solid room of iron, the like of which has never been seen in the past. The walls, windows, rafters, pillars and columns are all made of iron. This lofty iron room is delicately and meticulously carved with plants and animals, and surrounded by an iron fence, with more than a thousand crowns strung out in a line. Some of the crowns were woven with silk of different colours. These were presents from French women. According to Western customs, coronation is recognition of one's contribution. Crowns were hung here to mark Napoleon's contribution and recall the toil of the soldiers. This was a declaration that without the endeavour of the soldiers, it would have been impossible to achieve victory in battle and to capture so many enemies' armaments. The room was known as the Les Invalides and was also located on a main road.

When it comes to the largest edifice built by the king of France, nothing beats L'Arc De Triomphe. Next to it is a piece of spacious open land, stretching no less than five hundred *zhang* long in every direction. The tower is square-shaped with a cross passage. In the middle, pedestrians can walk underneath and it is wide enough for carriages to pass through. It is encircled by an iron fence. Although there are several doors through which it is possible to climb up, they are usually locked. A watchtower was built especially for the junior servicemen, who kept the keys. The doors were opened every Thursday for visitors to go inside. The foundations and walls which tower up more than twenty *zhang* high are all made of rigid and solid stones, having an erect and lofty appearance. Each carved character is five inch wide, narrating wars and annexations. Nearly all the walls were carved with words; the walls are all inlaid

(Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1963), p. 12. The original records, “昔者黃帝氏以雲紀，故為雲師而雲名。”

《注》：「黃帝受命有雲瑞，故以雲紀事，百官師長皆以雲為名號。」

with reddish gold. It is shiny and spectacular, truly a mighty work. Intellectuals from other countries passing through Paris are always pleased to visit, read and chant the paragraphs. They wandered around and are loath to leave. They praise the achievements of military power and pity the brevity of the reputations. The tower is known as the L'Arc De Triomphe.

At that time, an English guide accompanied me on a visit to an old courtyard, known as a "museum", specializing in collecting antiques, including wood, stones, gold, jade, calligraphy, paintings and artefacts, some of which can be traced back to three thousand years ago while others have a history of just a few hundred years. From this information, one could imagine that the layout and size of this museum is large enough to be of assistance to an archaeologist. Next to the museum is an old Roman palace. Although in ruins, some parts have been preserved. The stone statues of men and beasts have majestic figures and look very real. This was also remarkable.

That day was warm with a clear breeze. I went to visit Dr. Stainislas Julien. A doctor in France is equivalent to an academician of the Imperial Academy of China. He was in charge of the Institut de France. The library had thirty thousand Chinese books with an index of three *juan*. Julien was studious and interested in studies of the past: he worked on the Chinese Classics single-mindedly. Even though he had never been to China, he had already translated many Chinese books. He was pleased to see me, shaking my hands, kissing me and greeting me like an important guest. Julien knew Chinese characters and loved to communicate ideas through writing. Because that day the guide acted as a translator, I did not need to resort to my pen as means of communication. Julien, who was a Jew was nearly sixty years old. His only daughter had recently died at the age of sixteen. Her portrait was hung in his study. She had cyan eyes and long eyebrows. She was as pretty as flowers and as charming as the moon. I, not knowing her identity, pointed at the portrait and asked Julien. His tears trickled down in his grief in spite of the time that had passed.

After leaving Julien, I went to visit the Bois De Boulogne. Flowing streams circled around and the beautiful trees were flourishing. Women visitors were numerous as

clouds in the sky. The scenery was so pure and enchanting that one could entertain his eyes and allow the mind to ramble. I felt the idyllic wonder of travelling.

22. Watching Drama in Paris

In Paris, there are many squares worth visiting, including Bolishi and Zanshiyi, both of which were spectacular sights located in famous districts.⁶¹ Bolishi is located at a strategic point of the city, with an enormous bridge to the south and an avenue to the north. The palace is located on the west side and the cathedral towers up at the northern end. It is truly a mighty site in the city. Zanshiyi is very spacious, occupying approximately four to five square *li*, the east side narrow and the west broad. It is shaped just like a bamboo basket gradually opening out to the west. There is a street running through the middle of the square with trees planted on both sides, so there is green all around. Theatres and concert halls are located within this area. During the daytime, there is busy traffic, and at night the raucous sound of music. Frivolous noblemen and those looking for a courtesan are fond of visiting this place. Even though they might have to spend a heap of money for a night, they are not stingy.

Whenever it comes to festival time, the whole country loves to watch famous plays. Men and women gather together and compete with one another to be the first to watch the plays, because they all love entertaining and interesting dramas. There is a famous place for showing drama called the 'Theatre'.⁶² Adding up all the seats, it could accommodate thirty thousand people. Except for big festivals, the theatre is seldom full. Some plays recount history, while others, about immortals and devils, are mysterious and unimaginable. Although the scenery and buildings are just pictures which could be changed within a second, they look very realistic. There are two to three hundred actors and actresses in one troupe; some larger groups even had

⁶¹ Bolishi could be Berger while Zanshiyi could be Avenue des Champs Elysees, according to Wang Tao's description.

⁶² This might refer to the Theatre Nationale in Paris.

four to five hundred. Their costumes, with beautiful and strange styles and patterns, were colourful and shiny. All the actresses had beautiful faces and figures. When they were on the stage, their half-naked breasts and shoulders were lit up. Their clothes were all light and bright and were thinner than the dress of immortals. Their skin was white and their faces as pretty as flowers. When dancing, their postures were similar to those seen in the Dance of Rainbow Robe and Feather Coat.⁶³ The scene was embellished by colourful flowers falling like rain and fragrant fog. It was so bizarre and variegated that one could not look directly at it. I almost suspected that the immortal Buxu had left her palace and landed in the realm of mankind. Alternatively, this was also similar to a beauty standing on a flower within an ocean of lotus flowers. She looked solemn, yet kind, and her light shone upon people. At that moment, all the audience clapped their hands to show their appreciation. This was really an incredible scene. A British tourist took me to watch it and we sat in the front, so we could see everything clearly. Our eyes and minds were enchanted and we thought it was the best play we had ever seen.

Apart from the one I watched, there are about four other types of plays. One is called magic show.⁶⁴ The performers can put large things into small containers, and create out of nothing. They can also make birds, reptiles and fish go out of their cages instantaneously and continuously. Their various skills look magical. In other

⁶³ The Dance of Rainbow Robe and Feather Coat is a famous dance music composed by the Emperor Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗. The dance is believed to have been preformed by his concubine, Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環. The story is told in Cheng Hong's *Changhenge Zhuan* 長恨歌傳 (An Biography of the Everlasting Sorrow). Appended in Bai Juyi's "Everlasting Sorrow", where, the line reads, "驚破霓裳羽衣曲". In *Complete Works of the Tang Poetry*, p. 4820.

⁶⁴ *Banyan* 搬演 in the context of traditional Chinese drama refers to an acrobatic performance which was popular in the Song Dynasty. The square for entertainment is called *Wazi* 瓦子, inside each *Wazi* are several *Goulan* 勾欄 (stage). *Banyan* refers to the stage performance. More details can be found in Nai Dewong's *耐得翁 Ducheng Jisheng* 都城紀勝 (Spectacular Views of the Capital City), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987). Obviously, Wang Tao is not referring to this kind of performance, instead he uses the word *ban* 搬 (to move) to show the motion involved in the magic shows.

performances, a broken cloth is rejoined to make it the same as before, the performers free themselves instantaneously after being tied up by ropes, swallow knives, spit fire, walk on a rope or on walls: all of these acts need ingenious refined skills and extreme courage.

The second one is shadow play. Performers need a stained glass window and light from a big mirror. The characters are vivid and all their expressions and postures can be clearly seen. Gardens, forests, water, rocks, houses, mountains and rivers are all real scenery instead of fake. The sun, the moon and stars are also shining as though the audience are inside the Milky Way. How ingenious!

The third type is circus performance. The performers are mostly young men and women who are nimble and light. They wear white clothes and long dresses, and ride on fast running horses. They can jump back and forth across the backs of the horses. The audience are amazed when the performers jump over two fast running horses with one leap. The most miraculous performance is when they jump up high from the horse's back through twenty paper hoops. Initially, there are dozens of paper hoops covered by thin layers of hanging paper. Even flying swallows soaring into the wind or immortals floating in the air are incomparable to them. Some can throw balls as big as a *dou*. The spinning balls look like the one that Yiliao played with: a bizarre and colourful sight.⁶⁵ The audience's minds are captured by such mysterious performances.

The last type of performance is dancing. Young beauties, with just half of their body covered, hold flowers in their hands and dance together. There are rules regulating their speed and steps. Sometimes, pairs of boys and girls dance together. They express their feelings through their eyes and this is very lovely and worth watching. Some dances are like the tactical deployment of troops, while others are like continuous circus performance or the dance of Tianmo. So many remarkable postures

⁶⁵ Xiong Yiliao 熊宜僚 was a brave man of Chu 楚 in the Spring and Autumn period. A Chu nobleman Sheng 勝 invited him to assist his enemy, Zixi 子西. At that time, Yiliao played with the ball on his hand and declined the job. This helped to reconcile Sheng and Zi Xi.

and a great variety of dances are demonstrated that the audience do not have time to see everything. Under the stage sit dozens of musicians. The music uses all the notes and is sonorous and harmonious. Sometimes it is similar to the music of Heaven, or the forceful shout of a Chinese alligator or a whale, and is deafening. At other times, the music is harmonious and melodious, soft and very moving. Both styles are enjoyable to hear.

On arriving at Paris, I saw a new theatre under construction which already looked extraordinarily grand. Its architecture was so beautiful that no other theatre could be compared to it. It has been under four years of construction and is still not finished. One could imagine how spectacular it would be when it was completed.

23. A Spectacular View of the Louvre Museum

Paris has many museums, the most famous of which is known as the Louvre. The museum has lofty towers and delicate ornamentation which no other museum can match. Inside the museum one can find all kinds of things. The collected items are categorized into different subjects so that the objects placed in each room are not mixed up. The museum has collected items from far and wide, the aim being to possess the most comprehensive collection of the finest works in the world, and any valuable item regardless of its size. All of them are extraordinary. What I saw were really the world's most splendid artefacts. I will give a brief description to show how the museum was.

1. Fauna: The museum collects all specimens of birds, animals, reptiles, fish as well as their bones, horns, fur, skin and teeth. I had never seen such valuable and strange things. Before this, I did not realise the incalculable number of things Heaven could create.
2. Flora: Many kinds of plants have been collected from near and far, from both tropical and temperate regions. Whenever a remarkable or a strange plant is discovered, the museum will try its best to get it, not to show off, but to broaden

people's knowledge.

3. **Objets D'Art:** This section is divided into two categories according to their history. The ancient artefacts, such as cups, bowls, vases and pots had beautiful patterns and gave out bright reflections, so colourful that they dazzled one's eyes. Others like ancient ceramics and bronze items had different colours, and were made of pure materials which could not be matched by recently made copies. There are also delicately carved and designed artefacts made of ivory and spiral shells. Furthermore, there are elegant pieces of jewellery for women, all of which are put into glass boxes to ensure the best protection. Each item has a caption indicating its age, name and the craftsman's name so that all visitors can to understand straightaway what they are looking at. The modern artefacts, including various kinds of precious stones and objects found in mountains and oceans are also most remarkable. It is impossible to count how many valuable artefacts there are. Even the most precious pearls could not be compared with this collection.⁶⁶
4. **Famous paintings:** The paintings were all drawn by famous artists. The colour and intensity of the paintings were not confined to one style. The painters drew what they were good at; therefore, no matter whether mountain, river, flower, bird, human, or tower, all looked miraculous. All the paintings had been bought from other countries regardless of their age, even though it might cost a huge amount of money for just a small piece of drawing. Looking at those paintings, I

⁶⁶ Wang uses the phrase “火齊木難” which are the names of precious pearls to represent valuable objet d'art. 火齊 is mentioned in Ban Gu's “Xidu fu”西都賦 (A Rhapsody of the West Capital). The original reads, “翡翠火齊，流耀含英” and Li Xian 李賢 explained 火齊 as pearls, he said, “火齊，珠也”. Recorded in Xiao Tung 蕭統 compiled, Li Xian annotated, *Wenxuan* 文選 (The Selected Literary Works) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1990), p. 25. As for 木難, it is first mentioned in Cao Zhi's 曹植 “Meinu pian” 美女篇 (A Writing of a Beauty). The original reads, “明珠交玉體，珊瑚間木難”. Li Shan explained 木難 by quoting the *Nan Yue zhi* 南越志 (Gazetteer of Southern Yue), suggesting 木難 is a cyan pearl made from the saliva of a golden-winged bird. The original reads, “木難，金翅鳥沫所成，碧色珠也，大秦國珍之”. In *Wen xuan*, p. 392.

realized that they displayed the most magical skills of drawing. The idea behind Western paintings is to resemble the object, with the emphasis on drawing the exact object rather than its spirit. The paintings are so detailed that some look like drawings from the Northern Song Dynasty. When looked at from afar, the characters and towers are all raised up, looking extremely real. Critics throughout history always say that it is easier to draw from one's imagination than from looking at a real object. Thus, one should not undervalue Western paintings. There was a gallery for selling paintings. Visitors were allowed to go in and painted copies of famous paintings. If one liked a certain painting, he could buy it at a high price.

5. Machines: This included all artificial things. The museum stored the items regardless of their price or size. If the artefact is creative and original, the museum will immediately buy it, put it on display and publicise the name of the inventor to show his contribution. This was similar to the Chinese tradition *wule gongming* (the craftsman's name is carved on his artefacts). According to the rules of the Western countries, whenever a craftsman invents something original, he can inform the government after he has completed making it. The relevant government department would issue a certificate to allow him to make and sell the artefact. He is granted a franchise, and others are prohibited from copying his work. This expires only after many years. This is an excellent law. Some machines were as big as boats and vessels, whereas others were small. Among the machines displayed, there were long, short, sharp and blunt ones. Also, there were various types of armour and weapons collected from other countries, which accounted for the difference in styles. For instance, the museum had collected all kinds of weapons used by American Indians, natives of Australia and ancient Singaporeans, including bows, arrows, swords, halberds, knives and cudgels: I am unable to list all the items I saw. All visitors show their appreciation and display their amazement after seeing all these things. How fortunate for me, a bohemian from a remote area, to be able to visit the museum!

My guide, Biman, was a British traveller and a friend of Xia. He was also acquainted with some French missionaries. He took me to visit a monastery where the halls were clean and the rules were strict. This was where the nuns meditated. The French called the virgins who were dedicated to religion ‘nuns’. Inside the monastery was a bishop who was responsible for explaining the religious classics. There were set times for them to read aloud the classics. All the nuns wore a cross in front of their chest. Outside the monastery were some small shops selling all kinds of crosses made of ivory, horn, bronze and wood. Close by is a museum for storing machine plans. It was said that this place was once also part of the monastery.

There was another museum called Muxili which had five rooms and was spacious and lofty. It specialized in collecting French weapons throughout the ages. In ancient battles, soldiers wore armour, as the only weapons they could use were knives, spears, bows and arrows. All these weapons were abandoned after the use of guns was taken up. I am not sure whether the cannons of France were inspired by the Chinese ones. After observing all the weapons displayed there, I understood the evolution of weapons, and the strengths and weaknesses of military strategies.

24. Visiting the New Museum in Paris

I was inspired and enchanted after visiting the Louvre. Biman said, “Have you visited the new museum?” I answered, “Not yet.” He said, “It is a pity that you came too late to see the big festival and the special exhibition. Let me tell you what happened so that you can imagine what it was like.” Thereafter, we took a carriage there. After entering the museum, I saw an open area, as large as several hundred *gong*, so spacious that I could gaze into the distance without any obstacles. The guide said, “This is the place for training troops, especially in marching.” The emperor of France wanted to show off his enthusiasm for military force even when he was relaxing. One can imagine his war-like nature.

The halls, towers, pavilions, terraces, houses and waterside pavilions through which I passed were all of different styles and shape. There were dozens of lofty buildings

with carved stones which looked exceptionally solid. These beautiful rooms had underground sewage channels which could drain away excess water from a sink in an instant. The highest towers were as high as the sky, with carved doors and crystal windows. They were so secluded that even the clouds and stars in the sky could not match them. There was a garden outside the museum, with hundreds of kinds of plants, including famous flowers and tall, big trees creating a dense green canopy. Walking under the canopy makes one forget about the summer heat. I said, "If I were to visit here in the sixth month, I would come here to find relief from the heat." Biman guided me through the rest of the museum where there were groups of towers and rooms. Some were so secluded that I had to take a long and winding route to reach them, which made my feet feel tired. On entering the rooms, I saw many doors which led I knew not where. I felt lost just as in a maze that I was unable to get out of. The ingenious and luxurious architecture was beyond compare in the world. There is no other building as gorgeous and lofty as this.

Finished in 1867, this museum, which took two to three years to build specially for the World Exhibition, exhausted the creative minds and the finances of France. Although thousands of workers were employed on a daily basis, it was still not enough. The French started building it in 1864, and finished in 1867. When it was opened, French people and foreign businessmen were allowed to visit the museum for free. Biman had been there several times to see all its specialities.

The esteemed French envoy to Beijing established a section for the display of precious items in the museum. People who possessed remarkable artefacts could become members and be exempted from tax. Therefore, people with precious things would come from far and wide, resulting in an extremely beautiful collection. At that time, emperors of various European countries, such as Russia, Prussia and Turkey, all came and appreciated the artefacts at will. On this occasion, one could see delicate and amazing trifles and enjoy the visit. It is fair to say that it was a grand assembly. Inside the museum are arrayed unusual items of the world, some of which I could not even name. The French emperor appointed a special official responsible for

observing the finest parts and defects of all the artefacts and making an appraisal of each item. Thereafter, the emperor used the appraisals to decide what amount to award the donors. The results were posted on a wooden board inscribed with the contributors' names outside the museum. At the presentation ceremony, an official would read the names on the wooden board and each contributor would come up when called. If one was in the list, he would become very famous; therefore people were proud to be the award recipients. The artefacts owned by the French emperor were, certainly, in the list. However, he could not award himself. Therefore, the prince accepted the award on his behalf. The emperor displayed his great happiness in spite of his best intentions to remain aloof. Thereafter, so many visitors came that they blocked roads. Only after nearly a hundred days did the number of visitors become fewer.

I heard that a Cantonese, leading a troupe of actors and actresses, had come here. Their flags were bright and colourful, and their clothes beautiful. Their plays enchanted the audience and they made lots of money every day. I asked Biman, "Have you seen it?" Biman answered, "I was on the point of mentioning this. One day, when I was travelling with James Legge, we met a Cantonese who either knew Legge or had been his student. Legge said to him, 'You have studied the Classics. Why are you now doing things like this? Is this an appropriate job for you? Are you not afraid of being laughed at by people from your hometown?' The man was embarrassed and could not speak a word. In a blink of eye, a French duke bought all the clothes in the troupe which cost many thousands.

Biman had a younger sister named Meili who was teaching French girls English in Paris. One evening, she invited me to attend a reception in her school. She had about twenty students, all of whom were about sixteen to seventeen years old. They were clever and graceful, and were as pretty as autumn chrysanthemums and spring orchids; each was beautiful in a different way. They asked me to write them each a poem and regarded it as a precious treasure. They played instruments and sang for me. We enjoyed ourselves. It was already midnight by the end of the reception.

25. A Carnival of Swings

During the ten days that I spent with Xiawen, we exhausted all the tourist attractions in Paris. I was thinking of crossing the English Channel to Britain when my guide, Biman came and persuaded me to stay for one more day. He was so friendly that he arranged a hurried farewell dinner for me at Flying Eagle Restaurant which was renowned for its delicacies. After being seated, a succession of dishes was presented. I simply loved the different dishes in spite of not knowing their names. There were also various types of wine, all of which were sweet and pure, and were not inferior to the finest Chinese wine. While we were drinking happily, I received a piece of paper inviting me to visit a carnival of swings. Biman jumped up and said, "I have found a reason to ask you to stay longer. In 1865, there was a swing show which was regarded as a great carnival. There has been no match for it in the last 10 years. This marvellous view can now be seen again."

The following afternoon, we took a carriage there. All the performers were Germans. In the middle of the spacious arena was an area planted with grass, stretching out like a luxurious green carpet. As the land was flat, swings could be placed there. Behind was a tall and lofty restaurant as shiny and as high as the sky, in which musically talented women sang in choirs. On the highest floor hung three flags, one red, one black and one yellow, interspersed with a company flag and a Swiss flag.

The weather that day was sunny with a warm and gentle breeze. The theatre was crowded with so many men and women, that their hairpins and dresses brushed against one another, and their shoes interlaced with one another. There were over a hundred performers, old and young, all Germans, extremely nimble and energetic. There were no less than one to two thousand workers in the troupe. Once the audience had assembled, a few performers immediately walked to the front of the stage with flags, greeting the audience, and thereafter came the performance. The actors and actresses were costumed when they entered the stage. They climbed onto

the swings and hovered above, demonstrating their supreme skills. Singers in the restaurant sang in a choir, their voices so loud that it seemed as though they could stop the moving clouds. Their songs were melodious and rhythmic, with different tones, speeds and rhythms. At every moment were enchanting sounding songs and beguiling dances. The atmosphere was similar to enjoying fine weather and a cool breeze which truly made people happy.

At first, a certain Frenchman, Lang Kesi, skilled at swinging, offered his name card and expressed his willingness to join the Germans upon arrival. A German said, "You and I are competing in our skills with each other as though we were enemies, especially as what we have learnt is similar. It would be more suitable for us to perform on different days. If we divide our performances, we can each play to our best. If we play together, it would seem like you copying me, which will be unimpressive. We should each do our utmost to vie for supremacy: this will enchant the eyes of the audience." Although the Frenchman accepted his suggestion on the surface, he did not agree in heart. When watching the performance, he seemed to look down upon the Germans at first. Later, when he saw they were competing to swing higher and higher with one another, demonstrating outstanding skills, he joined the others in applauding, regarding it as the best performance he had ever seen. There was too much for him to take in. At that time, there were no fewer than several thousand people, all of them showing their admiration and happiness. When the music and dance stopped, all the audience raised their hands, took off their hats and showed their appreciation. There were security staff in the theatre, so any trouble-makers could be sorted out. Because the audience that day had good traditional manners, and there were no disruptive elements around watching the performance, the security staff did not need to be on guard. A Frenchman told his friends, "Although these are just physical skills, it looks like miracles. Such a marvellous view has not been seen in recent years."

In the evening, the French performed plays, which were strange and motley with many different changes, but all of them were enchanting. Lang Kesi who was the

best student of He Ting, was very clever and good at guessing. He was also good at magic and sleight of hand. Owing to his nimble hands, one could not guess how he did the magic. His sister, named Luling, was gorgeous and attractive, and was able to guess the origin of an object held by an audience while her eyes were covered by a piece of cloth. Luling could tell when the coin was made and its size when an audience held a token in his hands and showed it to the others. She was successful in every guess. I deliberately held a coin of Emperor Tongzhi to test her. She said, "This token is made of bronze and is recently made. The characters on the token are unknown to me. I am afraid this is not a token made by a Western country." How incredible!

The next day, I set off from Paris at ten o'clock and went to Calais by a train that was so fast that I arrived at four o'clock. After boarding the ship, it sailed right away. At that time, the weather was stormy with a strong and chilling wind. The ship tossed so severely that more than half of the passengers started vomiting. I disembarked after arriving at Dover in Britain, and my hat was blown into the water. Others competed with one another to help me get it back. Thereafter, I took a train and reached London, the capital of Britain, at six o'clock.

26. A Short Rest in London

When I arrived at London, it was already 6 o'clock in the evening, the sun hid behind the hills and crows gathered on the trees. I went to a hostel by carriage. Looking out from the carriage, I saw many thousands of house lights as dense as stars in the sky. This was truly one of the world's most densely populated cities. My hostel on the Oxford Street had seven floors and was extraordinarily beautiful and spacious. Luggage of its guests were placed in a small room and transported up by a machine. When I went out for, I saw the avenues were clean and the houses lofty. Carriages and horses rushed like a shuttle of a weaving machine. There were many people and carriages all the day long. In the evening, the lights were as bright as daylight making it a luminous city where night would never fall.

At that time, James Legge was still in the northern part of Britain, on his way to meet

me. Therefore, I stayed in London for a while, waiting for him. As a result, I went out visiting every day, reading books in universities, and enjoying the precious artefacts in famous museums. I observed machines with remarkable functions and searched for the essence of science. I was instructed by the people-in-charge of the places I visited. Whenever they had questions, my guide would translate my opinions right away. It was as if we were talking, sometimes, even debating with each other. All of them thought that I was clever and knowledgeable.

In the northern part of England is a very famous university named Oxford, attended by thousands of students coming from all over the world. All the final year students wore square hats and long robes with long sleeves that made them look graceful and elegant. Every year, the students were assessed, with distinctions awarded to the best ones. Before the award presentation ceremony, there would be a speech delivered in the hall. The head of the university invited me to give a speech in Chinese. I talked about how Chinese and Westerners started communicating with one another. “In the past, Queen Elizabeth sent people to Yue and started trading with the East. Later, Thomas George Staunton became the first British official to learn Chinese, setting an example for those coming to China. China is located in the eastern region of Asia whereas Britain is on the western frontier of Europe. The two countries are more than seventy thousand *li* apart. Three hundred years ago, there were no British coming to China, and thirty years ago, there were no Chinese coming to Britain. Nowadays, however, people can cross the oceans as simply as crossing rivers and visit central China as easily as walking in their living rooms. This is for no other reason than the harmonious relationship between the two states which I hope will be even better in the future so that the two states can enjoy mutual prosperity together. You are the students of your state and are about to graduate. Those who have already got their degrees or have good results are the best students. You are young and have great aspirations. You are knowledgeable and possess good writing skills. These will make you valuable to your state. After you have graduated, you will work for society. You can, on the one hand, serve the state, and on the other hand, preach the sagely

wisdom. This must have a good impact on China and is what I look forward to.” At that moment, all the people in the hall clapped their hands and stamped their feet so loud that the walls were shaken.

Most of the older graduates would be chosen by the state to become officials and sent to India and China to act as translators. They asked me the difference between the Dao of Confucius and the Western Dao. I answered, “The Dao of Confucius is the Dao of mankind. It exists as people exist. As long as there are people, there will be the Dao of Confucius. Those who preach the Western Dao which originates in Heaven must make it accessible. If one has not tried his best, it will be impossible for him to plead to Heaven for good fortune. Therefore, it is still related to people. The Dao of Heaven is not owned by any country, but is a universal truth. If we look for differences, we will only see differences, even though they share similarities, and vice versa. There is a wise saying that a sage in the East has the same mind and thoughts as a sage in the West. In short, Dao is the Great Unity.” Those asking the question all agreed with me.

A studio in London invited to take photos of me: these were hung in the studio. The studio presented me with twelve copies and I wrote two poems on the back of them.

My body is thrown to a place of many oceans away from home.

Who will feel pity for a person fleeing abroad?

My appearance changes as years go by.

I do not look like myself now.

I still wish to serve the state as long as I live.

Because of my strong will, I will never give up.

What can I, a grown up man, do for the state?

I can only listlessly watch the setting sun and feel depressed.

How can I prove that everything that was happened to me was predestined?

I cannot shy away but rely on other people.

When I am still alive, I am controlled by my body.

I cannot forget my family to the day I die.

Time passes all the same in the two different countries.

What concerns me is the chaos happening in China.

I feel sorry for myself standing alone in the fog,

Touching my books and listlessly looking at myself.

Alas! When I was young, I had the ambition to serve the state. Now, however, I can only sigh at my old age and feel sorry for the current state of affairs. I hope to throw away my pen and ask for armour and weapons to kill the enemies of the state, but no one will employ me as an official and I was even forced to flee because of rumours. When I sailed on the sea to Yue, I could only read books and sing sonorous songs which were ignored by others. Now, I am staying in a place which is thousands of *li* from my home and I feel even gloomier.

27. A Big Glass Building (i.e. The Crystal Palace)

After setting off from Hong Kong, I passed through Singapore, Penang, Ceylon, Aden but it was only when I reached the Suez Canal that the world changed and the people's skin became paler and the weather became cooler. People there have dark eyes and hair just like the Chinese, and the men and women all look lovely. It is fair to say that ancient Egypt was a civilized country. I travelled from Cairo, passing through Alexandria, the Mediterranean Sea and moored at Messina, which unfortunately I did not have time to visit. Messina has many sulphur producing volcanoes. Then, I arrived at Marseille where my horizons were broadened and I felt as if I were entering an entirely new world. I was not able to record everything I saw in the famous cities of Lyon and Paris. Arriving at London, I felt like being in another Heaven. When it comes to the city's most prosperous place and most famous attraction, none can match the Glass Building.

When people talk about the population of London, the usual estimate is of over three

million inhabitants. Britain is an island with an army of over one hundred thousand and a navy of not more than sixty thousand, which is enough to defend the country. When mobilized, several hundred thousand soldiers can be gathered. The city of London is forty to fifty square *li* and densely populated. The buildings, most of which has five to six floors, are neatly laid out. The streets are clean and level, busy with traffic and crowded with pedestrians. It is really one of Europe's great metropolises. Patrolling soldiers hold sticks and stood erect on the left side of the streets under any weather conditions, all of them wearing new looking red shirts and black trousers.

The natives called the big glass building the "Crystal Palace". It lies twenty five *li* south of London and can be reached quickly by train. The land was steep and looks like a high hill which is where the lofty palace stood. The palace extends into the distance and towers up to the sky so that its rooms are near to the mist and the windows near to the clouds. There are very high towers on the palace's north and south sides respectively. The northern tower has eleven floors and is forty *zhang* high. Its eaves, pillars, windows and thresholds are made of glass. When the sun shines on it, it looks like crystal. Inside the palace are all kinds of pavilions, terraces, gardens, pools, plants and animals. Around the palace are several hundred *mu* of open space in which there are many booths, restaurants and tea shops to visit, and a music hall large enough to accommodate several thousand people, in which people play piano and sing songs. All kinds of music are played and the raucous sound is so sonorous that it could stop a moving cloud or tear a piece of silk. In another place there were dancing and circus performances. All kinds of performances, including dancing, singing, drama, playing with a rope, magical performances, knife swallowing, fire breathing, juggling bowls and climbing ladders, were bizarre, varied and miraculous and enchanted the audience.

The largest building in the middle of the palace is a theatre. Most of the plays were about British history. Armour, knives and spears were used in war, and the officials sat on sedan chairs when going out. All this was similar to performances in China.

The most extraordinary thing was that the rooms could be changed in the blink of an eye. They were just like rooms hanging in the sky which came and disappeared in an instant. There was a girl, aged fifteen or sixteen, wearing a short dress inlaid with golden traces and precious stones. She looked so shiny that I could not look straight at her. She was gorgeous. When she smiled, she could make a city fall.⁶⁷ She was so good at dancing that her steps, whether fast or slow, followed the music and rhythm accurately.

There was a tower, storing precious and strange of jewellery, jade, and coral with a collection of treasured objects from other countries all of which were protected by glass. On the ground floor was a sculpture of a lion and a tiger attacking a sheep. The lion's stomach was wounded while the tiger was also hurt. On the stairs was another sculpture showing an Indian beauty facing westwards, her hands holding some bracelets; she was very beautiful. It was said that she was a concubine of an ancient king and she was extremely clever but died tragically. There was a stone house as high as the tower, which cost as much to build as the total amount of gold excavated in Australia. There was another place resembling the palaces of other countries. The characters and animals all looked like those of their own countries. I climbed up the tower and gazed into a distance of several dozen *li*.

Although there were many visitors inside the palace, they were all very quiet. They had to pay an admission fee of two silver coins. Although I spent four days there, I had still not exhausted all the places. During every visit, I saw a man and a lady arriving in the morning and going home at night by the same carriage. They seemed to know one another quite well; therefore, I thought they were a couple. When asked, they told me that they had not married yet but were lovers. They planned to travel together for a month and then tell their relatives and get married.

The houses in London are as dense as the scales of a fish and the teeth of a comb.

⁶⁷ This alludes to a song by Li Yannian 李延年 to introduce her sister, Madame Li to Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty. Madame Li later became a concubine of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. See Ban Gu, *Han shu*, p. 3951.

Some are very high with several floors and tower up to the sky. When I leaned against the fence and gazed into the distance, I thought the people on the towers were immortals from the sky who could only be seen but not touched. The lowest floor was below the ground. There was a narrow gap allowing the light, the misty fragrance of flowers and the fresh air to come in, making the room dry and bright. There were balconies on each floor and pots of flowers arrayed to entertain one's eyes. There are small parks every few streets. Trees and flowers provide people with shade. Those who are tired can sit on iron chairs to take a rest. It was a pity that there were just not enough pavilions to provide people with relief from the heat of the sun. The parks are sponsored by both rich people and the government, and were specially designed for people to visit morning and evening. This was because the houses in which people live are towers and apartments with little open space for breathing fresh air. There was concern that people might get ill, so the parks were built for people to take a walk, relieve their worries and breathe fresh air.

28. The British Museum

London is a great European city. Some of its avenues are six to seven *zhang* wide. The two sides of the roads are paved with flat stones while the middle has wooden pillars to ensure the passage of traffic and to cut down the noise. Every morning, a water cart is responsible for cleaning the roads which were thus left without even a tiny bit of dust. Under the roads were sewage systems to drain away dirty water.

The British did not dig wells; instead, they used waterways which are more convenient. On each street were lead-cast and iron-made pipes, which are winding and different in length. The pipes were connected with other pipes over a large area. Inside each house are pipes with a tap to control the water flow. When tapped, the water erupted like a spring, so one did not have to worry about the shortage of water. This method of fetching water required no labour to dig wells and does not create the

problem of either an excess or shortage of water.

In the evenings, people do not only use oil for lighting. There are iron pipes going through every house, bringing gas to houses. One could use fire to light it. It was as bright as the sun and could last all night. It was ten times brighter than candles. When I visited the streets at night, I felt myself entering a luminous country without night time. The goods sold in the city centre were all exquisite. They were placed inside the windows which were transparent, making the goods look like pictures.

Inside the city, there are many open spaces to help separate districts. Each open space is around a hundred *mu* square. They are parks encircled by fences and planted with trees. The air was fresh and the shade kept people cool. One does not feel that the place was narrow and crowded with weeds, because gardeners clean the place and irrigate the plants every day. The neighbours also have keys which make it easier for them to go in and out.

Inside the city there are more than one hundred and ninety churches, which promoted the ideas of studying and doing good deeds. On arriving in London, I visited the Anglican Church which was the centre of the religion. The person-in-charge was Weilianxun who was a kind person. He guided me around and showed me lots of strange trifles and precious things on a table, half of which came from China. The itinerant missionaries were sponsored by this church.

In the afternoon, James Legge arrived and we visited the British Museum. The museum, which was built in 1753, is several hundred *mu* in area. There are thousands of pillars and the building is high and solid, the rooms divided by iron walls. The eaves are made of lead while the walls are made of bricks, thus avoiding the danger of fire. The museum has the most complete collection of books past and present, including atlases of the five continents, adding up to a total of five hundred and twenty thousand volumes. In the museum, rooms and halls are connected to places piled up with shelves, sorting books from top to bottom. The books look like the scales of fish and the teeth of a comb. Books from different countries are tidily stored in different shelves. The person-in-charge, Degele (Robert Kennaway Douglas

1838-1913), who could speak Chinese, had spent five years in Tianjin. In front of the museum is a spacious hall that can hold many rows of chairs, big enough to accommodate several hundred people. There are all kinds of stationery on a table and the place is surrounded by an iron fence. There are more than a hundred readers, men and women, who arrived at the museum in the morning and left in the evening. The books are available for reading but cannot be borrowed.

A place next to it is for storing drawings and precious trifles from other countries. I saw imperial seals from throughout history. The round metal seals, all about five inches round, are carved with the faces of kings and sealed with red ink. After walking slowly through dozens of rooms, I saw the arrayed vestiges, such as pieces of bronze and broken eaves. The museum has collected all kinds of different vestiges. Some were big as stone steles, stone pillars, sculptures and stone coffins, all of which were made by Egyptians, Jews, Romans and Greeks two thousand years ago. The stone coffins were excavated from underground. When knocked, they sounded metallic. On the coffin covers are portraits and the colours on them still remained. The front and rear sides of some coffins were damaged so one could see that the bodies inside had not decomposed. Even the patterns on their clothes could still be discerned.

Leaving there, I went down the stairs and then went up again to reach a place with many doors which was connected to more than a hundred other rooms. There were specimens of all kinds of birds, animals, reptiles, plants and fruits. The museum has collected whatever is precious in the mountains and strange in the oceans. They even display specimens of things not even mentioned in *Bowu zhi* (Account of Wide-Ranging Matters), *Zhenwan kao* (A Discussion of Precious Things) or *Gegu lun* (Science of the Past). There was an extraordinarily large rhinoceros which was believed to have lived in prehistoric times. There was also a whale, as large as a house with a dozen of rooms, more than two hundred *zhang* long. The dead animals' marrow, fur and skin are stuffed with paper, cotton and preservatives, and look like as though it was still alive. There are also several dozen human skeletons sewn

together with bronze thread. Other items, such as ancient taels of silver and recent metals are also collected. Going further inside through a dozen other rooms, I saw household commodities and weapons like blades, spears, bows and arrows. These were followed by new weapons made in Britain.

Every country has museums. The British built the museum not just to show off or for entertainment. The museums are built because people are restricted by distance and time and thus cannot visit everywhere in the world and know everything in the past. Although people can learn from books, if they have not seen the real thing, they will be unaware of what they are looking at. Now all kinds of things were widely collected and gathered in a building which opened every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. People, educated or not, can go and visit the museum to broaden their horizons and make up for any insufficiency in their studies. This is really a noble gesture.

29. St. Paul's Cathedral

Of the seven hundred and thirty old and new churches in London, St. Paul's Cathedral is the largest. This church was completed in 1700 after thirty five years of work, to the original design of Sir Christopher Wren. Each side of the church is four hundred and ninety three *chi* wide and two hundred and forty six *chi* long. There are half-moon towers on either side. From the top of the cross to the ground is a distance of three hundred and ninety eight *chi*. The walls are made of green bricks, solid and elegant. It cost £747,954 which is equivalent to 2,656,733 Chinese silver coins. The church was expensive and time-consuming to build.

Gathering up our clothes, James Legge and I climbed up to the top where we leaned against the railing and gazed into the distance. Palaces, towers and garden scenery were right in front of our eyes. Unfortunately, it was so windy that day that I was almost blown away when I leant out a bit further. The top of the church looked like a ball with a cross on its top. This ball-shaped dome could only accommodate a few

people. Later on, we rested in the half-moon shaped tower. I sat on the eastern side while Legge sat on the western side. We faced each other at a distance of about five *zhang*. What was remarkable was that we were still able to listen to each other as though we were talking besides each other's ears. The big clock which hung in the centre of the cathedral was about two *chi* high and its sound was so loud that it could reach a dozen *li*. We passed through three rooms with sculptures of ancient worthies. The sculptures were there not ornamental but were signs of pious deeds and nobility. Inside the cathedral were many young boys singing hymns, accompanied harmoniously by musicians. The chords are elegant and rhythmic, the music pure and melodious. One could forget his weariness when listening to such music.

Other than the St. Paul's Cathedral, there are too many other churches to list one by one. There is a church on almost every street and people chose a teacher to be its person-in-charge. The churches are different in sizes, and are all spectacular, beautiful, grand and spacious, their walls, gardens, pillars and roofs all magnificent. Most of them are sponsored by the inhabitants of that street. On Sundays, people go to church to pray and perform other rituals. As a rule, weddings and funerals are also carried out in churches. All the British followed these rules strictly because the whole country believed in this religion. Outside St. Paul's Cathedral is a graveyard, in which famous generals, officials and teachers are buried.

The second most spectacular building in London is Westminster Abbey which was completed after the reigns of two kings. The eastern part, built during the reign of Henry VII, is three hundred and fifty five *chi* long and one hundred and ninety two *chi* wide. British kings are crowned and received congratulations from officials here. When they die, they are buried to the south of this church. Generals, ministers, teachers and scholars are also buried here to accompany the kings.

There was a round building called the Colosseum, its dimension similar to the churches, which towered up with a delicate structure. The four walls were made of white stone with beautiful carved works on them. On the highest tower, the walls were painted with pictures of London, including all the palaces, gardens, avenues and

roads. The top of the Colosseum was inlaid with glass which made it bright and clean. There were children singing songs inside which were entertaining. The British, poor or rich, were all allowed to visit.

The Earth Pavilion, which is also a round building, had three floors and one could go up by its spiral stairs. The outer walls were as round as an egg. On entering, one feels as if one were standing on the Earth. The walls are painted with the map of the world, including famous mountains, enormous rivers, bustling cities and small islands. They are all as bright as one's eyebrows. This was truly spectacular. Outside the building are booths selling various kinds of goods. Some sell portable and readable small globes, all ingeniously made. There is a gallery, which had the shape of a ball, divided into two floors. Visitors need to walk around the spiral stairs to climb up the building. The upper floor is painted with ancient palaces, gardens and natural scenery, all of which is vividly coloured. The lower floor is painted with battles of the past and remarkable contributions of the British, all categorized and recorded in detail. These serve the purpose of study, and were not there solely to entertain.

Most British believe in Jesus and regard Catholicism as heretical; therefore, they called Protestantism the "new belief", while Catholicism is the "old belief". Protestantism, however, is further divided into people's religion and state religion. Most churches in London belong to the Protestants. In the past, there was a cathedral which was built more than a thousand years ago. It was one hundred and twenty *chi* high and was surrounded by carefully carved high pillars. As time went by, it decayed. Kings and officials in ancient times were all buried here, and sculptures were carved and steles erected to record their contributions.

30. A Record of British Customs

The weather in England is always cold rather than hot, cloudy rather than sunny. Even in mid-summer, the heat is not intense; neither is the depth of winter very cold. It is a real paradise with abundant thriving trees and flowers. The evergreen

vegetation creates a pure and beautiful view. Although the land has always been fertile, no more than two or three out of ten people grow grains. In addition, pasture land is used for raising livestock. At the start of summer, the land is left fallow just like the practice in northern China. The British need neither to keep an eye on their livestock, nor to worry about thieves. This is enough to prove that the British were honest.

There are many places for raising livestock in the London suburbs, which with its towers, pavilions and terraces, is spacious enough for people to visit. The green grass there flourishes and resembles a mattress. When the setting sun shines on it, the scenery becomes a picture. The livestock, such as cows and sheep, is strong and healthy. There are also places, other than the London suburbs, for keeping animals. Annual gatherings are held where farmers take their livestock to compete with others. The owner of the strongest live stock will win. This is similar to the competitions of livestock and strong men in Mongolia. This competition encourages farmers to keep more animals, and as a result they have surplus for sale. Farming equipment is kept in the towers. There are various kinds of hoes and ploughs, all of which have buttons to press, they are advanced and ingenious, and different from those I had seen previously.

On the streets of London, I often saw iron cages, with movable wheels underneath. Inside the cages are animals that are natural enemies, such as cats and rats, or eagles and sparrows. These animals are, however, tamed to live with one another as if they were living with their own species. This is very strange.

In London, there are many grand and spectacular bridges. Some are made of stone, others of iron. The most remarkable ones are the suspension bridges which seem to be flying in the sky. When gazed at from a distance, they look like rainbows encircling and crossing the sky. This craftsmanship is original and is seldom seen in China.

The British produce salt crystals by boiling water from the wells. The salt fields look similar to the salt ponds or pools in Sichuan and Yunnan. When the British produce

salt, they first melt iron to form a large pool at the bottom of which is a furnace. Then, water is boiled by burning coal. This method is very effective and faster than using boiling vessels.

There are many wine shops in London, so many varieties of good wine are available. The best is the grape wine, which has an amber colour and a pure taste. The best wine costs several tael of silver a bottle.

There are also villas, often built by a group of people as a place for others to meditate and study, and one can forget his worldly worries and enjoy himself there. Every room is rented on a monthly basis for several pieces of gold to cover expenses. The rooms are clean and arrayed with ancient and elegant bronze ritual vases and tripods. The beds, quilts and curtains all look luxurious. The villas allow people to find relief from the summer heat and protection from the cold of winter. People can read new books, listen to exotic gossip or play chess there to avoid feeling bored or lonely. How romantic! People can eat their fill in restaurants morning and evening. Wine and meat are so abundant that the fare is too luxurious to be eaten by one person. Food expense can be as high as more than a hundred pieces of gold which is enough to rent a room for a month. Travelling and living expenses are no easy matter. There are also food markets at which chefs are responsible for cooking. Among them, the French are the best. Not only do the delicacies taste good, but the bowls, which are made of iron on the outside and ceramics inside, also look remarkable.

The British attach the greatest importance to learning. Children go to school to study a profession so they can work when they grow up. Therefore, even most lower class labourers are literate. Women, like men, start their education when they are young. They learn drawing, mathematics, meteorology, maps, and geography in depth. Many men in China should feel ashamed when compared with them. According to British custom, women are placed at a higher position than men. They can choose their own husbands and live with them for a lifetime. The men are allowed no concubines. Servants are mainly women, whereas those who serve the nobles, including the horse riders, are all men.

Every morning, women sell cheese by carrying boxes and kettles on a pole on their shoulders to reduce the weight. The British use a lot of cheese as it is an indispensable ingredient for making tea and biscuits. It is equally important as beans and corn (i.e. daily necessities) for the Chinese.

The British are honest and rich. Wealthy people are luxurious and the poor work hard. People compete with one another to develop new skills; therefore, there are few lazy people. What I envy most is that people there are modest and sincere. People, whether nobles or commoners, seldom quarrel with one another. Immigrants from other countries living there are never cheated. They have a harmonious relationship with the natives and seldom feel suspicious. I am amazed at such British customs, because they are so uncommon in China.

31. A Brief Description of British Systems

Outside the city London is a high, spacious and grand building for collecting duty. Officials check the goods transported by sea from other countries very strictly. Taking out all the goods in the cargo and arraying it in the building in order to weight it and decide the amount of duty. This method of collecting duty is so comprehensive that there are no loopholes. How fair it is!

When I changed my itinerary and travelled from Paris to Britain, my luggage had to go through the port in Southampton: it arrived eight days later. People from the tax department sent me the luggage and I gave them some money.⁶⁸ The customs department has its own transportation company so that passengers need not worry about their luggage. The tea leaves and cigarettes I bought as gifts for friends were not taxed; the suitcase was even not opened. How well the British treat travellers! According to British law, imports are strictly checked while exports are treated leniently. Also, there is no tax on exports which is very favourable for businessmen.

⁶⁸ Wang arrived at Dover while his luggage arrived from Southampton. Refer to Essay “A Short Rest in London”.

This is why although the tax rate is high, people do not complain.

The most convenient aspect of life for people in the Western countries is the ships and trains. Even when travelling within a city, one needs trains. They are shaped like a large cabinet with doors on each side for people to get in and out. Each compartment which, can carry a dozen people, has four to six wheels. When travelling, several compartments joined together by iron hooks with an engine in the first compartment. When the engine is turned on, the wheels go as fast as though they were flying. The compartments go forward by pushing one another. The seats are divided into three classes: the first class seats are spacious with clean and beautiful cushions on which passengers can sit comfortably. The second class seats are less good, and the third class seats do not have any shelter to defend against the sunshine and rain. They are used for transporting heavy goods, and also serve as a place for servants to take a rest. The trains travel about two hundred to three hundred *li* per hour. The rail, made of iron, looks like a pipe, in order to fit the shape of the train wheels, the track is flat and solid to ensure the stability and fast speed of the trains. Mountain rocks are excavated to make routes that the rail is as flat and straight as a flat-topped stone. Next to the rail are electric wires for communication which extend for thousands of *li*. When people want to make a call, the electric wires will transmit their voice for thousands of *li* in the blink of an eye, as fast as lightning. It is just like talking with each other face to face. The science of it is so subtle that I am unable to describe it. Because the trains go so fast, there is the danger of overturning when they crash into each other. Therefore, trains run according to a schedule. At the interchange stations are checkpoints at which officers are on duty throughout the day. I lived in the home of Paisai, a British businessman. When I went to the home of the former tax minister, Horatio Nelson Lay (1832-1898), for dinner, the train passed through a tunnel: only after some time could one see daylight. Some people told me that there are streets inside the tunnel with bright lights and markets. Even in the tunnel, one will not be upset by the dark. This is really creative!

The roads in London are very flat and clean. Those hills which have no roads are

paved with stone stairs, and iron fences are built on each side to help people walk. Sometimes, there are trees and flowers planted at the rear of the fences which make travelling more enjoyable. Westerners love planting trees. There are five advantages: 1, it brings fresh air so that people do not easily fall ill; 2, it brings lots of shade which moisturizes the land; 3, there are fruits to eat; 4, there are woods to use; 5, it encourages precipitation and prevents drought. These are the reasons why there are gardens and forests in between the streets and markets of London. Even though some people have only a small open space, they will plant trees which bring about beautiful shade. The vegetation is especially luxurious in the suburban areas. During mid-summer, everyone enjoys the dense shade.

I happened to pass post office so I have a look round. The office was in a lofty and spacious tower. On the left was the post department while the electric department was on the right. Each room was as large as several hundred small rooms. Inside the rooms were extraordinary plants of so many species that I cannot name them all. One tree, about two feet tall, was planted in a pot, and covered by a piece of glass. Its leaves looked like wormwood or banyan, with leaves growing on other leaves and making it most luxurious. When I asked, people told me that it is called "Son and Mother Tree" and that it had been transplanted from places afar. The person-in-charge, Shime showed me round. Letter moulds were arrayed vertically and horizontally in the hall. Thousands of electric wires were placed there in a disorderly fashion. The people responsible for receiving and sending messages are all young and pretty women.

I comment: electricity is first being used by the end of the Ming Dynasty. Although some clever people had tried to find out how it works, very few succeeded. At the end of the reign of the emperor Daoguang, common people started using electricity. Electric wires are commonly used all over Britain, the United States, Germany and France and have proved to be profitable and effective. In business districts where a lot of mail needs to be posted quickly, electric wires can do this in the blink of an eye even though the time is limited and distances are long. People find it convenient

when they have urgent matters or want to hear from others. In 1868, the British Parliament prohibited the private ownership of electric wires since this had been too profitable. It became a government property and was taxable. There are five offices in the country, with the headquarter in London. There are 5540 branches, producing an annual tax revenue of several dozen thousand pieces of gold. It is fair to say that the business is thriving. When I arrived at Britain, the post office has been a government property for only a few months.

32. Miscellaneous Records of Travels in Britain

Whenever there are carnivals, banquets and circus performances in Britain, military bands below the stage perform sonorous and rhythmic music. The soldiers are organized together and sponsored as a group by charity but are not paid individually. Outside the doors of houses or in gardens are ponds with fountains which pump water up in the air for a dozen or so *zhang*. The fountains are majestic and very enjoyable to look at. Fountains are very common in the houses of wealthy people. In London, there are two extraordinarily large and spacious parks which provide succour for people's mind. Inside the parks are various species of flowers, fruit and trees. When the sun is about to set, the fragrant grass looks like a carpet. A piece of green pasture surrounded and adorned by many colours. In the middle of the parks, there are towers and pavilions, of irregular height as if twisting and winding, their design so ingenious and natural that they do not seem to have been made by men. Fish are kept in the ponds while birds are kept in cages, all brought from far and wide and raised here with great care. There are also other animals, such as snakes and insects. Because these cost a lot of money, people visiting the park have to pay one silver coin. There is also a greenhouse for growing many strange species of foreign flowers; those originating from tropical areas are kept inside a glass room. Under the floor is a heater which runs on coal and inside the walls are lead pipes filled with hot water. The pipes sometimes sprinkle droplets of water in drizzles,

making the room moist and full of the fragrance of the plants. On entering, I smelt the remarkable fragrance. When I travelled here, although it was winter, I saw purple grapes, as large as birds eggs strung out in a line. The owner picked some grapes for me. They were extremely sweet and delicious.

I visited more than one place which are many stone columns and pillars in the avenues of London which recognise the contributions as well the physical appearance of the successful men. These are similar to the monumental archways, steles and pillars of China albeit different in height and size, being steeper at the top and flatter at the bottom. The four faces are carved with words. On the top are stone sculptures of the great men, some standing, while others riding on horses. The sculptures look so real that one feels one saw that person. All these people have made enormous contributions and possessed remarkable virtues. Their appearances are carved in clean, pure and auspicious stone so that people can ponder over them whenever looking at, or wandering around, the sculptures. This is really educational.

All of the places in London are highly restricted areas that visitors cannot go and visit: Buckingham Palace, St. James Palace and Windsor Palace are places for the ruler to consult officials and receive envoys. There are also other temporary palaces for the ruler go travelling. Those palaces have abundant vegetation and are lofty and spacious. They have high pillars and grand towers. The style of architecture is completely different from other buildings on the avenues. Buckingham Palace is built of white stone. It is spectacular and as solid as a city with its jade stairs and golden doors. Compared to the palaces in Germany and France, Buckingham Palace is not luxurious but practical. In front of the palace are iron fences and three gates, are guarded by soldiers which creates a solemn atmosphere.

There is a waxworks museum. The walls are made of glass so that the museum is bright inside and out. It is clean without even a speck of dust. On entering, I saw two statues of a Chinese man and a Chinese woman standing beside the entrance like guards. The man is dressed in official robe and his hat is made of pheasant feathers. The woman is also dressed in official robe. I was amazed and asked who they were.

People told me that the man was Lin Zexu. The British made a wax statue of Lin because although he started the opium war, it was also because of him that the treaty ports were opened up. In the main hall are the statues of the rulers. Their eyebrows, eyes, hands and feet are beautiful as though they were alive. Their faces are like pearls and their bodies are like jade. They seem as if they are still breathing. Their clothes, hats and shoes are changed often just like living people. How remarkable the skills are! Next to those statues are the statues of princes and princesses, encircled by railings. Going further into another room were the statues of ancient sages and famous officials from other countries. They look relaxed and dignified because they are skilfully carved. Behind the room is a secluded place arrayed with statues of ancient rebels, people who committed treason and people who died tragically. Their statues have been erected to teach others not to follow their example. After this room, people have to pay a tael of silver to go further.

The parliament building has a lofty wall and the tower is spectacular. The window rails are skilfully carved, the roof painted with shiny colours and inlaid with gold to enhance its brightness. Whenever there are important national affairs, the prime minister, dukes, gentries, officials and commoners will gather together, and discuss in order to find a solution. The parliament is really an important place. However, when the parliament is not busy, people are allowed to enter and visit.

One can go from London to Ireland ship overnight. Its climate is similar to London's. There are many irrigation works, with streams that wind around to irrigate the fields. The customs and people there are also honest. Most of the natives are Catholics. Its streets are not as prosperous as those of London. Some people recommended me to make a trip to Ireland. I declined their request because I was heading for Scotland. As a whole, Britain is really a rich country in Europe and London is the richest place in Britain.

33. A Short Record of my Travels

There are frequent grand gatherings in London, the most spectacular of which are those held in museums. These museums are several *zhang* high, three *li* wide, with pillars made of bronze and iron, and windows of thick glass and they are about three *li* long. As far as the contents are concerned, the most beautiful and remarkable things have been collected from far and wide. They are categorized and displayed in different rooms. The museums collect all kinds of remarkable things from every country, including ingenious inventions, farming equipment, animals and plants. People, rich or poor, from near or far, can all go and visit the museums. Tens of thousands of people visit each day, making the museums like big market fairs in China. The most remarkable museum has two lumps of glossy black coal in its hall, each about two *zhang* high: I almost could not recognize them as coal. They produce the sound of metal when bit.

Another spectacular museum, known as the British Museum is lofty and spacious. Its stores contain containers carved with ancient characters, paintings by famous artists and vivid and large specimens of strange animals and plants. Elsewhere, reptiles, birds, fish, beasts, insects, moths, bees and butterflies are on display. These displays are ingeniously made and look brand new, as though they were alive. In addition, there are coral, pearls and other precious objects lying on tables. All these are the most extraordinary treasure. The most remarkable exhibits are human skeletons and coffins of the ancient peoples that have been collected from far and wide. People will be amazed when they visit here. It is, however, impossible to exhaust this museum unless one spends ten or even twenty days here.

London has many libraries and people are free to browse there. Some libraries keep enormous amounts of foreign books. Clean and new books are classified and put on the shelves. Jade and ivory bookmarks, books in silk boxes or silk covers are arrayed like a city wall. The complete books of Chinese Classics, histories, philosophy and literature are all laid out. Several hundred London citizens, rich or poor, go to these libraries to read. However the books can only be read in the libraries, borrowing is strictly prohibited.

Apart from the art galleries, there are also salons for exhibiting paintings, with exhibitions every season. Several hundred paintings are hanged in salons for people to appreciate. Catalogues with serial number, painter's name and price of each painting are handed out to visitors. Even the smallest painting costs a few pieces of gold. How expensive!

Once, I visited an arsenal that I had walked pass. Arsenals manufacture guns and cannon, which are made by machines everyday, worked by thousands of craftsmen. I cannot list all but a few weapons, such as iron cannon, bronze cannon balls, blades and spears. The arsenals are several *qing* large and have gardens, pavilions and towers inside. There are illustrations of different kinds of cannon and weapons from different countries. These illustrations are used as blueprints for making new weapons. This is why the British have sophisticated and abundant weapons. Recently, they have been making guns that are three *chi* long with breeches made of wrought iron. The gun is wide at the bore and narrow at the muzzle which is only half an inch across. Inside the barrel are three cords to ensure the bullets can be shot forward. The bullets can go as far as one thousand and three hundred paces. The iron is pure and the craftsmanship sophisticated. Even if three portions of powder are put into the barrel and lit, the gun will not explode.

Westerners are also good at storing armaments. To avoid the weapons gathering rust on damp floors, they stored them on wooden racks in spacious store rooms. The tops of the racks are connected to the roof and are divided into several layers. Weapons are arrayed and hung in columns. There are people especially responsible for cleaning the weapons. The doors are opened daily to allow fresh air to pass through, preventing the spread of mould and dampness. This accordingly saves lots of money for the state. This method of storing armaments would also be suitable for the Chinese army. Unused weapons should be stored with even more care.

New styles of armaments appear in Western countries every day. The cannon are wide at the muzzles and narrow at the end. Those cannon, which are of the same width from top to bottom, have been abandoned and modified into spiral or gourd

shapes. This is because when the powder is lit, the high explosive force requires a bigger muzzle so that the cannon do not explode. Guns, which are too heavy, use round bullets, have wide muzzles or do not have spiral troughs inside the barrels, have been abandoned. They are now modified into guns with narrow muzzles and wide bores. Inside the barrels are troughs that have been drilled out. The shape of the bullets is like a date, with a pointed top and a round bottom. The part close to the bottom of the bullet is hollow, because it will be pushed by the pressure and moved forward along the troughs, which are there to ensure that the bullets do not spin themselves. Recently, they have been using wadded gunpowder which is extremely explosive. If eight pounds of gunpowder were buried under a large wooden fence and lit, the fence would fall down and the wood would be destroyed. Alternatively, if a one *chi* long thick iron chain placed horizontally on the ground and three *lian* of powder lit, the chain would be broken into two sections.

There are also ingenious devices for soldiers to cross rivers. Many years ago, several dozen of iron tubes eight *chi* long and six to seven *chi* thick were tied together and floated on the water like a bridge. Although these tubes are easy to carry, people still find them heavy. Nowadays, they tie together two three- *chi*- wide iron belts. One side is nailed to the shore and the other side on the opposite shore by a good swimmer. It looks like a rainbow in the sky allowing thousands to cross the river; the belt will not be broken. This is truly a speedy way of crossing the river. Some also tie small junks with varnished cloth to form a small wooden bridge. This is called a floating bridge. The junk is covered in two pieces of varnished cloth with a wooden board in the middle. Since the cloths are tight, they can be wrapped up in the shape of a bow. They are also not heavy and can be carried by just one person. How clever the British are to be able to invent such user-friendly devices!

34. Sophisticated and Remarkable Objects

The British are ingenious and go to enormous lengths to invent all sorts of object.

Many have become rich because of their inventions. This is not only the result of their extraordinary creativity, but is also the result of unseen encouragement and support from the state government. According to British law, anyone who does not want others to copy his invention can register his invention with a patent company. After payment, the invention will be protected for a period from five, six up to twenty years. Anyone who copies the invention of others violates the law and will be prosecuted and fined. If the inventor is too poor either to pay for the patent or to manufacture his invention, he can ask the rich for help. If his invention is proved effective, he can sell it. Very often, the inventor can profit from one to two times up to a thousand times its cost. This is why the British try their best, with countless cost, hard work and time to broaden their horizons and invent objects. They will travel around the world and try any possible methods to test their inventions and report the results to the government. If the object is approved by the government, a certificate will be awarded, ensuring the inventor a franchise for several years and thus preventing others from copying it. If someone wants to manufacture the object, he will have to pay to the inventor. Because of the worry that people from other countries will copy the object, the government informs the neighbouring countries and ask them to enforce the law. Those who violate the rule will be fined twice of the sum owed. Therefore, a single invention can bring huge sums of money to its inventor. People would not try so hard and spend so much money for the research and invent things if their discovery could easily be stolen by others and if there were no way to complain. If one is scared of being copied, he can report to the government even before finishing making his object. If the government does not accept the objects as something practical or if the government prohibits others from copying it while secretly using it itself, one can bring these matters to the court. If one has ingenious skills, even the government cannot use its power to oppress him. Thus, people are keen on inventing objects.

Although many Chinese know how to make clocks and watches, the British are the most skilful. Others inventions such as using steam to move machines, wind to push

mills and water to grind pestles are not remarkable in comparison. When people climb up the highest place at noon and gaze into massive telescopes, they can see all the stars and mountains in the moon. At night time, people can clearly make out the inverted reflections of boats, ships and masts on the sea surface. One can see the smallest things, such as the eyelashes of a mosquito and feet of an ant in great detail. Crafts made of silver are particularly remarkable. I saw a silver tower which is not even a *cun* high was divided into three storeys and the faces of characters on each floor can be clearly discerned. I have never imagined there could be such ingenious craftsmanship. I also saw rings and bracelets made from women's hair. These are the presents to express their love. Lovers will be glad to have one. There are painters who can vividly draw the appearances of things in exquisite details.

The British stress the importance of science, including astronomy, geography, electricity, heat, air, optics, chemistry and force, and they are not interested in literature. Science has many practical functions. For instance, astronomy tells people the distances between the sun, the moon and the five planets and their respective velocity. People can know when the moon and the sun will intersect with each other, when there will be eclipses, and the appearance of comets and planets. Moreover, people can know the reason for wind, clouds, thunders and rains. From geographical studies, one can know the origins of everything, such as different landscapes and countries. From the study of electricity, one can know which living things can produce and which guard against electricity. From the study of heat, one can know how metals and wood can start, put out and prevent fire. From the study of air pressure, one can find out the different weight of different types of air so that balloons and diving watches can be made. They enable people to go up the sky and dive down to the sea to observe objects, help people and explore landscapes. From the study of light, one can find out that the sun, the moon and the five planets have lights and the ability to attract lights that people make shade plays and light shows. They are then able to change the colours of things and discern the brightest objects. From the study of chemistry and force, people know the origins of precious

things and thus analyze their nature. From the study of hydrology and heat, people are able to make steamers, ships and trains for the convenient people's lives, enabling them to go thousands of *li* daily which would have required vast effort in the past. Machines can be used to go through the mountains, sail across the seas, excavate the ground, dredge riverbeds, melt metals, manufacture things, farm and weave. Machines are truly efficient objects.

I travelled to Zhan Na's house located near to the Glass Palace. I had to go by train and passed three stops. There was a wine shop and the waitress was a young and pretty lady. Whenever I passed this wine shop, I would go and have a drink. She would ask me things in China. One day, I saw a man with long beard who was her father. He worked on the trains, and told me that when trains were first introduced in Britain, many people opposed to them and tried to prevent the use of it because they thought that it would ruin their pasturelands. When trains were used, however, business thrived and many merchants travelled around. Carriages are only used in the places without trains. Transporting goods is the way for the train company to earn money. More goods mean bigger business and greater interests enable a higher amount of tax. This is the method to increase the wealth of a state and its people. If there is rebellion in the state, the court can direct the army as soon as the news reaches them. By using trains, soldiers can move to the place within a day. They move as fast as fast wind mopping up leaves. Because of the speed, military expenses are saved. If there were no train, soldiers have to ride on horses and run the risk of robbery. Since the building of railway, even when people travel myriads of distances they will feel safe. They can reach their destination as soon as possible if there something urgent. After drinking, the waitress' father accompanied me to the train station. He pointed at the train and said, "When the trains move, because the wheels go too fast, there will be a spark. In the past, trains were often burnt. Later Ashibei invented cool petrol which can reduce the heat when the trains move. He made a lot of profit out of that and became the richest man in his hometown." This is an example to show that Westerners are ingenious inventors.

35. Travelling in a Mind-Refreshing Garden

After leaving London, I travelled to Dollar in Scotland, where I stayed in a tower by myself. In my spare time, I travelled in the company of a few friends. Wherever my carriage reached, I would exhaust the local scenery, visiting the most secluded place, and passing along the most perilous roads. I enjoyed all the wonder of travelling. In addition, I wrote many literary works recording my excursions.

Dollar, which is located in the north of Scotland, is encircled by many hills, on which one can see many different shades of green. The fields and hills have winding footpaths and the vegetation is luxurious. It is especially nice to visit here in summer time. I visited here in the late fifth month of the Chinese calendar. Although we had already passed the day of Slight Heat,⁶⁹ the climate here was still cool and mild like early summer and I still wore a cotton coat in the mornings and evenings. Dollar lies about thirty degrees north. In late spring and early summer, there is daylight throughout the night. Daytime is very long which is like the time of *Xiaonian*.⁷⁰

About twelve *li* from Dollar is a garden call, “Rumbling” (the Rumbling Bridge) which is a tourist attraction. When translated into Chinese, its name is “The Thundering Bridge” indicating the thundering sound of spring water flowing under the bridge. It is a tranquil realm and the climate is cool. In summer, Londoners gather here with their friends to seek relief from the heat and enjoy the long daylight. Next to the garden were a few hostels for people to take a short rest or to have a quick

⁶⁹ Slight Heat is one of the twenty four solar terms used in the Chinese lunar calendar. Slight Heat represents the beginning of summer heat.

⁷⁰ The term “xiaonian” 小年 has three meanings. First, it refers to the Preliminary Eve in the lunar calendar. Second, it is a year in which the second month has twenty nine days and the third meaning is an intercalary year. All the meanings do not make sense in the text as Wang is suggesting a situation similar to the day of Slight Heat where the day lasts longer than night. Three editions of *Jottings of My Roamings* give the same text. I suspect that there can be a mistake in printing or writing and that Wang could be contrasting the Slight Heat with the Winter Solstice in which the night lasts longer than the day.

meal.

The garden, which covers about a hundred square *qing*, follows the structures of the mountains and has irregular and winding footpaths: it is secluded and strange but lovely. Although slightly modified by man, it is largely a natural scenery. Mountains embrace one another and a winding stream flows between them. One can forget his worldly worries when he goes in and breathes the fresh air here. There are several waterfalls, and the water pouring from high to low gives out a sonorous sound. Even though the sound of the water is loud, the environment is quiet and atmospheric allowing me to appreciate the scenery. I walked along the streams and hills for about a dozen *li*. After reaching the end of the path, I saw a pond formed by the lowlands, the water erupting fiercely from holes among the river stones. When gazed at from a distance, it looks like a white belt although not as long. When water pours into the pond, water droplets jump up creating snowy foam. The sound of water is like thunder on a sunny day. The natives call this “The Big Bowl” because the sound is similar to a bowl of boiling water. On both sides of the pond are strange and rugged big stones. Some jagged stones on the bed of the pond are even pointed above the water. I had to walk into the pond so that I was in front of the stones in order to appreciate fully all their beauty. The mountain is remarkable because of its waterfalls. I wrote a long poem to retain this beautiful scenery.

Summer, in the fifth month of 1868,

I have been in Britain for half a year.

Looking at the towering mountains of Dollar,

For twenty one days I have worn my travelling clogs, and listened to the babbling springs.

The deep cliffs and perilous gullies form a secluded scene.

Spring water falls from the sky.

I cry out in amazement when I enter such a realm.

I am so happy that my worldly worries are completely washed away.

The natives here love to organize romantic excursions,
They tell me that the scenery here is not the most remarkable.
Ten *li* away lies another attraction.
Wind blows onto a pond which is many *qing* in size.
On top is a waterfall like a bolt of silk.
At the foot are various kinds of colourful trees.
I am keen to order a curtained carriage to visit,
So we can all climb high and write poems.
That day, my dear friends came as promised.
We travel in the same carriage and ride horses together.
At first, I do not see anything particularly remarkable.
After a while, I start feeling revived.
I am keen to go further, unafraid of perilous paths.
The dense shade and luxurious flowers seem to invite visitors.
After exhausting all the streams and paths, I find some even more remarkable places.
It feels like I have entered another world.
Spring water erupts from gaps among the stones.
Jumping up like snowy pearls.
The stored water angrily rushes down
From the top of the waterfall which is hundreds of *zhang* high.
I turn my ears and listen to the thundering water.
Although the sound is loud, my heart is tranquil and I feel the land is secluded.
I pass through the rugged stones and walk along the stream.
And go in front of the waterfall to observe it.
When I look around this place, I almost forget my tragic life.
I hope that I can meet the immortals during my wanderings.
Among the encircling green mountains,
There is a beautiful lotus flower.
If she does not have the scenery in her mind,

She cannot draw the clouds and mist with her hands.
 Miss Meili is skilful at all kinds of painting.
 She is quite able to capture the complete scenery.
 She is passionate in her use of colours to express her remarkable thoughts.
 Her painting vividly shows the natural scenery.
 Abandoned by the world, I sigh at my sorrowful life.
 My heart is filled with much sadness.
 The scenery is remarkable and enjoyable.
 I use my literary talents to respond to it.
 Does my homeland not have any beautiful scenery?
 Why do I have to visit such a secluded place?
 Yesterday, a letter came to me across the oceans.
 I feel sorry that I am separated from my family.
 When encountering tourist attractions, I think of my homeland.
 When can I become a recluse in Jiangnan?
 At that time, I was accompanied by James Legge and Miss Marian, his third daughter.
 She excels at painting and she coloured her drawings of that day. Mrs. Dixon, who
 was just back from Elie, also joined our excursion.⁷¹ After finishing writing the poem,
 I suddenly received a letter from home which spurred me on to write another two
 poems in the regular style.

 I started thinking of Jiangnan when I became a guest in Yue.
 My tears not yet dry up after six years of homesickness.
 Now, cast away far over the vast oceans,

⁷¹ Dixon refers to Andrew Dixon who was the founder and the chief editor of *China Mail* (1845-1974). During his exile in Hong Kong, Wang worked as a editor for *China Mail*, where he got to know Huang Sheng who was a founding member of *Xunhuan ribao*. For more information see Li Gucheng, "Wang Tao yu Xianggang jindai baoye" 王韜與香港近代報業 (Wang Tao and Early Hong Kong News Printing Press), in Wang Man Kong and Lam Kai Yin eds., *Wang Tao and the Modern World*, pp. 337-353. Dixon also appears in Episode 40.

Even eastern Yue feels like home.

I am relieved from my travel weariness after visiting a famous place yesterday.

To respond to the beautiful mountains, I write poems to record them.

A letter from home arouses much sadness,

My poetic thoughts become tearful.

Alas! Although I am in dangerous circumstance, I still feel proud because I am able to travel to remarkable places, appreciate beautiful scenery, enjoy literature and make friends, almost forgetting that I am away from home.

36. Visiting the Hills of Dollar

All the villages by Dollar are worth visiting, so apart from reading, in my spare time, I visited them. The hill of Dollar towers up thousands of *ren*, the blue-green mountain ranges embracing one another, and light green vegetation appearing in a multitude of shapes.⁷² A spring flows from the hill top, forming a stream whose babbling sound I could hear as I reached the foot of the hill. I walked along the winding, irregular paths, all of which have stone steps so that visitors can take a rest whenever they feel tired. Half way up, the hill divides into two parts, one of which has green peaks and a red cliff, so precipitous that it looks as though it was hewed by an enormous axe. The two parts are united by a long bridge. The water pours down as a fast-flowing river from the peak which is as high as the sky and the sun. Both my body and mind felt refreshed and cooled. Old tales tell that the mountain was divided overnight into two parts by a giant. I came here in mid-summer, but did not feel the heat. This is truly a paradise.

I climbed up the hill along the winding paths. There is an ancient palace where feudal

⁷² There are two hills around Dollar, Bank Hill and Gloom Hill. Wang Tao might be visiting Bank Hill where Castle Campell is located. The fast flowing river described in the passage is Dollar Glen.

lords lived in the old days. The foundations have survived and the walls still stand. There are three rooms in their original shapes, with guards inside who showed me several lead balls, saying that these were left over from earlier battles. I pondered over the battles in Scotland, which happened in more than one place.⁷³

All over the hills are luxurious vegetation, winding valleys and streams, and secluded paths connected with one another. One day, I walked along a stream trying to exhaust all its remarkable scenery. The stream was so clear that I could see the bed of the stream and was even able to count the number of fish. My companions had carried fishing equipment and they fished in the stream. However, they had not caught even one fish after a long time. We laughed and carried on to visit other places. Screwing up my courage, I climbed up a low hill, but suddenly fell into a marsh and my socks and shoes were soaked. My desire to travel was ruined by this accident, so I went back and changed my clothes. I wrote two regular poems to record this excursion.

No.1;

This morning, I relaxed my eyes and climbed up the misty peaks.

The foreign scenery is very remarkable.

The battles in my homeland have just stopped.

The vegetation in this frontier land is still cold in spring.

Birds are singing in the deep forest and secluded valleys.

The fast-flowing water makes fishing difficult.

Walking along the stream to find the way

I am not afraid to wander alone along the winding paths.

⁷³ The phrase “豆區瓜分” which originates in *Jin Shu* 晉書 (The History of the Jin Dynasty), means civil wars. See *Jin shu*, p. 408. The original reads, “平王東遷, 星離豆剖; 當塗馭寓, 瓜分鼎立” “蠻爭觸鬥” alluded to a story in *Zhuang Zi* and is used as a metaphor for battles between small states. “There is a kingdom on its (a snail) left horn,” continued Tai Chin Jen, “ruled over by Aggression, and another on its right horn, ruled over by Violence. These two rulers are constantly fighting for territory. In such cases, corpses lie about by thousands, and one party will pursue the other for fifteen days before returning.” In Herbert A. Giles trans., *Chuang Tzu* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961), p. 251.

No.2;

When I go along the thorny road, I realise this is not the correct path.

I am nearly scared to death when I suddenly fall into a muddy pond.

It is difficult to find the path back.

I feel shamed that I always get lost.

I will never climb the kudzu vine to find a place for my feet.

Finally getting rid of the mud I no longer feel humiliated.

Originally a trip for exploring perilous paths and secluded places,

I am, however, teased by the ghost of the mountain.

About nine *li* from Dollar in the village of Tillicoultry is a small market. When I visited there, a portrait exhibition was taking place. There were three thousand portraits displayed, all of which were of beautiful and famous women, with pretty faces and lovely posture: they had been outstanding among other women. All those portraits were drawn by famous artists. I had to pay to enter. When it comes to selling paintings, the price can range from several hundred to several thousand tael of silver.

About six *li* away is Alloa where Mrs. and Miss Bositei live. They are famous for their talents and knowledge and have set up colleges to which many women come to study. From here, I went to Stirling, another county of Scotland. Stirling has lofty towers, beautiful houses, a very orderly market and a temporary palace for previous emperors. One day, Miss Bo wrote a letter inviting me to visit a trainer who kept many precious and strange animals. The animals had mysterious appearances and had probably been caught in many different places. He kept the animals by using wood for fencing and for building houses which were divided up by iron panels. Each room had four wheels underneath for transportation. In a dozen encircled small rooms lived tigers, wolves, lions, leopards, deer, monkeys and wild bears, all of which looked ferocious and scary. In the big room in the middle lived two elephants. Outside the iron rooms were many cages for keeping birds. A dozen large snakes, some of which were a *zhang* long and as thick as an arm, were kept in glass cabinets.

Some snakes raised their heads while crawling; others were lying on their eggs which were also extraordinarily large. Then, the trainer went into the room with the tigers, leopards, lions and bears and commanded the animals to jump over circles and perform various other movements. He beat the animals when they did not listen to his commands. If the animals stared at the audience, opened their mouths, roared or tried to fight and bite, he would shoot a pistol into the air. The vigorous fire scared all the animals. Thus, the animals were tamed and they would follow the trainer's commands. Thereafter, the trainer stepped onto the tiger's tail, pulled its beard, touched its teeth and put his head inside its mouth. The tiger's saliva flowed onto its face and this made the audience laugh. The trainer did the same with the lions and leopards. They all lowered their ears, turned their tails and allowed the trainer to play with them as though they were cats and dogs. Afterwards, one elephant played music while another walked in a circle. The elephant used its nose to play the musical instruments, producing sonorous and rhythmic music. The trainer was accompanied by an Ethiopian prince from Africa, who was about twelve years old, wearing silk clothes, flower hats and sitting on the back of the elephant as it walked several circles. Ethiopia originally belonged to Britain, but was destroyed and annexed by Britain after an anti- British rebellion. The boy was a pauper prince.

37. The Old Palace of Edinburgh

I had been travelling overseas for over ten months, since the seventh month of 1868 when I arrived at Edinburgh. I was able to exhaust various attractions in Scotland whose fragrant traces and historical remains had remarkably aroused my emotions and lofty feelings. I was proud of that. The original intention of this excursion to Edinburgh was to seek relief from the summer heat. Besides appreciating the scenery, I wanted to find out the customs and get to know the worthies here. Therefore, although it was a leisure tour, I also acquired knowledge.

At the start of the seventh month, I left Dollar for Dunfermline by carriage. As the

carriage passed through many mountains, I saw a luxuriant forest so green that its colour turned the sleeves my clothes deep green. Gazing into the distance at some villages, I saw houses of all shapes and sizes. The scenery was just like a painting. I could not stop exclaiming from the carriage. At that time, I was accompanied by James Legge's third daughter, Marian, who asked me, "Is this scenery better than that of Jiangnan?" I answered, "Dengwei and Moli of my home region, in the Wu province, are equally beautiful. It is a pity that there is nobody to appreciate them. As far as geographical location is concerned, it is better here." I stopped over in Mr. Li's house in Dunfermline for two days. I visited an ancient church which was built five hundred years ago.⁷⁴ Although the stones on the walls were cracked, they still looked elegant and colourful. The nave was high and spacious. I climbed up to the highest floor and was able to see the scenery a dozen *li* away. The adjoining building was a palace of previous rulers of Scotland. Mr. Li had a sister aged under thirty, a gentle and quiet widow.

The next day, I arrived at Edinburgh and stayed in a hostel. Edinburgh is the capital of Scotland. Although, it was united with England two hundred years ago, people still call it "the capital of Scotland". Inside the city is an old palace, which according to legend has over three hundred years of history.⁷⁵ The palace has three floors and looks grand. Although neither as spectacular as Chinese palaces, nor as bright as Chinese gardens, nor as high as the clouds and stars, nor not as grand as Chinese arches and city gates, its dimensions are lofty and it is remarkably atmospheric. The queen has six bedrooms, all equipped with beds, curtains and mattresses. The mirror frames and jewellery boxes still smell fragrant. The walls are decorated with silk cloths embroidered with vivid figures and plants. (i.e. tapestries) This is really a wonderful work, in no way inferior to the work of the Sewing God.

In one room the queen was murdered by a tyrant. There are still traces of blood and shadows left on the floor which became even clearer having been washed. The guide

⁷⁴ This church probably refers to Dunfermline Abbey.

⁷⁵ This refers to Holyrood Palace.

used his hands to touch the traces so that I could roughly see them. I felt so scared that my hair turned white. The queen's remarkably ingenious embroidery is still kept in glass boxes in the palace. In her portraits, she looks solemn, beautiful and intelligent. She married a bad king and was eventually banished. Her complaints must be greater than Queen Chen of the Changmen Palace and her sadness deeper than that of Lady Gouyi.⁷⁶ What a shame!

The lowest floor of the palace displays various portraits of the Scottish kings. There have been one hundred and thirty six kings from the establishment of Scottish regime till the era of its unification with England, including two queens, one of whom was very young and insurpassably beautiful. Her name was Mary. Apparently she behaved indecently for which she was criticised by historians. Scotland was united with England not by brute force but for ceremonial reasons. As the English king had no son, the king of Scotland came to the throne. People said there would be no Scottish king from then on, and Scotland and England were united as one country. Nowadays, however, the Scottish still call their country Scotland in order to distinguish themselves from the English.

Next to the palace is a huge ruined church, only parts of which have survived.⁷⁷ I climbed up the high tower and the guard rooms. There happened to be a military tattoo during my visit. The neatly arrayed soldiers dressed up and holding spears, were from the 19th battalion that had been stationed in Hong Kong for the last twenty years. During the tattoo, the soldiers looked stern. They marched in an orderly way, sometimes forming a square, sometimes forming a line. Suddenly, they grouped together like a bird opening its two wings. When they shot their guns, the bullets looked like hundreds of fire dragons, all flying at the same speed. The watchman's towers are located on the hills nearby, one facing the other. One can gaze into a great

⁷⁶ Changmen Palace 長門宮 was where Queen Chen 陳 lived after she was banished. Gouyi 勾弋 was a concubine of Emperor Wu 漢武帝 of the Western Han Dynasty. After making her son prince, Emperor Wu killed Gouyi because he was afraid that Gouyi would come to power after her son acceded to the throne. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, pp. 1979-1980, 1985-1986.

⁷⁷ This is Hollyrood Abbey.

distance from these towers. The city is surrounded by a boundless ocean. My eyes were immediately broadened.

The avenues in the city are wide and clean, and the markets are busy. The buildings are so lofty that eaves and pillars are connected with one another. The city is spectacular and is not matched by any other city in Scotland. People from far and wide regard Edinburgh as a great metropolis, being not inferior to the English capital, London. Only the beautiful clothes of the ladies and the pretty appearance of the children are slightly inferior to London, but they are much better than other places in Britain.

Edinburgh is a large city in the north with more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. The city is carefully guarded and the castle is solid. There are more than two hundred churches built by the government and people, each with a clergyman responsible for preaching. People are so elegant and kind that they compete with one another to receive travellers. There are no problems with checking at the customs or questioning by officials. People are never suspected of being villains because of their exotic clothes and languages. Inside the city, no goods are labelled at two different prices. On the street, people do not pick up things that belong to others. This is enough to show Edinburgh's lenient policy and its prosperity.

38. Visiting Museums

Edinburgh has a great university with a library containing millions of books. Anyone can enter, though books cannot be borrowed. Every year, there are more than one thousand four hundred students, many of whom become famous after graduation, including William Muirhead, who used to preach in Shanghai. He had recently returned from holiday and was staying in Leith which is about six to seven *li* from the city. On hearing of my visit, he came to meet me and travelled with me to the university.

The day we came was the exam day. The principal was going to assess the students.

The best would become clergymen. The university is famous for its emphasis on language studies and the etymology of different countries. Students also need to learn Latin and ancient Hebrew. When the principal found out that I was a Chinese scholar, he invited me to take a look at the examination. The next day, my visit was published in the newspapers and people called me “graduate”. All the people in the city heard about this.

According to British practice, universities of various counties have a central examination during the summer holiday in order to assess students’ ability and give them grades. To encourage the students, those who get excellent results are awarded silver shields, silver watches, stationery and books, all of which are expensive. The examination is not just for one subject or one skill, but includes the studies of the calendar, military strategy, astronomy, geography, calligraphy, music and languages. Those who only know one subject, therefore, would not be considered. As a result, the British intellectuals have useful knowledge in military strategy and literature which they can practise in the real world. After sitting in on discussions, they are ready to put their words into action.

I was accompanied by James Legge and William Muirhead on my visit to a museum. Different species of flora and fauna, precious and strange things, treasured jade and bright pearls are collected: all looked fabulous and colourful, and all are beautiful both inside and outside. Other objects, such as those found in the mountains or in the oceans are also arrayed here for study and research. There is a black, smooth table, about a *zhang* in length, so bright that it looks like a mirror. When knocked, it gives out a sonorous sound. Muirhead asked, “What kind of wood is it?” The the museum curator said that the table was carved out of coal. However, I could not discern the material even after close observation. All the gold, silver, bronze and iron stones extracted from mines are classified here. The curator introduced them to us and said, “I have heard that in Shandong province in China, there are many gold mines. If extracted, the country could make enormous wealth, thus increasing tax revenue while providing support for army and government expenditure. It is a pity that both

the people and the officials regard this as a troublesome idea.”

There is an ancient Egyptian coffin which is made of clay but looked very solid. The dead body is wrapped in a piece of white cloth. Even after thousands of years, the colour of the cloth can still be seen. The specimen of camels, deer, elephants and leopards here all have more than three thousand years of history, and all of them are huge. There is a skeleton of a whale suspended in mid-air which is a dozen times bigger than a ship.

The most intricately made item is a lighthouse, used to guide ships in the sea. The four walls of the tower are made of glass with one side beaming out light and the other side gathering the reflected lights. This is related to the studies of optics. Gunpowder is put at the end of the cannon and is drawn through by a piece of revolving iron. This is a fast and reliable method which shows how efficient British scientists are. There are spiral ridges in the barrels enabling the bullets to go straight, breaking the friction from the air. If China were to adopt the same method to make cannon, it could defend itself against its foreign enemies. How wonderful this would be! It is a pity that the government does not send people to Britain to learn these new methods. The curator explained the very sophisticated way in which cannons were made. He also talked about the illustrations of cluster cannons. I asked whether there was a way of blocking cannon balls. He laughed and answered no. Thus, the old Chinese saying about beating something hard by something gentle is not always true. The curator had a majestic appearance with a long beard. He was a very talkative and knowledgeable scholar. He asked for my name card and said, “I will store it as carefully as a precious object, in order to prepare for our next meeting.” (Remaining part translated by Ian Chapman)

39. Miscellaneous Records of Edinburgh

Edinburgh has a royal hospital which is famous for curing bone problems as well as keeping records of strange illnesses. Mr. Ji accompanied me on my visit. Doctors

there introduced the hospital at great length using both words and body language, showing me human embryos from the first month through to the mature period, as well as one embryo with two heads sharing one body and another with three infants sharing one belly. This made me realize how abnormal things can be in this universe. Then, I went to a press printing with Mr. Ji. The factory, which was grand and lofty and is located in one of Edinburgh's most spectacular buildings, was run by the Xinyi family. There were about one thousand and five hundred men and women working hard there, each specialized in their own job. All the work, such as making characters, carving moulds, publishing and binding was done by machines. They made characters by using new chemical methods which were so efficient that thousands of characters could be made within one day. The American missionary, Mr. Jiang, had used this method in Shanghai. Clay was crushed in order to make moulds, after which characters were placed onto a panel and lead was poured into the moulds. In this way, characters can be clearly seen even after printing thousands of copies. This could make up for the disadvantages of movable-mould printing. If the Chinese can learn this printing method, the amount of book storage would be unrivalled in the world. However, the carving workers would be unemployed.

On one occasion, I went to a bathing pool and laughed at its unusual design by a Turkish doctor, Lali who was famous at the time. He visited Guangdong thirty nine years ago. He was skilled in Dutch medicine and had saved many people. He had so many patients that shoes were mounted up outside his door. The method of bathing is completely different from that of China. Men and women bathe on different days. They first go into a warm house which is about one hundred and five to six degrees. A room further inside is even hotter, with the temperature reaching one hundred and forty five degrees. After sweating, the dirt becomes apparent. Then, people go to a room for a shower. There is no bathtub, people will sit on a water chair and take a shower by using water pumped by machines. There is a servant specialized in cleaning, who washes people's dirt from top to bottom. The fragrance of soap and facial cleansers penetrates into one's nose. After bathing, one's body is moisturized.

Both warm and cold water is prepared for top to bottom showering. This accords with the Buddhist saying, “pouring wine onto one’s head” (ie. to be enlightened suddenly) Male cleaners are responsible for the men’s pool and vice versa. Bathing was once a private matter and now one needs the help of others. This is similar to the situation when Madam Wu looked at every part of Lady Ying’s body.⁷⁸ I couldn’t help being embarrassed by this.

There are courts in the city. I had a chance to see a hearing because the judge led me in. I left after watching a few cases, which are resolved by discussing with a group of the public, a method being practised in ancient China. I sighed at the preservation of this old custom in Britain.

The governor of Edinburgh had a translated copy of a letter published in a Chinese newspaper which was attributed to Zeng Guofan. In the letter, he talked about the following ideas: 1. railways should never be built. 2. Westerners should not be allowed to travel in the mainland without permission. 3. Western merchants should not buy silk and tea in the mainland by themselves. 4. Western ships should not sail or anchor on Chinese rivers. 5. Foreign ambassadors could only visit the Chinese emperor after his twentieth birthday. Thereafter, the letter talked about preaching Christianity in China. The author stated that Christianity could be preached in China without harming Chinese conventions because he believed that it would not last long just like the spread of Buddhism, Islam, Nestorianism, Zarathushtrianism and the Jewish religion in China. These religions were once widespread but declined very quickly. Christianity would be no exception. Thus, it was alright to allow missionaries to preach. However, the five points listed above had to be observed by the Westerners, otherwise there would be war. The letter suggested that because China suffered from internal problems, the only way to defend against humiliation at

⁷⁸ The original story is recorded *Han Zashi Mixin* 漢雜事秘辛 (Miscellaneous Records of the Han Dynasty). Madam Wu 吳妯 was responsible for selecting the queen for Emperor Huan 桓帝 of the Later Han dynasty. One day, she went to visit Lady Liang Ying 梁瑩 and checked every part of her body.

the hands of foreigners and revision of the treaties was to uphold the five principles. After reading this report, both commoners and officials were worried that there might be wars. They came to ask me about the issue. I explained, "This cannot have been written by Zeng Guofan to the British government. The person who reports it does not know whether it is a forgery. Considering this rationally, these cannot be Zeng's words. Now, with envoys from the East just arriving for peace talks, we should ignore this gossip." Thereafter, the gossip stopped.

Previously, the esteemed Bin Chun was appointed as an envoy to travel to various countries and start diplomatic relationships between China and the West. Now, the esteemed Anson Burlingame (1820-1870) has become the ambassador. Burlingame is an American and was assisted by Sun Jiagu and Zhi Gang to go to the West. They will visit different countries instead of just staying at one. I have heard that they are on their way now.

40. A Record of a Trip to the Shore

In the vicinity of Edinburgh, places like Leith, New Haven and Queensferry are all near to the sea, and therefore have lots of seafood. Every summer, people gather at these places and swim in the sea. They amuse themselves playing games in the water. Floating and sinking make them happy, just like gulls and geese playing with the waves. Men and women are separated, and bathe with their friends. Some people use a horse to pull a small room into the sea. They take off their clothes in the sea and put them on when they go onto the land. In this way, others cannot see how wet they are. This is slightly more elegant.

Occasionally, I travelled in the villages. There were so many villagers coming to see me that they blocked the way. A crowd of several hundred people followed them and all were amazed by me. Patrols were afraid that the people would make me scared, so they held them back when necessary.

Leith is where goods are gathered, and therefore is a prosperous trading centre.

Muirhead lived in a place near to Claremont Park in Leith where there was a large open space planted with colourful flowers. This is a remarkable place. Muirhead sent me an invitation, asking me to stay at his place for three days. In the evening, Muirhead's elder sister, Xianhuali, instructed people to release a balloon. The balloon was made of silk, and was about four *zhang* in length. When fired up, the balloon rose up into the sky. After a while, it slowly reached the clouds and people could no longer see it. All the audience clapped their hands to show their happiness. Huali has been doing business and is an entrepreneur. He had many children of all ages, all as lovely as jade and snow. I said, "There are jade bamboos arrayed."⁷⁹ The eldest son had learnt to run a tea business and was trading in China. Because of my arrival, they hung flags on their house, called their friends and relatives and held a grand banquet. After feasting, men and women danced with music. This was so enjoyable that I hope it would never end.

Thereafter, I went straight to Elie to Mr. Dixon's home. Elie is also near to the mouth of a river that flows into the sea. There is a canal connecting Elie to Edinburgh, so the inhabitants travel mainly by ship, no matter whether morning or evening. Dixon who was the founder of a Western newspaper in Hong Kong, (i.e. *China Mail*) was an editor who was able to hold a fair discussion to determine right and wrong and was never confused by others. He was famous far and wide. After the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), Dixon travelled around the Yangtze regions, writing journals about his journeys. His travel writings were greatly praised by the literati. Later, as he was longing for his homeland and felt tired of wandering around, he went back and travelled leisurely around the streams and rocks of his homeland. He used his money to build a house in Elie. The new house had several rooms and the doors and

⁷⁹ 玉笋班聯 means groups of worthies gathering at the court. Wang uses the phrase here to praise Huali's children. The phrase originates from a line in a poem by Zheng Gu 鄭谷 (n.d.) which reads, "渾無酒乏金英菊，漫道官趨玉笋班。" See "Jiuri ou huai ji zuosheng Zhang qiju" 九日偶懷寄左省張起居 (A Poem to Zheng, the Recorder of the Chancellery, on the Ninth Day), in *Quan Tang shi*, p. 7749.

windows were always wide open. The tower soared up and one could see the bright sun and the sea. In summer, the place is especially cool, so Scottish people who want to go to a summer resort will stay here. In order to relieve summer heat, my friend Daila also went here from Dollar. Wei Baoshan and Huang Yongqing, who studied in Britain and lived in Daila's house, came together with their children. We took a walk on the shore. Some went fishing, others went sailing. We walked along the shore, climbed the hills and exhausted our enjoyment of travelling. There is a long pier by the sea. I felt the cold breeze cooling my heart and bones. Gazing into the distance, I saw sailing ships and flying seagulls. At evening, visitors gather here, talking in a relaxed way and laughing without suspicion. They do not even care whether they know one another or not.

One day, I accompanied Dixon to see a demonstration of cannons on the seashore. Abandoned warships with a flag hanging were placed on the sea, a few *li* from the shore. Cannon balls were shot and the audience watched to see whether they hit the target or not. There are rules guiding the elevation of the cannons, the size of cannon balls and the weight of the gunpowder. There are four demonstrations each month arranged by the gentry of Elie and run by military officials. Although it is at peace time, the government does not want to abandon military training. This is a means of preparation. Although Elie is a small place like a chessman or a tiny ball, its naval defence is still strong, not to mention other places. The local officials of Elie came to greet me by taking off their hats and shaking hands with me.

Baoshan invited me to a flower exhibition. I exclaimed at its beauty. There were three wings, east, west and the middle which gathered famous species of vegetation. The plants were assessed into different ranks. I was not able to describe the shape of all these remarkable and extraordinary flowers. Their fragrance spread over several *li*. Female visitors went here together continuously. All visitors have to pay a coin for admission. This is no different to watching Cishi in Wu province. In the exhibition, I met a female friend who was the mother of Baoshan's classmate. She invited me to her house with great hospitality. She arranged a quick but sumptuous meal for me.

Her family worked as farmers. The house was simple but high and bright with an adorable pastoral appeal. Her son studied in a school in Dollar. He was a self-disciplined student who observed the rules carefully. He was a boy that could be taught.

41. Travelling in Aberdeen

Scotland, which lies in the Northern part of Britain, next to England, is nine hundred *li* long, five hundred *li* across, and has four big cities: 1. Edinburgh, formerly the capital of Scotland; 2. Glasgow, a large port which is next in size to London; 3. Dundee, also a port; 4. Aberdeen, the smallest of the four cities, located at the northern tip of Scotland. In early spring, I travelled with Legge to northern Scotland. Aberdeen was the first place we visited, and we stayed with the clergyman, John Chalmers, for three days.

Chalmers had been preaching in Guangzhou before and knew a lot about the Chinese language. He was also good at calculating precise calendar dating. During my visit, I had just started assisting Legge to translate the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and finished writing *Chunqiu shuorun kao* (A Survey of the Calendar of Spring and Autumn Annals) and *Chunqiu rishi bianzheng* (A Discussion of Solar Eclipses in Spring and Autumn Annals), so I discussed them with Chalmers. After reading them, Chalmers thought that they were great works that could provide guidance for the study of ancient calendar and the resolving of old queries. These books enabled readers to find out the exact dates within the two hundred and forty two years of the Spring and Autumn period. I presented my core argument to him that the calendar of the Spring and Autumn period was different from the calendar nowadays. By using the present day calendar one could work out that ancient people had calculated incorrectly. Present rules must be applied in order to assess the works of the past so that one can discover their mistakes. My works prove that the ancient people had missed out the leap years in their calculation. This was different from the method

used by Du Yuankai and Gu Zhencang who used only Chinese *ganzhi* in the *Annuals* and its explanatory works.⁸⁰ I calculated the solar eclipses, explaining alongside text and illustrations. I also compared the dates of Chinese and Western calendars in an appendix, in order to incorporate the ingenious ways of Western calculation into Chinese studies. By using different methods, I was able to calculate the dates in the Spring and Autumn period accurately. Chalmers said, “This book should be better than the one written by Chen Siyuan.”⁸¹ However, I do not fully deserve his praise because I have not made an in-depth study and only know a part of it. I felt embarrassed.

Aberdeen the best of the twelve cities in north Scotland, is located at the northern tip. The city is very cold with snow covering the mountains, and frost on the ground even when the sun is shining. Although the houses there are not very exquisite as they do not have carvings, they are very practical, built with solid stone walls. There are over one hundred thousand inhabitants, making a large population. With busy avenues and markets, this is truly a bustling trading centre. Because of the cold, Aberdeen cannot produce much grain. Therefore, most foodstuffs are imported from other places. In the mines are many huge and extraordinarily solid stones. The inhabitants all work as masons, carving the stones. The stones are then transported by carts to the downtown area where they are carved into tomb steles, tomb tablets, pillar foundations and tables and sold to other places. This is why stone buyers come here from near and far. The stones are so pretty that no other places can match them. Previously, people in other cities looked down on Aberdeen because of its infertile land and inadequate amount of goods, but the people of Aberdeen were proud of their stones and said, “This is what you do not have. Having Kuei alone is enough.”⁸² In my opinion,

⁸⁰ “Ganzhi” refers to the system the Chinese used to calculate dates. “Gan” refers to the twelfth heavenly stems while “zhi” refers to the ten earthly stems.

⁸¹ Chen Siyuan was a scholar of the calendars during the reign of Emperor Kangxi康熙 of the Qing Dyansty.

⁸² The story is recorded in *Lüshi Chunqiu*吕氏春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annuals of Master Lü) Lu Ai asked Confucius whether there was a special kind of dragon, Kuei夔, with just one leg.

Aberdeen not only produces good stone, but also has acquired unrivalled skills in stone carving. On one occasion, I visited a mill to see how stones are cut, brushed and cleaned. All the work is done by machines instead of human labour. One stone was still not finished after ten years of cutting. All the finished products are as shiny as mirrors, reflecting even tiny hairs. They are very smooth and have no defects. There are rules guiding the size of carving characters on the steles. The mill owner showed me an ancient Egyptian stone and gave it to me as a gift. The characters on the stone could hardly be discerned. It was said to have survived for three thousand years. The owner loved it so much that he regarded it as a treasure. I presented this gift to Lady Zhouxi (Josie).

Aberdeen produces many kinds of Western cloth. There are two big factories, one of which I visited on request. It has more than two thousand men and women working there. All the works, including threading the silk, knitting, dyeing, arranging, placing, weaving into cloths, ironing and measuring is done by machines. Workers are there to operate the machinery. It is very efficient and truly ingenious. The factory owner introduced me to each step of making the cloth. He talked and used his body language so that I could understand.

On arriving at Aberdeen, I visited Zhan Wu, an old man from Anhui, and his wife, Jin Fu, both of whom dressed in British style. I had seen her in Alloa, dressed in painted dress and embroidered trousers. At that time, her feet looked like two bamboo shoots soaring up. This time, I looked at her feet again. She was wearing a pair of leather shoes and her feet were eight *cun* long like Lady Ying's.⁸³ I was so amazed by the changing of size of her feet that I could not help laughing. Jin Fu also gave a big smile and her cheek turned pink. Zhan Wu was so happy to see me again

Confucian explained that Kuei was the minister of Music for Yao堯, and Yao was so pleased with Kuei's work that he said with Kuei alone is enough.

⁸³ Lady Liang Ying 梁瑩, the queen of Emperor Huan 桓帝 of the Later Han Dynasty, had an eight-*cun* long foot. The original story is recorded *Han Zashi Mixin* 漢雜事秘辛 (Miscellaneous Records of the Han Dynasty). Madam Wu 吳姁 was responsible for selecting the queen for. One day, she went to visit Lady Liang Ying and checked every part of her body, including measuring her feet.

and gave me several photographs as a gift. I also gave him beautiful papers, ink, pens and fans as presents in return. Two months later, Zhan Wu would sail to America where he would stay in New York for about twenty days. Then he would go back to Shanghai passing through Japan. Hearing about his plan, my longing for homeland was also aroused.

42. Travelling in Huntly

(Previous part translated by Ian Chapman)

I comment: Indians call China “Zhina”. The pronunciation of “Zaini” is similar to “Zhaina”. From this, one can know that Western phonology, etymology, mathematics and science mainly come from India. This reinforces my belief that algebra also known as a method from the East, comes from India rather than China.

(Previous part translated by Ian Chapman)

The inhabitants of Kinnoir, which lies several dozen *li* from Huntly, are benevolent people. When they have spare time in winter, they read books and discuss their ideas. Recently, they raised funds to establish a library for storing books, enabling people who are willing to learn to read books there. The library is divided into two rooms. Books in the outer room can be borrowed and taken out. The book will be marked and the borrower must return it by the due date. The director of the library invited me to deliver a talk which was attended by more than a thousand people. I wrote an essay “A Record of the Library of Kinnoir” for the director. When the building of the library is completed, my essay will be carved on a stone stele and will survive forever. On one occasion, I went to a hall in Huntly to give a talk, which was translated by Mr. Legge.

During my stay in Kinnoir, there was a banquet. All the guests were spruced up and wore bright new clothes, without sleeves and with collars that barely covered their chests. The beauty of the clothes and the brightness of the jewellery were reflected in the lights. The hall was filled with colourful clothes, creating an enjoyable

atmosphere. Lady Meili (Mary), Weilian's (William) eldest daughter, was good at playing the piano and singing. She sang a long song so loud that her voice could stop the clouds in the sky. Thereafter, she played a melodious tune which was sonorous and rhythmic. Then, other women joined in and sang as a chorus. The music carried on reverberating in the room even after Meili had stopped playing. All the audience clapped their hands in praise.

Weilian's uncle, Mr. Shibanshi (Spencer), was an old and virtuous gentleman, who died at home at the age of eighty four. I went to his funeral, which was attended by several hundred people. Their hats and clothing, as well as the carriages were all black. This was because black is preferred on such an occasion. I commented: According to British custom, the deceased person's body is washed, and clothed in his own formal dress. Before the burial, the body is covered with a white cloth. The poor use wooden coffins wrapped with rugs. Rich people's coffins have three layers: pine, iron and mahogany, though some use lead for the inner layer of the coffin. The dead are buried in official courtyards and there are no worshipping rituals. When people long for their dead relatives, they go to see the tomb and hang a wreath of flowers on it.

After staying in Huntly for around ten days, I headed for Dundee.

43. Travelling Twice to Dundee

Dundee is the biggest of the eight counties of mid-Scotland. It is a great port with mountains behind and facing out to the sea with than one hundred and five hundred thousand inhabitants. Hundreds of households are clustered like the teeth of a comb and a multitude of buildings linked together like clouds, with more factories and mills than other places. Dundee is a distinguished gathering place for cloth: the sound of weaving can even be heard on the roads. Along the shore are many big houses with remarkable gardens, pavilions, ponds and outbuildings shaded by trees. It is a spacious and relaxed place, which, although located within the city, allows

people to enjoy the beauties of nature. This is really a good place for recluses. I stayed at Mr. Shibanshi's (Spencer) home. He was a knowledgeable and diligent intellectual who was famous for his studies of geography and cartography.

Mrs. Shibanshi, a native of London, was so sensible and wise that she demonstrated the manners of upper society. Her fifteen-year-old elder daughter called Aili (Ally) was extremely intelligent and good at playing the piano and singing. Also, she was able to draw portraits so vivid that the people looked alive. Her paintings can be compared with those of the Northern Song literati. She gave me an album of her paintings as a present and told me that looking at the paintings would be the same as looking at her. Aili was prettier than flowers and more graceful than the moon, indeed, the cleverest girl in the world. Although she was young, she was able to show respect to intellectuals. After hearing her father and Legge discussing people, she singled me out and regarded me as a genius whom she truly admired. Usually after having wine or tea, she would show me her calligraphy and paintings, and taught me the alphabet. She corrected my pronunciation patiently. Every evening after the meal, she would sing and play the piano for me and teach me fingering. She even forced me to play by holding my hands. I was, therefore, able to play a few notes and she would let go only after some practice. I also chanted Bai Juyi's intriguing "The Song of the Lute" for her in a melodious voice with a variety of pitches. Aili sighed in appreciation. Then, she asked me to read the poem out slowly word by word. After listening for while, she said, "I have got it." The next day, she composed a melody for singing the poem; the song was so sonorous that it could stop the cloud and encircle the beams.

During the day, in the company of Aili, I travelled around by carriage. We visited several gardens, all of which belonged to her relatives. My eyes feasted on the famous and strange plants in the gardens. I was also served with good wine and fruit. When I was not able to express myself, Aili spoke for me and she could fully understand all my thoughts. This was because this lady was so sensitive that she could use her eyes to listen and her eyebrows to speak, instead of just using her

mouth.

The mills, sugar refineries and printing presses in Dundee all use machines, making their work fast and efficient, showing an unimaginable use of water and fire. The linen is coarse and not particularly durable. It comes from India, is yellow and has a bad smell. After being woven into threads, the cloth can be torn easily. This linen is greatly inferior to that grown in Vietnam. In India, this kind of linen grows everywhere and does not need to be planted. How cheap it is.

There is a great variety of sweets produced in Dundee, some of which are mixed with fruit, such as oranges, mandarins and pears. Sweets are stored in different containers and when people come into the shop, they can immediately smell the fragrance. The owner showed me round and gave me a few of each kind. By the time I walked out of the shop, I had nearly a basketful. Visitors would sign their names on the guest book. The owner opened the book and asked for my signature. I saw a line of Chinese characters written by the esteemed Bao Lin, a previous governor of the five treaty ports who had been stationed in Hong Kong.⁸⁴ At this time, he had retired, and was living as a recluse.

I went to Dundee again solely because Miss Aili wrote me a letter sincerely inviting me to go. Her relatives also wanted to meet me again after our long separation. When I arrived at Dundee, I saw a prettier layout and grander embellishments than before. That day, there was a flower fair and I went with Aili by carriage to have a look. Even several hundred paces away from the exhibition, I could smell fragrance that gave my nose a pure feeling. To prepare the fair, the organizers collected all kinds of strange flowers, uncommon plants, famous grass and vegetation, even vegetables and fruit were arrayed. The place was filled with a spring like mood. There were more than a thousand visitors, whose sleeves were like clouds when raised and whose fans could block the sun when they were waved.

Aili's neighbour, from the wealthy family, Simei (Smith) invited me to come to his

⁸⁴ Bao Ling refers to John Bowring (1792-1872) who was the Hong Kong governor from 1854 to 1859. Before that, he was appointed as the Consul of Canton and superintendent of trade in China.

banquet, with several hundred people gathering there. The ladies were dressed up and their upper breasts were naked. Under the bright light, their skin looked like snow and their faces like flowers, and their jewellery reflected in the light. After the meal, some ladies played the piano while others danced. Mr. Simei asked whether I could sing a song and pressed me to do so. I smiled, "I cannot sing but I can chant a classical poem." I recited Wu Weiye's 吳偉業 (1609-1672) "Lyrics of Yonghe Palace" melodiously. All the audience clapped their hands. By the end of the banquet, it was late at night. I left Dundee by carriage the next day.

44. A Record of My Wanderings

After returning from Dundee to Dollar, I concentrated on my studies in a quiet environment, declining all visitors. Three months later, I went on an excursion to Glasgow.

Among the thirteen counties of Southern Scotland, Edinburgh is the most beautiful and spectacular city while Glasgow is the biggest in size and has the largest population. It is also the most prosperous business centre and has the most solid financial foundation. The city is close to the sea and linked with everywhere else. Freighters and ships are gathered like feathers and scales. Exports, mostly cloth, are transported to America and the West Indies. There are six hundred thousand inhabitants. I stayed with Luo, a rich Glaswegian businessman. The cutlery provided to me was luxurious, and the food and wine that I had never before experienced was delicious. Every day, I traveled around in the company of Mrs. Luo. Riding on a light carriage drawn by fast-running horses, we exhausted all the city views. I went to a big garden of over sixty *li*, which is spacious and planted with green trees. Delicate red and lovely green colours were as resplendent as an encircled colourful silk screen. Deep fragrance coming from afar cleansed my nose. I was refreshed when I entered the garden. Because it was such a magnificent attraction, there were several thousand visitors every day.

Arriving at a big college, I saw so many towers soaring up to the sky that I could not visit them all. They were so high that the windows were close to the moon, the winding paths and flying eaves made me feel as if I were in an immortal land. At that time, the building had not been finished and I heard that it had already cost a large amount of money, all of which had been donated by gentry and businessmen. This was really great! Mrs. Luo promised to take me here by carriage to see the grand ceremony when the building was completed.

The graveyard of Glasgow is the most spectacular in Europe. The large stelae and enormous tombstones are arrayed like trees in a forest. There is an area belonging to the ancient worthies which lies on a hill and is several *qing* in size. There is a stone arch, ten *xun* high, which stands out from the others. It is the tomb of a famous preist, John Knox, who was the first to criticize the faults of Catholicism and established Protestantism three hundred years ago. The Scottish people followed his religious beliefs, making his contribution no less than that of Martin Luther.

There was a short, fat woman in Glasgow, who had an enormous body and a huge belly. When weighed, she was over five hundred *jin*. This was very uncommon in modern times.

I visited Edinburgh several times, and became acquainted with a clergyman, Jilishua, and in particular, Miss Zhouxi Luli, both of whom I now know very well. Mr. Ji had been to Guangdong eighteen years ago and stayed there for seven years. He knew a lot about the Chinese and was a modest man, just like a Confucian scholar. After mourning his dead wife, he married the elder sister of Miss Zhouxi. Miss Zhouxi was still very young and extremely beautiful and dignified. When I came back from Dundee, Mr. Ji invited me to stay in his house. Miss Zhouxi waited for me by the road. She shook my hands in greeting, and was happy to meet me. This lady's surname is Luli which is a well-known family in Edinburgh. Most of her family members were famous government officials and businessmen. That day, old friends met again and old joys started anew. The Ji and the Lu families arranged a banquet that lasted for several days, inviting their relatives and friends to come. We sat upon

the flowers to eat, and we drank so much wine that even the moon was drunk. This was the grandest gathering at that time.

Miss Zhouxi was seventeen years old, and had a beautiful face and mind that was unrivalled in the world. She was especially good at playing the piano and singing. Whenever she played, the sound was so sonorous that it could tear a piece of silk or stop a moving cloud. The melody continuously encircled the pillars even after she had stopped playing. All the audience showed their appreciation and said that they had never seen such skills. Doctor Huabou Lishi was very close to the lady, and they both wanted to get married. One day, I accompanied the lady to visit a villa. The spectacular pavilions, terraces, ponds, and rooms and the luxuriant flowers, trees and rocks formed a paradise. There was a room arrayed with calligraphies and paintings. Works of some famous Chinese could also be found. The person-in-charge of the room asked me to write a few words on a blank book as a sample of precious calligraphy. In the garden was a pavilion with eaves like the wings of a bird. The fences on the four sides were exquisite. The windows and window rails were opened. The layout of this garden resembles Chinese ones. The owner invited me to drink some wine.

I stayed in Dundee for four days and Edinburgh for eight days. When I went back to Dollar, I received a letter from Miss Aili, saying, "You stayed in Edinburgh for ten days and only three nights in Dundee. Why did you treat Dundee in such an unfair way? Now you are home, I invite you to come to Dundee to make it up." She expressed her deepest feelings in honest words.

Concerning Scotland, I have travelled to the southern, northern and central parts. The islands in the sea are the only places I have not visited. Some say the language in northern Scotland is different from the south. On listening to it carefully, I found this was not true. Only those ancient inhabitants living in mountains and on islands speak differently because they live with descendants of the natives who lived there two thousand years ago. Later, other people occupied their land and exiled them so that they had to live on cliffs, drink from valleys and were cut off from the outside world.

There are still many of them, living with the English and the Scottish. Sometimes, they speak in their ancient language. Those who appreciate rituals and are literate take examinations and are subsequently appointed as officials or missionaries preaching overseas. This practice is the same as in England and Scotland. The only difference is that their faces, eyes, beards and eyebrows do not look the same as the English and the Scottish. The situation is similar when comparing the Miao people in the peripheries of China with the Han Chinese.

45. Travelling the Third Time to Edinburgh

(Previous parts translated by Ian Chapman)

I often travelled with Miss Zhouxi (Josie) by carriage. When we felt hungry, we would have a drink in an Edinburgh inn famous for its delicacies. Several dozen kinds of famous alcoholic beverage were offered by the inn. One day, I tasted all of them. The lady did not want to drink too much: even when I pressed her, she drank only three cups of wine and her beautiful face turned slightly red. The servants in the inn were all young girls. Whenever I was there, they would look at her, smile and ask me secretly, "Is that lady your beloved one? Are you going to get married?" I answered, "No. We are just good friends." When the lady heard about this, she laughed, "I am a Chinese, don't you understand?"

Coming back from Edinburgh, I passed through Stirling. I went to visit a spectacular castle which was not inferior to that of Edinburgh. Inside was a garden where Queen Mary had stayed. In the western corner was a terrace where a powerful Marquis had been arrested in the past. Later, he was tricked into climbing up the terrace from where he gazed into the distance. He was suddenly pushed in the back and fell to his death with his bones broken. The terrace still survived. Stirling is one of the eight counties of Mid-Scotland and is famous for casting solid and sophisticated ironware and pianos.

When our carriage passed through Alloa, I went to visit the Bo family. Miss Ailun

(Aileen) came to meet me. Her father died when she was very young, so she lived with her mother. Her father was a Swiss who got married in Britain, so the lady also was brought up in Britain. She was good at calligraphy and painting and knew a lot about the study of French. This was because the west of Switzerland is linked with France; as a result, their customs are the same. Miss Ailun's mother came from an elite family and she had read many great works. Therefore, she established a college to teach girls, enrolling thirty beautiful students, all of who came to see me and felt proud to meet me. Ailun's mother debated with her students unswervingly. Her intriguing thoughts flew out like spring water and her beautiful words were like the sunset misty glow. She could be compared with Cao Dajia and Xie Daoyun.⁸⁵ Ailun and her mother prepared a meal in the afternoon. I was served with extraordinary food which was much better than that made by Chef Wei.⁸⁶ Sitting on two sides of the table were the lovely young ladies. The light of pearls shone everywhere and the shadows of flowers moved around. Sitting there, I felt as if I were travelling in a jade forest, leaning on jade trees. I suspected that even Ma Fufeng had not won such favour from the beauties.⁸⁷ When I took a train back to Dollar, I saw bright stars shining in the sky and the crescent moon hanging on a tree. It was already dusk. I needed to change to a carriage when I travelled from Tilicoultry to Dollar, because there were still nine *li* to go. I felt the route circuitous. In the spring of 1869, the building of a railway had started. Travellers would find it more convenient to go by

⁸⁵ Cao Dajia 曹大家 is Ban Zhao 班昭, who was the sister of Ban Gu 班固, the author of *Han Shu* 漢書 (The History of the Han Dynasty). She was known as Cao Dajia because she married Cao Shou 曹壽 and later became the empress's teacher. She helped Ban Chao to finish *The History of the Han Dynasty* and wrote *Nu Jie* 女誡 (Regulations of Women). Xie Daoyun 謝道韞 was the nephew of Xie An 謝安 in the Eastern Jin 晉 Dynasty. Once, Xie An asked Daoyun and her brother to give a metaphor of falling snow. Her brother said the falling snow was like spreading salt in air. Daoyun said it was like willow catkins blowing up by the wind. Xie An was very satisfied with Daoyun's answer. Both Ban Zhao and Xie Daoyun were famous intelligent women in Chinese histories.

⁸⁶ Chef Wei 韋 was a renowned chef of Emperor Hui 徽 of the Song Dynasty.

⁸⁷ Ma Rong 馬融, courtesy name Fufeng 扶風, was a famous scholar in the Eastern Han Dynasty. When he gave lectures, groups of female music performers would stand behind a curtain.

train.

(Episode 46 Translated by Ian Chapman)

47. Sailing back from Britain

I had spent more than two and a half years in Dollar. After being a guest for all these years, I desired to return home. I realized that I was tired of wandering around and it was time to leave. Looking out of the window listlessly, I wrote a regulated poem, which reads,

I have missed the spring of my hometown for seven years.

What comes in front of my eyes is the refreshing scenery during my journey.

I see the natural scenery of the North.

The distance restrains me from going back to the South.

The wanderer sheds tears when looking at foreign flowers and moon.

The lonely traveller wears exotic clothes and hats.

When can I be a recluse on the shore of Shanghai?

I will sleep and read books in my wooden-door-hut.

By that time, Legge had already got the books he needed in Hong Kong, and he was requested to continue his job as a lecturer in Hong Kong. Therefore, he decided to embark early next spring. Counting the days till my departure, I felt so anxious that sitting in my studio made me even more restless than before. So, I threw away my pen and went out climbing up the peak of the hill in Dollar. I gazed into the distance and saw green mountain ranges encircled with one another. I wrote another regulated poem which reads,

It is a shame that I am not strong enough to explore beautiful scenery.

My mind feels sudden relief when I exhaust secluded places.

The sound of the spring water seems to compete with the rocks.

The shadows of the mountain haze sometimes move around the clouds.

I feel the sky is so near to my eyes

That it seems suddenly, a thousand of peaks have gone under my feet.

Heaven is pleased with the wanderer travelling in such remarkable places.

However, I still feel sad because my hometown is nowhere to be seen.

At that time, whenever I had a spare moment, I would put on my sandals and climb up the hill to appreciate the scenery. As I had been acquainted with the immortals of the mountains, and now I was about to leave them, how could I not feeling grievous with each of my steps?

On the fifth day of the first month, I left Dollar and reached Edinburgh at dusk. I stayed in the home of Zhouxi Luli who treated me with even greater hospitality than before. I felt the mounting up of sorrow and moving compassion at the time when letters from home urged me to go back and the song of parting was about to be sung. At night, Kelin invited me to have a drink. Just after the meal, we all felt the sadness of parting. As Mrs. Kelin played the song “Tianfeng yin” (The Prelude of Heavenly Wind) for me, I could hear the sonorous and deafening sound of the waves. It suddenly aroused my eagerness to cross the oceans. Mr. Weilianchen (Williamson) also came to meet me and we talked for a long time. At that time, he had just come back to Scotland. I went to Leith to visit William Muirhead, but he had already gone to London for twenty days. His mother and sister came to meet me. I took a carriage to visit Miss Simei and chatted with her happily. Her name was Aimei (Amy) and she was so good at music and poetry that she was regarded as a female scholar. Her younger sister, Zhouyu, who was extremely lovely, gave me a silk handkerchief and a bottle of fragrance as presents. She specially opened a bottle of fragrance and poured it all over my body. It was like pouring wine over my head. She did this to show her love for me. Then they boiled some tea for me and I only left after staying for a long time. They promised to see off my train.

A Chinese man, Wu, who lived in Edinburgh, married a soldier’s sister. He knew that soldier when he was in Shanghai. When the soldier saw Wu in Britain living in a poor condition, he felt sorry for Wu, so he asked his sister to marry Wu. I had also helped him in times of difficulties and gave him six pieces of gold coins before I left.

Wu thanked me from the bottom of his heart, and he cried so hard that he nearly lost his voice.

Legge invited me to a hall to give a speech on the teachings of Confucius for two evenings. All the people gathered to listen to me. When it was about to end, some women expressed their desires to listen to Chinese poems. I chanted Bai Juyi's "The Song of Lute" and Li Hua's "Moaning for the Ancient Battlefield" for them. My voice was so melodious, sonorous and passionate that all the audience showed their appreciation and said my voice was like the sound of gold and stone or a sudden change in the weather. After this speech, all the people in Edinburgh knew the teachings of Confucius. The Grand Historian Huang Jiting presented me with four words, "Wu Dao qi Xi" (My teaching goes to the West) as I was going on my journey to Europe. Although I did not really deserve these words, I achieved similar things.

When I was about to leave Edinburgh, Miss Zhouxi Luli came to see me off. She said, "I don't know when we can meet again after this separation." She took a stray piece of hair, made it into a circle and gave to me so that I could think of looking at her face. Previously, I had given her a blouse which cost about eighteen pieces of gold coins. She did not want to wear it as she thought it was too precious. Only when we parted did she wear it. She also gave me a small photograph of herself. I was overwhelmed by her gorgeous shadow just like a startled swan.⁸⁸ She shook my hands to say goodbye. Her eyes become wet and her tears were about to fall. She did not want me to see her crying so she wiped her face secretly. When I looked at her again, she started sobbing so hard that she could not say anything except "take care". Miss Meili smiled at me by my side. When the train started going, I could still see Zhouxi standing along the road waving her handkerchief. Meili told me, "How passionate is Zhouxi! She loves you so much. This is, perhaps, because you have

⁸⁸ A shadow of a swan is a symbol of Fairy of River Luo. The story originates from Cao Zhi's 曹植 Lou Shen Fu 洛神賦 (Rhapsody of Fairy of River Luo) in which Cao describes the fairy's figure as moving like a startled swan and swimming dragon. (翩若驚鴻，婉若游龍). The phrase is used to praise a woman's beauty.

written her so many letters and given her so many presents in these two years. So, she is greatly moved by you. Is that right?" I knew that she was teasing me, so I did not answer but lowered my head. At that time, I was in the train and could see the fast-disappearing huts and forests at dusk. I reached York where I stopped for about an hour and changed train.

48. Back to England

York, located near to the border of Scotland and England, is a spectacular city with houses arrayed like the teeth of a comb, and lively markets. There is an extraordinarily lofty and resplendent church, its golden lights reflecting one another.⁸⁹ The building is so high that it towers up to the sky. Meili and I went to visit it when we broke our journey. On entering, I saw bright windows and crystal doors, which seemed to circulate air in the hall. At the moment I came, a clergyman was preaching to a group of people. In a room located close by is where people play the piano and sing hymns. The music was melodious. Meili and I sat there quietly for a while. When we put on our clothes and prepared to leave, the train was about to go. When we arrived at Hull, the red sun had set and it was already dusk. Dangsun, a relative of Legge, was waiting for us at the train station. We took carriages to his house. After having a meal, we stayed elsewhere as Dangsun said his house was too small to receive refined people, and he had rented me another place, with two parts, each with three rooms. It was extraordinarily bright and spacious. When I awoke from my dreams in the middle of the night, I was amazed to hear the sound of a flowing stream. The next morning, I opened the back door to have a look. Water from the stream was pumped to supply water and remove the sewage from the house. Dangsun was a businessman who owned a few shops in the city. He invited me to visit them with Meili. One shop sold many kinds of silk and accessories for women, including a hairpin and a pearl which cost five hundred gold coins.

⁸⁹ The church Wang Tao went to is the York Minster.

On that day, the city hall was holding a special lunch gathering for girls from poor families. Most of the girls were around fifteen and sixteen years old. Although their clothes were made of cloth, they were clean, tidy and even prettier than fanciful silk. The organizer invited me to say a few words of encouragement. I chanted the Tang poem “The Poor Girl”.⁹⁰ Legge translated the main idea for me. All the girls smiled at one another. This gathering was held every seven days.

Dangsun’s sisters also came to visit me. The eldest was Meili (Mary) who was twenty one years old. The middle one, Laide, was fifteen and the youngest one, Aili (Ally), was thirteen. They were as beautiful as fairies and as bright as a jade mountain. Their skin was truly snow-like, and their spirits like flowers. When they first met me, they kissed me according to ritual, expressing their powerful feelings. This was very unusual. That night, I was invited to their home to have a big meal. The three ladies took turns to encourage me to drink wine. There were some raw vegetables on a plate, I tried one and found it sweet. When the eldest sister saw me enjoying the food, she added some spices into it and gave me some sauce. I had not suspected that Meili had secretly put mustard powder onto it and it was so hot that I burst into tears. The three sisters blamed Meili for her trick. Meili laughed and said, “I would not allow him to be so comfortable with the beauties,” All the guests laughed.

Legge accompanied me to a lecture hall to see children, young and old, learning. This college had been built for church services. When people heard I was coming that day, many of them went there.

Dangsun invited me to a dockyard, which employed two thousand workers. It was encircled by many houses, producing a spectacular sight. There were big iron hammers heavy enough to break anything into pieces. The iron panels were pressed efficiently into standard sizes. The factory owner, a courteous and humble man,

⁹⁰ “The Poor Girl” is written by Qin Taoyu 秦韜玉, describing the misfortune and pride of a poor girl. The original reads, “蓬門未識綺羅香，擬託良媒益自傷。誰愛風流高格調，共憐時世儉梳妝。敢將十指誇纖巧，不把雙眉鬥畫長。苦恨年年壓金線，為他人作嫁衣裳。” *Quan Tang shi*, p. 7657.

offered me some wine. A college in Hull was built by him. He had also built the best hall in the city, which was high, with carved eaves and painted pillars. Last year, people going to the college sponsored two hundred and fifty pieces of gold coins for the refurbishment. I regarded this as being keen to do the right thing.

Hull had an office for handling commercial matters which was managed by Dangsun's elder brother. He wrote me an invitation. One day, there was a big gathering and businessmen came like flocks of deer. On arriving, all of them stood up and shook me by the hand. When they asked which business was the most prominent in China, I answered that, besides silk and tea, it was opium. However, silk and tea were good for others while opium was harmful. I asked about methods to eliminate the opium trade. No one could answer my question. Only Mr. Lao'ai expressed his opinions, "From now on, we should establish a society with a few people who think the same way, working to prohibit India from growing opium." I clapped my hands and agreed with his idea. Lao'ai was a member of the lower parliament.

Behind the office is a garden, full of thriving plants and flying and singing birds. There is a five-floor high tower, just like the enormous and beautiful wings of a bird. During the meal, I was asked to take the most important seat. The delicacies and wines were not inferior to those made by Chef Xun. When I came back, I told Meili, "I realise that businessmen know how to enjoy their life as they take the most precious things and make most use of them. They are a hundredfold better than poor people like me."

49. Visiting London Again

After staying in Hull for three days, Legge went to Leeds and I went to Bradford. I arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon. It was raining and the roads were covered with mud. I took a carriage to the Medhurst family to visit old Mrs. Medhurst, Mrs. Sha and Lady Yalan. After a separation of two years, we were so pleased to see one

another again that our relationship became even stronger than before. At night, the rain continued to pour down from the eaves, so I could not go out to visit. The next morning, Mrs. Sha accompanied me to an iron-melting factory where all the melting and farming equipments and daily commodities were arrayed. The person-in-charge gave me a book listing all the utensils they produced. The most sophisticated ones were the harrows, ploughs and hoes.

Thereafter, I went to visit Doctor Badun. He had previously stayed in Guangdong for a long time and had recently been in Shanghai. His family, including his wife and daughters, lived in Bradford.

Mrs. Sha had two daughters: Aimeili (Emily) and Tulan. There was another lady from the Xi family, named Ma'an. The three ladies were beautiful while Ma'an was exceptionally nice. Clergyman Xiliya was Ma'an's uncle. When he heard me coming, he went to visit me with his wife in Ma'an's house. Ma'an suffered from ear pain, so she frowned and was not looking happy. However, this made her look even more gorgeous. I went with Mrs. Sha to her house to have some wine and took a rest.

In Bradford, there was a newly established prison. A jailer invited me to take a look. The prisoners worked according to schedules to avoid being lazy. The carpets wove by them were colourful and extraordinarily shiny. When sold outside the prison, some cost several dozen pounds. The houses there were clean and the food was delicate. It was a paradise for the prisoners. Clergymen went to preach once a week, educating them wholeheartedly. The jailer gave me some photos of the prison as a gift.

Then, I went with old Mrs. Medhurst to visit an old doctor. He was famous in the past but had stayed in bed for sixteen years. His wife was already eighty five years old, but she could still listen and see things clearly and her hands and feet were nimble. She accompanied me to walk for some distance when I left. This was enough to show that she was healthy. That night, I chatted with Mrs. Sha and Lady Yalan about the travels in Shanghai under the candle light, so I did not sleep all night. We looked at the empty house and were saddened by our separation. After breakfast, old

Mrs. Medhurst, Mrs. Sha and Yalan saw me off at the train station where I headed for London. I was not willing to leave until I heard the thundering sound of train from far away which Legge, accompanied by his wife and daughter, had arrived from Leeds. We then took the train to London together.

At noon, we arrived at London and Zhan Na invited me to stay in his house. Mrs. Zhan was only just over twenty years old. She was bright, young and elegant. With simple rituals, she showed great hospitality. Zhan was a generous man and he had many friends, all of whom discussed literature with him. Although wealthy enough to live a luxurious life, he was industrious and humble. He appreciated my talents and pressed me to stay at his house to be his guest. The lunch was sumptuous with uncommon food. I felt that this was too luxurious, but Mrs. Zhan laughed and said, "This is merely appropriate for receiving a guest from afar."

I was accompanied with Zhan Na to visit his friends all around. One of them understood German dialects and words. His pronunciation is slightly different from what Lady Yalan taught me. That night, he invited me to have a luxurious meal.

In the midnight, I took a carriage by myself to visit Miss Simeili. I knew her when I had passed through Alloa. We visited the Rumbling Bridge and saw the inverted waterfall together. At that time, I had promised to visit her when I went to London. Because I cared about our friendship, I kept my promise to chat with her. I did not leave until the afternoon.

Another lady, a friend of Zhan Na, was good at painting and playing the piano. She met me in a hall and pressed me to visit her. I did not want to disappoint her, so I took her hands and went to her house. At dusk, I was treated to a meal and copious amount of wine. When she played "Yingzhou yuyu Qu" (A Song of Jade Rain of Yingzhou) for me, I could feel the wound of fierce waves in front of my ears. The music resembles the pouring of rain from the eaves and thousands of streams heading towards a valley. All the audience clapped their hands in appreciation.

I went to visit Shenyake, but he was not there, so I visited William Muirhead instead. He lived at the house that belonged to his wife's family. The sister-in-law of Joseph

Edkins and Mrs. Muirhead were sisters who lived together with their mother. They prepared lunch for me. After the meal, it started raining. So I took a carriage back. Mrs. Zhan asked for my calligraphy and as she wished to frame it. I wrote four pieces of *Lingfei Jin* for her.

It happened that I ran into a shop selling Chinese trifles. They had fixed prices that could not be slightly lowered, but they were cheaper than in China. So I bought some fans as gifts.

50. Visit the Attractions Again

I had visited the Anglican Church and the museums previously, but with nothing to do during the journey, I went to visit them again. The Anglican Church was the gathering place of British missionaries where precious things were stored. The person-in-charge, Lulunshi, treated me with great respect and guided me as I looked around.

Shortly after, Legge came and accompanied with me on a visit to the museum in which are stored the world's most remarkable things. It is truly spectacular. When we returned, we went to visited Shipeisai (Spencer) who was Legge's old friend. I had met him before in London and was received by him with great hospitality: he had arranged several banquets for me. We met again after two years and our relationship became even deeper. He pointed out that I was thinner than before. We had lunch at his house. He used machines to produce several million bundles of paper, with different sizes, daily. He had four shops in London selling goods, to afar, earning a lot of profit. All the newsagents in Hong Kong ordered paper from him because the price was reasonable. He guided me through the paper-making room where pieces of cloths were crushed to make paper. It took only a moment from melting to finishing, and all the papers were cut tidily and were ready to use. This was miraculous.

Mr. Shipeisai's daughter was just over fifteen years old and was so quiet that she hardly spoke. She gave me a Chinese puzzle and asked me to solve it. I told her that I

could not do it, and she smiled as she taught me. It was very magical the way she solved the puzzle and I secretly appreciated her intelligence. Mr. Shipeisai gave me ten pieces of gold coins to buy a telescope and a pair of spectacles. I could not repay his goodwill.

Zhan Na took a carriage to give me a lift to visit Shenyake. We left after chatting for a long time. Thereafter, I visited Miss Simeili and asked her to see a shadow play that night. The movie was released in a public garden which was very quiet, spacious and had remarkable natural scenery. The lady specially ordered the servant in the garden to provide the best tea and extraordinary fruit. Zhan Na took out a Chinese pen and some ink from his jacket and asked me to write poems on the walls as an indication of my visit. Zhan Na was very interested in Chinese characters. He sincerely admired Chinese scholars and he always expressed his true feelings, instead of being perfunctory. He admired me in particular. There were four words, “Tianxia taiping”, (peace to the world) written on top of his house. I asked him who wrote it for him. He said Zhan Wu wrote it when he stayed here. That night, there was a large audience, most of whom were female friends of Simeili. All of them shook my hands to greet me and express their admiration of me. The play covered a wide range of things with colourful lights, vividly showing towers, terraces, halls, pavilions, birds, beasts, reptiles and fish. Afterwards, Zhan Na accompanied me to the Green Dragon Restaurant, the best hotel in London. The cooking skills and food were better than other places. The owner of a ship was the host; he had heard of me and asked Zhan Na to introduce me to him. There were several kinds of wine, all of which were tasty. That night, when the carriage had travelled for a long distance, I went out and saw the horses were sweating. I consoled them, “You must feel tired today because of the running. I will give you plenty of food.” After I rode on the carriage, the horses ran very fast. The horses seemed to understand people’s mind. I appreciated them.

Legge asked me to go to Euston with him, and with Meili, we went to see the wax museum. The faces of the wax dolls were so vivid that they looked alive. I had visited here before but I loved to visit it again. I went to see Mrs. Zhan with Meili.

The two beauties stood together, just like jade trees reflecting each other. The lunch provided was very delicious and extraordinary.

Hualu, who was famous among the clergymen in London, asked me about current affairs in China in order to broaden his horizons and knowledge. He invited James Legge, William Muirhead and Shidunli (Stanley) to have a banquet at his house. I was also invited to join. During the meal, I spoke mostly about Chinese scenery and I felt as if I were back in the clouds of Wu and among the trees of Yue. Zhan Na's parents lived in a village which is thirty six *li* away from London. They wished to see me; therefore, I took a train to go to their house. During the visit, they were very pleased, saying that I should pay attention to food and clothing and take care of myself. They also asked Zhan to look after me. Zhan Na treated me with even more respect, following his parents' instruction.

51. Attending Various Banquets

Doctor Luo Jia, courtesy name Weilin (William), established a hospital in Shanghai in 1844. After the Qing court signed the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), he opened another one in Beijing. After returning to Britain, he became a recluse for a long time. When I first arrived at London, I stayed in his house which was about six *li* away from the city. One afternoon, I took a train to visit him. His dog knew how to welcome guests and his birds could call out their names. Both of us felt happy meeting each other again. His wife could read some Chinese words. His eldest daughter Luli was a beautiful girl who was so clever that she was knowledgeable in poetry and arts. Her paintings of natural landscape were a match for the famous Chinese painters. Singing and playing the piano were not difficult tasks for her. Her friend, Men Meili, was also beautiful and gifted in many similar ways. They were wonderful. When they heard me coming, they rode on a fast-running carriage to meet me, chatting with me about poetry and painting, and having great fun. They stayed with me from morning to night for the next three days.

Mr. Sha was a wealthy Londoner who knew Legge and Luo. Because of his great

respect for the Chinese, he wrote me an invitation and asked Legge and Luo to introduce me to him. I went with them at four o'clock in the afternoon. His house was splendid and spacious with extraordinary, elegant and delicate furnishings. Behind the middle door, a clock, about 2.4 *zhang* in high, stands up like a mountain, giving out a sound so sonorous that even people walking on the avenue outside the house can hear it. There were two vases, of bronze cloisonné appearance, both over a *zhang* high. When I entered the house, I looked at the roof. It was so colourful and shiny that I felt dizzy. During the meal, servants milled around like a flock of geese. Some were responsible for the wine while others were responsible for the food. After the meal, all the female guests went to change their clothes. I was served a white-coloured wine in a small crystal cup. The host told me, "This wine has been stored for 20 years. I keep it for the most esteemed guest from afar." It tasted sweet but spicy. I finished three cups of it. Legge was afraid that I would be drunk, so he said to me, "The taste of this wine is pure and has a strong effect. Although you can normally drink a lot, you should not drink too much of this one."

I had travelled around Britain and France. In a Paris teashop, the shop owner suddenly called over a person, wearing a Chinese hat and a short jacket and he humbly served me with some tea. I found that he spoke with a Ningbo dialect. He had been abandoned by a tea merchant called Wang Chengye. In London, I met another Chinese person who was from Fujian. When I spoke to him, he looked uncomprehending, scared and upset. I left and did not speak to him again. Once, when I walked on the road, a Chinese rushed over and bowed to me. He told me that he was from Guangdong and had sailed from New York to Britain. He had spent all his money, seven hundred silver coins, in brothels. Thereafter he wandered around without shelter, begging in the city. At that time, I did not bring enough money with me. I asked him to go to Zhan Na's house and gave him six gold coins and told him, "Go back home quickly. Don't stay in a foreign land and let yourself die of hunger." Zhan Na had an uncle who lived about one *li* away. He invited me for dinner with great hospitality. Zhan Na was a famous wine maker and was good at making beer

with machines. The wine was sold only in London. His uncle also ran the same business. He was kind, adorable and healthy. His sons were already married and had sons themselves. His children and grandchildren entertained and played with him. All of them were intelligent and lovely.

In the morning, I went to Legge's hostel and was informed that he would leave in two weeks time. As the previous day I had requested Miss Simeili to have a meal in Zhan Na's house, and I helped Zhan Na to arrange it. Mrs Zhan specially ordered the chefs to prepare chickens, ducks, fish and prawns, as beef and mutton were considered inferior to them. She also instructed them to cook in a French style as she knew I had a special taste. I was deeply touched by her. In the afternoon, Simeili came and chatted happily with Mrs. Zhan. During the meal, I praised the meal, saying, "I have never eaten anything better than this. I am very lucky that I have been able to eat such tasty food this morning."

That night, I accompanied Zhan Na to a college. A student, having achieved excellent results in examinations, was going to travel to China to study translation. His classmates arranged a farewell party for him, gathering together in the college hall to express their aspirations. I talked with words and gestures. I also bought a dozen pictures of Chinese scenery, customs and science. Zhan Na translated the outline of my speech and encouraged the student to enhance his studies in China. He said, "It is hoped that there will be a harmonious relationship between China and the West so that Western science can thrive in China. If Europe, Africa and Asia can be linked up by train, then going to China will as easy as travelling on a straight road. How delightful! This will happen sometime in the future." All the audience clapped their hands to show their agreement. Zhan Na asked me on the way back, "How was my speech?" I said, "Perfect, indeed. But I am afraid I cannot wait to see those days come."