

THISTLE AND BAMBOO

The Life and Times of
Sir James Stewart Lockhart

SHIONA AIRLIE

with a foreword

by

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香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press

14/F Hing Wai Centre

7 Tin Wan Praya Road

Aberdeen

Hong Kong

© Hong Kong University Press 2010

First published in 1989 by Oxford University Press

This paperback edition published by Hong Kong University Press
in 2010

ISBN 978-988-8028-92-4

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue entry for this book is available from the British Library.

Secure On-line Ordering

www.hkupress.org

Printed and bound by Prepress Co. Ltd., Hong Kong, China.

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Chapter 1

GOOD ABILITIES (1858–1879)

‘THE measure of a man’s success is not only his words nor even his popularity but largely the example he leaves behind. In your dealings not only with us but with the Chinese you have left behind an example which it will be difficult to follow and which won’t be surpassed.’¹ Words of high praise are not easy to earn, and, perhaps, even less easy to live up to. Yet this compliment was only one of many given to a British colonial official who considered, one suspects, that he had just been ‘doing his job’ for Britain in Asia for almost half a century. Exactly what made James Stewart Lockhart so different, so special, and so deserving of esteem from his colleagues and acquaintances was that he set an example as a colonial civil servant which few could equal. Throughout his life, he strove to be best — not necessarily a merit in itself — but, more importantly, he did so with a firm set of ideals which, while not to be equated with missionary zeal, had a profound effect on the territories in which he worked.

In an age when it is fashionable to criticize nineteenth-century British imperialism and to deplore the attitude of many colonial officials towards the people in their charge, it is invigorating to encounter a man who lived during the height of imperialism, was part of that system, and yet was refreshingly different in his outlook. Respected by his colleagues, admired by the people with whom he worked, James Stewart Lockhart was not only a sinologist of considerable repute, but also a member of the British Colonial Service in Hong Kong and China for forty years. A hard-working Scot, he was to see his career blossom as Hong Kong’s flourished under British rule, and his ambitions fade, as Britain’s did, in China, during the faltering years following the fall of the Qing (Ch’ing) dynasty. One of a band of extremely able Britons whose administrative and intellectual ability were to prove to be the backbone of the British Colonial Service, his background was similar to those of countless others who had

expanded and consolidated the British Empire since its inception; but his talent, particularly as a colonial servant, was a rare one.

The British Empire at its height provided an enormous employment market for young men in trade, the army, or in government service. A complex governmental system had developed from the seventeenth century onwards: from the time when the foundations of the British Empire were being laid. In the early days of empire-building, the British Government and the Crown took little direct action themselves to establish the colonies which were instead largely the work of 'court favourites on the make, chartered companies in search of profits, or protesting groups looking for sanctuary'.² In succeeding centuries, British rule of foreign territories gradually became regularized under the control of government bodies; and although the merchants and adventurers were still of immense importance in an empire which thrived upon capitalism, government departments, such as the Colonial Office, required the continuous export of large numbers of able young men from the shores of Britain to her colonies in order to ensure the smooth running of these territories. Merchants and administrators worked hand in hand, though not always with total amiability, to establish a British base of operations in the farthest flung parts of the globe. Frequently working in immensely trying conditions, these men had to be quick witted — and often quite ruthless — to survive, let alone succeed. Their backgrounds were as varied as their talents, but large numbers were Scottish in origin. 'Education in Scotland was better than in England . . . but the younger sons of the lower gentry had fewer opportunities to make an acceptable living in their own country than their counterparts in England.'³ Having received all the benefits a Scottish education system could bestow, with its well established system of village schools serving all, the sons of the middle classes, as well as the younger sons of the impoverished Scots nobility, flocked to join one of the available colonial services, or one of the many companies trading within the empire throughout the nineteenth century.

A declining Scottish economy helped to establish a tradition of emigration from Scotland, a tradition which varied in extent with each decade's varying fortunes from the seventeenth century and beyond. As a result, the idea of settling half-way

across the world was treated with an acceptance not necessarily found in the more affluent parts of Europe. Some areas of the British Empire became miniature Scotias, with traders and administrators being linked not only through nationality but also in many cases through family and school connections. The Scottish scholastic system served its pupils well in preparation for civil service examinations; and in some Scottish schools a higher percentage of pupils entered the British civil service, either at home or abroad, during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, than entered almost any other profession.⁴

The early life and career of James Stewart Lockhart was to follow the course taken by many of his contemporaries: a comprehensive and intensive education in Scotland followed by a move to the other side of the world to work with his countrymen in the service of Britain. In his life can be seen the reflection of countless other British administrators, but in his attitude to the people over whom he held power, he was very different.

Stewart Lockhart was born on 25 May 1858 at his maternal uncle's estate of Ardsheal in Argyll, north-west Scotland. The fourth son, and the sixth of nine children, he was born into a family of some wealth and social status, and his first two christian names reflected this, originating as they did from a paternal relation, the Reverend James Haldane, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. His paternal grandfather had been a successful London banker with the firm of Ingram, Piggot and Lockhart, and his father, Miles Lockhart, had no need of a career, having sufficient private means at his disposal to enable him to be a gentleman of leisure. In his youth, Miles spent some time in Europe, including an extended stay in Holland where 'he lived at Haarlem . . . and there spoke Dutch like a native!'⁵ Later, a good marriage was made with Anna Stewart, niece and heiress of Charles Stewart, last Laird of Ardsheal.⁶ Whereas the Lockharts were a family of financial standing, the Stewarts had something more to offer: they had history in their blood and were related to the ancient and noble Stewart clan with its strong Jacobite associations.

The Stewart ancestry was deeply important to Stewart Lockhart, so much so, that when he became married, he incorporated his Stewart forename into his surname. To this day, his surviving family are known by the name 'Stewart Lockhart'.⁷

Miles Lockhart's marriage further enhanced his social standing, but it also had one unfortunate consequence. Presuming (incorrectly) that his son had married a woman of considerable private means, Miles's father left him very little money when he died. As a result, the younger sons of the next generation had to go out into the world to earn their living when they reached adulthood, for their Stewart mother's inheritance was composed largely of memories and mementos rather than of money.

James's early life, however, was hardly one which could be described as deprived or impecunious. Much of his childhood was spent in the Stewart family home of Ardsheal where a large, twelve-bedroomed house sat on the shores of Loch Linnhe, surrounded by 800 acres of forest and hills. Ardsheal was a treasure-house of Jacobite relics belonging to the family. Few of these passed to James Stewart Lockhart, but amongst the Jacobite heritage which surrounded him as a child, and which he did inherit, was the ring of Charles Stuart, Pretender to the British throne, a Jacobite snuff box, the Commission given by James VIII of Scotland to Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, and a multitude of documents relating to the history of the Stewart clan.⁸

James Stewart Lockhart's initial education probably took place at Ardsheal, where he was brought up like a young highland laird, speaking Gaelic as his first language.⁹ However, when the Lockharts moved southwards, some time before 1868, James was sent to a Dame's School.¹⁰ By August 1868, the family were living in Clifton House on the Isle of Man and that summer James was enrolled at one of the major schools on the island, King William's College. This independent school for boys had been founded in 1833 from an existing theological college with the intention of 'establishing a place of general education in the island'.¹¹ James was to stay there until July 1872 and studied, in accordance with the initial purpose of the college, a broad academic curriculum. The school day was filled with the study of Classics, English, French, and Mathematics, and in addition pupils undertook scientific experiments in a newly opened laboratory. Progress reports for each of the 115 pupils were issued every quarter by the college and Stewart Lockhart's show that he was a bright child who displayed a particular aptitude for languages.¹² When he left King William's, his headmaster

wrote about him in terms of unqualified satisfaction: 'his conduct was uniformly satisfactory and his progress in his studies rapid and great. He was most diligent and attentive, possessed of good abilities, and carried off at different times several prizes against considerable competition'.¹³

Although his stay at King William's was a relatively short one, and forms only a small part of his long life, this school meant much to him. Ultimately, the Stewart Lockhart Collection of personal papers, art, and artefacts was to be given to the administrative body of his senior school, George Watson's College. As a result, it is easy to underestimate the strength of his feelings for King William's. The island school, however, had its own old boy network which extended to China and in later years some of these former pupils were to band together to provide a gift for the college. The story is related in a school magazine:

Four men found themselves in conversation in a well-known Club in China. A remark by one led to the discovery that each had been educated at K. W. C. To celebrate this remarkable coincidence, they decided to present the College a cup to be called the 'China Cup', which is now presented to the best 'all-rounder' in the school.¹⁴

Stewart Lockhart was one of those four men. When the China Cup was first presented in 1907, the group of four had contacted several other former pupils and finally ten donors subscribed to the trophy.

The network of people who had a former school or university in common was one which bound British officials and merchants together even in the most remote parts of the globe. It was rare, for example, for 'new men' arriving in Hong Kong to be without any contacts created through the education system, and many such connections were further strengthened by family ties. These links did not necessarily increase one's opportunities for promotion or advancement, but they did grant an automatic acceptance from, and entry into, certain social circles.

In the summer of 1872, the Lockharts left the Isle of Man and moved back to Scotland. Initially, they lived on the outskirts of Edinburgh, although it was not long before they acquired a house within the city boundaries. Edinburgh contained several good schools and James was enrolled at one of the largest, George Watson's College, situated near the centre of town. With

a school roll of over a thousand boys, this large establishment might have overwhelmed many a boy. Yet Stewart Lockhart flourished in the busy environment provided there. Like King William's College, Watson's had a fine academic tradition and it also encouraged a strong competitive spirit on the sporting field. Stewart Lockhart was able to make full use of both the physical and academic opportunities. Although he never forgot King William's, the impression given by Stewart Lockhart himself was that it was George Watson's which made the most lasting mark upon him. In 1909, he wrote to the school magazine, *The Watsonian*, enclosing a photograph of himself and his schoolmates of 1874 and including some reminiscences from that time. The memories of his masters must have been tempered by the years, but as a schoolboy he had flourished under their care and he recalled them with great fondness:

Those were the days of Ogilvie the Great, whose sweetness of disposition, extraordinary knowledge of the boys, and genius for organisation have left behind them an influence and a memory that will never die. Of the many masters who so ably assisted him I remember 'Jimmy' Blyth, skilled in mathematics and science, upon whose good nature some of us too frequently imposed: 'Traddles' Wilson who drove arithmetic into us with a ruthless but clever hand: MacClennan, whose kindly nature and literary gifts were not appreciated as they should have been by 'the young barbarians all at play' in his class: Calder with flashing eye who made the geography of South Africa a living terror, and who first revealed to us the existence of the Limpopo: Robson, the polyglot, as benign as he was linguistic: Oudet, 'the gentleman of France', whose culture made him respected even by those who were inclined to regard a teacher of French as 'fair game'! Sellar, the athletic, who was almost better at football and cricket than at Classics. But of all the henchmen of Ogilvie the Great, he who had the greatest influence on those under him was 'Tommy' Stewart, the senior Classical master.¹⁵

The subjects at which he excelled were Classics and Games. It seems, however, that he was highly competitive in all subjects, and once told his daughter Mary that 'I always liked to be top of my class'.¹⁶ Noted above all for his ability in Classics, he attained the highest academic honour the college could bestow when, in 1874, he became joint dux of the school.¹⁷ A contemporary of his from Watson's later wrote that 'He was an excellent Grecian and gained prizes and medals galore'.¹⁸ But his

achievements were not limited to the classroom alone, and in the same year that he became dux, Stewart Lockhart not only had contributions accepted by the school's literary magazine but also captained the first teams in both cricket and rugby. To this day, he is considered to have been one of the best all-round sportsmen the school has ever produced.¹⁹ In James Stewart Lockhart, George Watson's College found a boy who was the embodiment of all that was best in the school.

His schooldays wreathed in glory, Stewart Lockhart left Watson's to embark upon a course of study at the University of Edinburgh. He enrolled there in September 1874 and chose Greek as his main subject, with Rhetoric and English Literature as a subsidiary course. By the end of his first year, he had gained certificates of merit in all subjects, and during the following session gained further academic distinction when he was awarded the Gold Medal for first prize in Greek. The same year, 1876, he also gained a first class merit from the English department, an indication of his potential to achieve a first class degree.²⁰ In addition to his studies he continued to play sport with enthusiasm, representing the university in their rugby football team from 1874 to 1876. He could have sat his degree examinations in the 1876–77 session, but did not enrol at the university that year, and seems instead to have unsuccessfully entered the open competition for the Civil Service of India. Nowadays, students generally prefer to complete their further education before seeking employment, whereas far less emphasis was placed on the possession of a degree in the late nineteenth century. Today, it is virtually impossible to reach a senior professional grade in the British civil service without a university qualification, but in the 1870s the recently introduced competitive examination was the most common form of entry into the service and, as a result, some young men with proven academic ability halted their university careers mid-way when given the opportunity to compete for a position in one of its many branches.

By this time, Stewart Lockhart was eighteen — an adult in the eyes of many — and he would have been well aware that it was imperative to find a career for himself if he was to survive financially in the long term. Perhaps his father was also pressing him to begin a move towards financial independence and the result was this year away from university attempting to gain

admittance into his chosen field: the Indian Service. India seems to have been chosen partly because some of Miles Lockhart's family were already working there. This was not unusual, as huge numbers of upper and upper-middle class Britons were involved either commercially, militarily, or diplomatically in the Indian subcontinent. (The Indian connection was also to continue in the next generation of Lockharts, with one of James's brothers, Robert, who spent the greater part of his working life there.)²¹ The subcontinent must have had further attraction for the young Stewart Lockhart as it was undoubtedly, in the 1870s, Britain's premier colonial outpost. By then, the British Empire had reached its commercial high point and was continuing to expand its colonial administration. For a youth with the academic potential Stewart Lockhart clearly possessed, the India Office was an obvious choice as it offered the possibility of excellent career advancement. However, given the career potential and prestige of working for the civil service in India, competition for places (which were very few) was extremely fierce.

After this first unsuccessful attempt to enter colonial administration, Stewart Lockhart returned to Edinburgh where he lived in the fashionable Georgian New Town, once more enrolling at Edinburgh University where, in September 1877, he commenced a further year of study. The twelve-month lapse in his academic career appears to have had an adverse effect on his grades, for no merits or prizes were collected by him during this session. It is not even certain that he completed his final year, as the university records show no examination passes for him during it. It is known from civil service results that he once more attempted the entrance examination for the Indian Civil Service in April 1878, in the middle of the university year, and the renewed attempt to gain admittance into this profession is the likeliest explanation for his failure to complete the degree in Greek. Once more, he was unsuccessful in the highly competitive examination, ranking only thirty-seventh in a field of sixty-nine candidates.²²

The home civil service, the Civil Service of India and the Colonial Office were open to applicants through a system of examinations. Young men presented themselves for examination in a variety of subjects, both compulsory and optional, and Stewart Lockhart's results show him to have been rather unpre-

pared for the high standards which were expected in the Indian Civil Service examinations. He failed all eight papers he attempted, and even in his strongest subject, Greek, achieved only 143 marks out of a possible 750.²³ A career in India may have been his first choice, but Stewart Lockhart was sufficiently realistic to realise that other options might be more easily accessible to him. Although the India Service was, at that time, the premier one within the British Empire, other areas were offering equally promising career prospects to men of suitable ability, though they lacked the cachet of colonial India. Three months after his failure in the India exam, Stewart Lockhart turned to pastures new and applied to sit the examination for entry into the Colonial Office as a trainee official in either Hong Kong or Ceylon, for which a single examination was to be held.²⁴

The Colonial Office did not emerge as an independent government department until 1854. For half a century before that it had been incorporated into the Department of War and it was not until it became an office in its own right that rationalization of administration in British colonies was dealt with in any systematic manner.²⁵ Throughout the decades following 1854 the various parts of the British Empire were introduced to forms of administration which accorded as closely as was feasible with those used in the home civil service; and in 1862, in line with a general move towards administrative reforms within the empire as a whole, Hong Kong Cadetships were created 'with a view to supply Interpreters and other Civil Officers in Hong Kong'.²⁶ Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong from 1854-9, was the first to promote the idea of 'a cadet scheme to supply the Consular service in China with the necessary language training'.²⁷ This scheme was introduced into mainland China almost immediately, but it was not until Bowring's successor, Sir Hercules Robinson, took office, that a similar system was introduced into the Hong Kong administration. Robinson used Bowring's scheme as the basis for the structure of Hong Kong Cadetships. The objective for these was that men should come from Britain and learn the Chinese language to a sufficiently high standard to work without the aid of an interpreter. The idea was approved by the British Government in 1861 and the first cadets arrived in Hong Kong the following year.

With a population which was dominated, in numerical terms,

by the Chinese, the Hong Kong administration was, by 1860, in desperate need of officials who could work with the local Chinese without always requiring an interpreter by their side. The judiciary were particularly hard pressed and it was intended, when the Cadet Scheme first began, that cadets should work within this department and thereafter become eligible for senior posts within the broader administration.²⁸ It is some indication of the need within the territory for Chinese-speaking officials that when, in 1860, the posts of Chief and Assistant Magistrate were abolished and replaced by two Police Magistrates, a knowledge of Chinese was deemed of greater importance than a knowledge of law for appointment to these positions.²⁹ As a result, when cadets were appointed, their services as Chinese speakers were required so urgently that few cadets completed their Chinese studies without having to combine them with some administrative post.

With the exception of the first few cadets, who had travelled to Hong Kong as soon as they were appointed, cadets commenced their training in London where they spent a year learning Chinese at King's College in central London. There, on Tuesday and Friday evenings, intensive Chinese language courses were taught.³⁰ Simultaneously, the cadets, who had to be aged between 20 and 23, spent 'some hours daily at the Colonial Office in the work of the Department'.³¹ It was an exacting first year, and for their labours they received an annual salary of £100; just enough to sustain them above subsistence level. At the end of the year they were examined in Chinese and, given a successful result, were sent to Hong Kong where they continued their study of the language. In both London and China cadets were housed, tutored, and provided with books at the government's expense. In return they were expected to sit and pass an examination in Chinese every six months while at the same time undertaking some small duties within the administration, thereby preparing themselves for full-time work in the Government of Hong Kong once their two years or so of cadetship were completed.

The introduction of the Cadet Scheme marked the beginning of a new phase in Hong Kong's government, initiating a structure for the training of professional government personnel and greatly reducing the administration's reliance upon untrained and often unreliable men who were employed by virtue of the

fact that no one else was available. In time, the Cadet Scheme was to result in 'a quota of officials much more interested in the affairs of the Chinese community and in the language, culture, civilization, and history of China than was true of their predecessors'.³² In no instance is this observation more apposite than with regard to Stewart Lockhart.

In the autumn of 1878 an examination was held for two Ceylon Writerships and two Hong Kong Cadetships. Stewart Lockhart, in obtaining fourth place in the examination, was offered a posting as a Hong Kong Cadet, the first two candidates having elected to enter the service in Ceylon.³³ The examination involved a series of tests. His compulsory papers included exercises in Handwriting, English Composition and Précis Writing, Arithmetic, Latin and French. (One of the options for the compulsory language paper was Greek and it should be noted that he chose not to be examined in it, perhaps as a result of his poor showing in the India examination.) He was also presented in four optional papers in History, Constitutional and International Law, Political Economy, and Geography. He scored a pass mark or better in all but the last two papers.³⁴

The cadet post must have held considerable attraction for Stewart Lockhart as the regulations stipulated that he would have to learn Chinese, and he had already exhibited a talent for languages, the occasional exam lapse in Greek excepting. Hong Kong may itself have seemed appealing, for although it was half-way across the world and was recognized as a place of uncompromising climate and unhealthy conditions — complete with regular visitations of the plague — it was also an area in which a number of Scottish entrepreneurs, including some distant relatives of his, had already staked successful economic claims. He can, however, have had little access to specific public information about the territory or his appointment. India and Africa generated far greater interest with the British public in the 1870s than did the rocky trading post on the edge of China. Even the British parliament rarely debated China, concentrating its parliamentary energies instead on India and South Africa. The notes of guidance issued by the Colonial Office gave no information about the territory; indeed, they provided only the minimum of information about the Cadetship, relating merely the bare essentials regarding pay and conditions. As only seven cadets had previously been appointed, and the last of these as

far back as 1867, Stewart Lockhart must have felt that he was to some extent venturing into unknown territory.

His appointment was confirmed by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Disraeli's Secretary of State for the Colonies, on 25 November 1878,³⁵ and followed the reintroduction of Cadetships after a decade's lapse under Hicks Beach's predecessor, Lord Carnarvon. The appointment of cadets from Britain had been halted in an effort to save money and Sir Arthur Kennedy, Hong Kong's Governor from 1872–7, had actually gone so far as to propose the disbanding of the scheme. Chinese-speaking officials were still, of course, required within the administration, and Kennedy intended to recruit men locally to fill the appointments. The first of the locally recruited interpreters was the son of a missionary in Guangzhou (Canton), J. Dyer Ball. A Cantonese speaker, Dyer Ball carried out his tasks efficiently,³⁶ but Lord Carnarvon eventually overruled Kennedy's plan of using local men, being of the opinion that, while reasonable interpreters might indeed be recruited from Hong Kong and Guangzhou, few would have sufficient education to assume senior posts within the government. He therefore reinstated the Cadetship scheme. Carnarvon also made a few amendments to the training of cadets, the main reform being that instead of going directly to Hong Kong as soon as they were appointed, cadets now had to spend a year in London learning Chinese. Accordingly, Stewart Lockhart was informed that although he now bore the title 'Hong Kong Cadet', he would 'not be called upon to proceed to that Colony for at least a year'.³⁷

Stewart Lockhart began his training as a cadet on 1 January 1879 in London, where he attended the class for students of Chinese at King's College. There, the Professor of Chinese, Robert Douglas, taught him the rudiments of the language, although the young student had also to spend much time in the Colonial Office in Whitehall, acquainting himself with the techniques of the British civil servant. Stewart Lockhart was installed in the West Indian section, part of the same division which had responsibility for Hong Kong, where his duties involved logging daily despatches and arranging for their reply.³⁸ Part-time lecturing not only suited the Colonial Office, whose over-stretched staff were always able gainfully to employ an extra pair of hands;³⁹ it also permitted Robert Douglas to continue his work at the British Museum where he was a Senior Assistant in

the Department of Printed Books. His student was an enthusiastic one who threw himself wholeheartedly into the subject. Determined to prove himself, almost from the start as a sinologist, Stewart Lockhart began by being elected as a member of the illustrious Royal Asiatic Society in the summer of 1879.

He would have expected to remain in London until the early part of 1880, but his aptitude for languages was undiminished and by September 1879 he had progressed sufficiently in the study of Chinese to have passed an initial examination in the language. As a result, on 2 October 1879, he sailed out of Southampton on the S. S. *Khedive* on the six-week journey to Hong Kong, the colony which was to be his home for the next twenty-three years. He was moving into one of Britain's most isolationist civil services. In both the China Service and the Government of Hong Kong, a thorough knowledge of Chinese was an essential prerequisite to promotion. The cadet system ensured officers were well trained, but a knowledge of Cantonese or Mandarin was generally too good to waste in another part of the world, and Stewart Lockhart must have been aware from the outset that in passing the entrance exam for the Cadetship, he was moving towards a lifetime's career in the Far East, a completely foreign land.

Chapter 12

THE CONFUCIAN COMES HOME (1921–1937)

THE Stewart Lockharts were returning to Britain with little idea of what they were going to do or where they were going to stay. The first priority was to visit family and friends, and to be reunited with all their now grown up children. A huge family gathering was organized for their return to Britain in June, the reuniting of so many relatives quite overwhelming Stewart Lockhart. The company of his children on their own took longer to achieve than the family gathering had, however, particularly as Mary and Charles had their partners' commitments to consider. Not until December did the Stewart Lockhart family with all three children meet to celebrate Christmas dinner in Scotland.¹ The first time all three children had been together with their parents under the same roof, the occasion was the cause of great celebration.

After so many years working in China, Stewart Lockhart and his wife were in no mood to settle down immediately. They spent the first six months of retirement in Britain, catching up with family affairs and renewing old acquaintances, before taking an extended holiday by themselves. After a brief sojourn through Europe the beginning of 1922 was spent in Switzerland where Stewart Lockhart tried out his skills at skiing.² Further trips were made to Switzerland during the following two winters, during which time Stewart Lockhart learned to ski with a certain degree of skill.³ From May 1921 until the end of 1923 was a time of relaxation for Stewart Lockhart, and was the longest period in his life when he undertook no research or any other work. A house was not found until the beginning of 1924 when the Stewart Lockharts purchased a comfortable property at Cresswell Gardens in south-west London, and only then did Stewart Lockhart once more turn his attention to things Chinese.

From the time he left Weihaiwei until he settled in his London

home, Stewart Lockhart had not ignored Chinese matters entirely. Johnston had kept in regular contact, providing news and information from Beijing. As the Emperor grew up, Johnston undertook increasingly fewer tutorial duties and instead became an unofficial adviser to the crown,⁴ and for these duties the Emperor continued to heap rewards upon the Scottish tutor. In 1922, Johnston wrote of his astonishment at being given an honour accorded to few foreigners, namely his designation as a mandarin of the second rank. In addition, he was presented with a sable robe by the Emperor; this was the first time such an honour had been bestowed on a foreigner.⁵ A year later the Emperor promoted Johnston to a mandarin of the first rank, in celebration of the imperial marriage.⁶ Despite the honours pressed upon him, Johnston was well aware of the lack of stability in his post. He wrote frequently of the 'parlous state' of China, and feared for the Emperor's safety as the war-lords took an ever increasing hold on the country.⁷ Of Weihaiwei, there was little news, though British indecision was beginning to irritate the Chinese, with Johnston reporting that 'there is a strong (and in my opinion justifiable) feeling that the hitch is due to British obstinacy and greed', much of which he personally blamed on the Admiralty.⁸ In return for Johnston's news and gossip, Stewart Lockhart sent a steady supply of books on various Chinese topics to Johnston in Beijing, ever mindful of his friend's interests, though often adding some particularly pro-Christian text to stimulate Johnston's Buddhist beliefs.⁹

While Johnston was teaching the Emperor how to play tennis and cycle¹⁰ Stewart Lockhart was busy unpacking his trunks of papers, books, paintings and coins. Cresswell Gardens was filled with mementos of China, and his library there was to become a haven of Chinese scholarship.¹¹ With a firm base in Britain, Stewart Lockhart resumed his study of Chinese literature and history, beginning each day by reading passages of Chinese in bed.¹² Gradually, he began to involve himself in committee work and in organizations related to China. One of the first to which he was elected was the China Association, of which he became a member in 1924.¹³ Old friends from China days were not forgotten, either. Jordan wrote regularly until his death in 1925, though his letters are often tinged with sadness as he viewed events in China, a country that he now felt was 'past

praying for'.¹⁴ Other retired colleagues, notably Parker, Addis, and Lucas were frequent correspondents, swapping news about the land in which they had all been so intimately involved.

Although he was officially retired from the service, Weihaiwei continued to intrude on his life. Jordan wrote of his hopes in 1922 that rendition of the territory was 'to take place . . . within ten months and may be earlier',¹⁵ but these hopes were to be unfulfilled for a further eight years due to a combination of British indecision and the instability of the Chinese government which made it difficult, at times, to know to whom to give the territory back.¹⁶ Given Stewart Lockhart's unparalleled experience of the territory, it is not surprising that the Colonial Office was to look to him on several occasions for advice on matters regarding rendition.¹⁷ The question of land ownership in Weihaiwei was one of particular concern to those Europeans living there, with several, including the headmaster of the European School, Beer, demanding to know what compensation the British Government would offer them should the territory be returned to China. Three years after he retired, Stewart Lockhart was still being asked by the Colonial Office if he could 'throw any light' on freehold grants given to those living in the territory. Given the volume of correspondence he had retained about Weihaiwei, Stewart Lockhart was rarely stuck for a reply.¹⁸

Occasionally, news from Weihaiwei came in a most indirect manner. The last Governor of Shandong Province before the revolution, Sun Baoqi, became the Premier of China in 1923. Sun was one of the great survivors, having come close to assassination at the outset of the revolution. Indeed, it was only the threats on his life which had persuaded him to declare Shandong Province independent in 1911, though 'he made it clear that he did not believe in "independence" and in breaking with the Imperial Government'.¹⁹ Despite being a royalist at heart, Sun had continued to serve China, in the process meeting Johnston frequently in Beijing. Johnston and Stewart Lockhart had made a visit together to see Sun just before the revolution, and Sun obviously had fond memories of both men, making a point of enquiring after Stewart Lockhart when he met Johnston.²⁰ Johnston had plenty of time for such meetings, as he now had virtually no tutorial duties to perform. Indeed, he was sufficiently conscience stricken about accepting a salary for doing so little, that he offered to resign on several occasions, but the

Emperor would have none of it.²¹ With freedom to move around Beijing, Johnston was a fund of news about affairs in China, and it was he who broke the sad news to Stewart Lockhart that Sly, one of the longest serving junior officers in Weihaiwei, and a man who had driven everyone insane with his constant chatter, had committed suicide.²² Weihaiwei was obviously hard on her officers, or perhaps unlucky with them, losing both Sly and Carpmael on mental health grounds.

Jordan's death in 1925 gave Stewart Lockhart his first committee work since his return from China when he was appointed to replace Jordan on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies at the University of London.²³ The duties were not particularly onerous, but whereas a decade earlier, Stewart Lockhart would have taken everything offered, and more, he now paced his life rather more carefully, and in taking up this appointment, let his membership of the Folklore Society lapse.²⁴ Events in China continued to cause concern, with Johnston risking life and limb to save the Emperor, banished from the Forbidden City. Johnston reported the events with characteristic cool.²⁵ The Emperor's move to the Japanese Legation in Beijing effectively marked the end of Johnston's duties at the imperial court, for when the young Emperor suddenly moved to Tianjin the move took place against Johnston's wishes and advice. The Scot noted, somewhat ruefully that it was doubtful whether he would ever wish to join the exiled court there.²⁶ Although Johnston was to keep in contact with the Emperor for the rest of his life, his days as imperial tutor were over forever, halted as suddenly as they had begun.

Between 1924 and 1926, life took on a very leisurely pace for Stewart Lockhart. As much time as possible was spent with his family, and he undertook little new research. Despite the slackening pace, the three countries which had dominated his life, Scotland, Hong Kong and Weihaiwei, continued to be a prominent part of his London days. He retained his Scottish connections with as much vigour as ever, having joined the London Highland Club on his return to Britain. It was not long before this enthusiastic Scot was running the society, becoming its President in 1926, and again in 1927.²⁷ Weihaiwei once more sprang into his life in 1926 when a rather bemused Johnston announced that the Colonial Office had asked him to administer the territory and prepare for its rendition.²⁸ Arriving in Wei-

haiwei in April the following year, Johnston was delighted at the posting.²⁹ Even though he had despaired of becoming stuck in the territory for so many years, he was now being given the opportunity not only to run Weihaiwei himself, but to do what he had believed for so long was the right course of action: to give the area back to China. Hong Kong friends frequently corresponded with Stewart Lockhart, though the social divisions within the Chinese of the colony continued to appear even in these letters. The newly knighted Sir Shouson Chow took no small delight in pointing out that his knighthood made him 'the only living knight of pure Chinese descent', a side swipe at Sir Robert Ho Tung who was of mixed parentage.³⁰ Stewart Lockhart always trod these diplomatic minefields with great tact, reckoning that on such occasions, no comment was the best course of action.

It was not until the year 1927 that Stewart Lockhart once more began to involve himself fully in the field of Chinese scholarship. At this time he started writing reviews for both the *China Review* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* on a regular basis, making full use of his extraordinary breadth of knowledge.³¹ The dissemination of this knowledge, mainly through the medium of book reviews, brought him recognition from a younger circle of sinologists who had not necessarily known him in his China days. This circle of contacts became even broader when Stewart Lockhart was appointed Secretary of the Asiatic Society in 1927.³² It was a high honour, and rightly reflected his standing in the field of Chinese studies. Although he had continued to receive news of China from a variety of correspondents, in addition to the occasional *Government Gazette* from Weihaiwei, it was only with Johnston's arrival in the territory that government publications began to arrive with any regularity at Cresswell Gardens. As his interest in China revived, so his acquisition of the volume of papers from that country increased, with specialist publications such as memoranda from the Tientsin British Committee of Information being sent to him in London. Covering a variety of political topics, from the trouble on the upper Yangtze to a discussion of the British concessions in China, these myriad pieces of news seemed to provide a catalyst which spurred him once more into the field of research.³³

By 1929, Stewart Lockhart was his old self once more, studying almost any subject he encountered which had some Chinese connection. In that year, his first major publication for

several years, the *Index to the Tso Chuan* was printed.³⁴ The *Index* was in fact only prepared for publication by Stewart Lockhart, having earlier been compiled by Sir Everard Fraser, an official in the Consular Service. Fraser, described as 'one of the most brilliant Chinese scholars who has ever adorned the service',³⁵ had known Stewart Lockhart since their cadet days when 'both our addresses for service in India were rejected at the same time'.³⁶ Fraser, like Stewart Lockhart, ended up in China where he was Consul first at Hangu and then, in 1911, in Shanghai, in which post he died in 1922.³⁷ The *Index*, a prodigious piece of scholarship, had been completed by Fraser before he died, but it required the inevitable revisions and corrections to prepare it for publication, a task Stewart Lockhart gladly undertook.

Age was undoubtedly beginning to take its toll. Gone were the days when Stewart Lockhart could work and play with equal enthusiasm. The ageing process seemed to be constantly underlined as one close friend after another died. In 1929, he had the sad task of writing Satow's obituary for *The Times*.³⁸ Few colleagues from China days were now left. Johnston, of course, continued to thrive, but it was a reminder of the passing years when junior colleagues, like Walter, retired.³⁹ Stewart Lockhart found himself unable to fulfil all the duties required of him. His health began increasingly to let him down, with influenza and bronchitis becoming recurring winter ailments, and it was with some sadness that he had to retire from his presidency of the London Highland Club in 1929.⁴⁰

There were certain tasks which Stewart Lockhart felt unable to refuse, however, and when the University of London asked him to act as the external expert on the Board of Advisers for the Chair of Chinese, he accepted with alacrity.⁴¹ Five years earlier, the university had asked Johnston if he would like to be considered for the Chair, but Johnston was, at that time, unavailable.⁴² By 1930, however, the rendition of Weihaiwei had finally taken place,⁴³ and as soon as he returned to Britain, Johnston visited Stewart Lockhart. Their continued close contact meant that Stewart Lockhart, when asked to advise the university regarding the Chair of Chinese in 1931, unhesitatingly recommended Johnston for the post and, following an interview, Johnston was given the appointment.⁴⁴ Johnston had brought back few mementos of Weihaiwei, though he had fulfilled his friend's request and sent Stewart Lockhart the woven silk

picture of the Commissioner's badge which had hung, since 1902, in Government House.⁴⁵ However, with Johnston appointed to the London Chair and living at Kew, the two men had every opportunity to talk about the old days and now saw more of one another than they had done for years.

Johnston's presence gave Stewart Lockhart a tremendous boost, and gave him another spurt of energy which resulted in further research. In 1930, he began to study the various Chinese translations of the Bible,⁴⁶ and at the same time began two projects involving his old adversary, Herbert Giles. Giles had published his *Gems of Chinese Literature* in 1884, a compilation of translations of various Chinese texts dating from the Zhou (Chou) to the Ming dynasties. In 1931, Stewart Lockhart paid tribute to Giles' scholarship by compiling the Chinese texts relating to Giles' publication.⁴⁷ Giles gave Stewart Lockhart his blessing on the project, telling him that 'you will indeed have left another footstep which a forlorn and weary brother seeing will take heart again'.⁴⁸ Having completed this project, Stewart Lockhart decided to broaden the fields of Chinese scholarship slightly further, making use of translations by Giles and another notable Chinese scholar, Arthur Waley. Over the years Waley had published several translations of Chinese texts. Stewart Lockhart now combined a selection from Giles' *Gems* with several passages from Waley's books, *170 Chinese Poems*, *The Temple and Other Poems*, and *More Translations from the Chinese*, printing the original Chinese text beside each translation. Stewart Lockhart's edition did not appear until 1934, but it did so to considerable critical acclaim.⁴⁹ Giles' health was, by that time, too bad for him to make any comment on the new edition, but Waley was full of praise for the work, which had involved Stewart Lockhart in an enormous amount of reading to locate the precise passages translated by both scholars so many years earlier.⁵⁰ Copies of the book were given by Stewart Lockhart to Johnston's students and were used frequently by Johnston in his Chinese poetry classes.⁵¹

With Johnston in Britain, Stewart Lockhart relied on other sources for information about China. Ho Tung sent regular reports, continuing a correspondence which had already lasted almost fifty years, and was to continue in the next generation between Sir Robert's son, Ho Shai Lai, and Mary Stewart Lockhart. Stewart Lockhart got further information from

organizations such as the Chinese Social and Political Science Association of which he was a member.⁵² But it was not only China's present state which continued to fascinate him. In 1932, he began researching the history of the Taiping rebellion, corresponding with other scholars who had studied this period.⁵³ Unpublished and unfinished on his death, this study was to be the swansong of a lifetime's study of China.

Stewart Lockhart's standing in the field of Chinese scholarship ensured that he continued to be asked to represent various bodies, despite his failing health. He took a seat on the Universities China Committee in 1932, an important post as it distributed funds produced by the Boxer Indemnity to promote Chinese scholarship in the academic world.⁵⁴ He continued also to work on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies, attending committee meetings and giving Johnston support in his appointment. Although immersed in a world of sinologists, his Scottish ancestry was never ignored, and one of his proudest moments was when the Scottish National Portrait Gallery asked him for a portrait photograph for their archives.⁵⁵ In many ways, he was as proud of this inclusion as he was of many far higher honours. Johnston, too, returned to his Scottish roots, buying three islands in Loch Craignish as a retreat in 1934. Close to Stewart Lockhart's childhood home, Johnston made a special visit to Ardsheal on his friend's behalf as soon after purchasing his highland estate as possible.⁵⁶

By the winter of 1934, Stewart Lockhart's deteriorating health confined him to bed for increasingly longer periods of time. Despite this, he consented to having his name added to the honorary committee for the great 1935 exhibition of Chinese art held in London.⁵⁷ By now, he had withdrawn from all other committee work, resigning from the last public post he held, at the School of Oriental Studies, in January 1935.⁵⁸ Nursed by Edith, who now wrote most of his correspondence for him, life was by no means quiet, but it had slowed down to a snail's pace. His body may have begun to fail, but his mind was as active as ever, and even when he was bedridden he continued to welcome guests and stimulating conversation. It was during these years that he translated many of the inscriptions found on his collection of paintings, and he read everything he could find which related to the Taipings, keeping his mind active in total disregard of his degenerating physical state. The blow from

which he never recovered was the death of his youngest child, Margaret, in February 1936. It was one thing to see one's contemporaries fade from this world, but the unexpected loss of Margaret hit him severely. For the next twelve months, Stewart Lockhart's health deteriorated badly. Still mourning his daughter, he finally died at home in London on 26 February 1937. Following a private funeral, his daughter Mary commemorated his life by erecting a plaque in his memory in the small church of St Adamnan's, close to Ardsheal where his life had begun.

Many mourned the loss of 'one of the foremost authorities in this country on Chinese affairs',⁵⁹ though none more than his immediate family. Edith, in a daze of grief, began to dispose of Stewart Lockhart's library almost as soon as the funeral was over, whilst Mary gathered together as much as she could of her father's collection, storing papers until she decided what to do with them. He had already given her his collection of paintings, which she had grown to love in Weihaiwei, before he died and the collection of coins passed to her on Edith's death in 1950. In 1937, Mary's desire to keep her father's belongings together was the natural result of wanting to keep his memory alive. Following her mother's death, this desire had become a duty: the collection was no longer merely the embodiment of all her father had believed in, it was one of historical significance and import. Mary Stewart Lockhart's devotion and James Stewart Lockhart's magpie instincts together have bequeathed a unique picture of Stewart Lockhart's contribution to history. In preserving her father's collections, Mary Stewart Lockhart ensured his name would live on. Had she not done so, the world of scholarship would have been poorer, but James Stewart Lockhart would not have been forgotten. His contribution to the colony of Hong Kong was to retain Hong Kong's unique identity by upholding Chinese institutions and promoting Chinese society in an otherwise totally British administration. This has determined, to a great extent, its character to this day. In north China, he continued to administer Weihaiwei with the same beliefs developed in Hong Kong, running the territory with a unique combination of British and Confucian principles. This was a strange mixture, but one which resulted in one of the most benign and least intrusive administrations in the whole of the British Empire. Britain's imperial rule contributed a great deal to many countries, introducing democracy and educational sys-

tems to territories which had had neither. But in doing so, traditional lifestyles indigenous to those countries under British rule were destroyed. In comparison, Stewart Lockhart's method of administration was a beacon which lit and enhanced traditional values in Weihaiwei.

The Confucian principles he adopted throughout his life in China changed a sharp Scottish thistle into the pliant bamboo, bending to fortune, but always true to himself. It was a unique combination which influenced another generation of British administrators in China: men of influence like Johnston and Clementi. In initiating a new style of administration in China, Stewart Lockhart proved that the British Empire could care for the people in its charge without destroying their racial identity in the process. It is a lesson many could successfully apply to this day to the betterment of us all.

NOTES

UNLESS otherwise indicated, official papers from Colonial and Foreign Office Series refer to the Public Record Office classes, CO and FO. A full list of series consulted is to be found in the Selected Bibliography.

If the source document is a Governor or Commissioner's despatch, the entry is abbreviated to despatch number, date, series and section.

If notes are undated, the date of the despatch in which the note is found is included after the despatch number. Additional information, for example confidential or secret, is placed after the date, unless these terms are used within the official document as a specific section number designation.

Annual Reports may be quoted either by their eastern print number, or by their despatch number within a CO series. This is because both sources were consulted, and the original, in despatch form, sometimes differs from the printed version.

In both official sources and unpublished letters, the surnames of the writers and recipients only are given. Christian names are, however, included when differentiation is required between two people of the same surname.

The following abbreviations appear in the Notes:

SLPGWC Stewart Lockhart Papers, George Watson's College
SLPNLS Stewart Lockhart Papers, National Library of Scotland
SLPSSP Stewart Lockhart Papers, Stewart Society Papers

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Letter from Blunt to Stewart Lockhart, 22 April 1921, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
2. E. Grierson, *The Imperial Dream: the British Commonwealth and Empire, 1775-1969* (London, Collins, 1972), p. 17.
3. C. N. Crisswell, *The Taipans: Hong Kong's Merchant Princes* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 19.
4. The various histories of individual independent schools in Scotland provide an invaluable source for such statistics. H. L. Waugh, ed., *George Watson's College: A History and Record 1724-1970* (Edinburgh, George Watson's College, 1970), gives a short analysis of the careers of the most able scholars at Stewart Lockhart's school, c.1870-c.1910, when, out of a total of 40 school prizewinners, 25 entered some form of government service: the majority going either to Africa or India. Similar patterns emerge in other schools of comparable type.
5. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 May 1913, SLPGWC. These papers are uncatalogued.
6. Much information regarding the Stewart family is to be found in uncatalogued and unattributable notes in manuscript form in the SLPSSP.
7. In contemporary histories, Stewart Lockhart is often referred to as Lockhart. Letters and documents in the various collections of the Stewart Lockhart Papers make it clear that, for most of his working life, he preferred to be known as James Stewart Lockhart. All his children were christened Stewart Lockhart, and he is most properly referred to by the double surname. His daughter, Mary Stewart Lockhart, verified this usage in conversation with the author in 1980.

8. A number of these items were bequeathed by Stewart Lockhart to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, now known as the National Museum of Scotland. They are listed in his Last Will and Testament, SLPGWC.

9. Letter from Mary Stewart Lockhart to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, February 1967, SLPGWC.

10. This was a small, independent school run by a spinster. These establishments educated young boys and were fairly common in the nineteenth century.

11. King William's College, *Register of King William's College* (Isle of Man, King William's College, 1956), p. xix.

12. Several such reports are contained in SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

13. J. Jones, in a certificate of merit for Stewart Lockhart, 9 August 1872, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

14. Obituary of James Stewart Lockhart, *The Barrovian*, No. 174 (June 1937), pp. 79–80. The donors were 'Messrs. H. J. H. Tripp, H. E. Hobson, J. H. Stewart Lockhart, E. B. Skottowe, W. H. Bell, K. W. Mounsey, A. F. Wheen, I. R. Wheen, C. E. Sparke, G. D. Main'. King William's College, *Register of King William's College*, p. xxiv.

15. Stewart Lockhart, 'Another Link with the Past', *The Watsonian* (1909), p. 109.

16. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 30 November 1904, SLPGWC.

17. In Scotland, the chief senior scholar in a school is often given the appellation 'dux' towards the end of his or her final year. It is a title earned through academic achievement alone.

18. Alexander Martin, in a postscript to Stewart Lockhart, 'Another Link with the Past', *The Watsonian* (1909), p. 109.

19. Waugh, *George Watson's College*, p. 80.

20. His University of Edinburgh pass certificates are in SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

21. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 5 July 1918, SLPGWC.

22. India Office, *Results of the Open Competition for the Civil Service of India* (London, 1878), SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

23. See Note 22 above.

24. Marr to Round, 11 October 1878, Enclosure in No. 301, CO 129/183. The exam commenced on 16 September 1878.

25. Sir A. Bertram, *The Colonial Office* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1930), and H. L. Hall, *The Colonial Office: A History* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1937). Both give excellent accounts of the history of this department.

26. Colonial Office, *Notes of Information for Applicants to the Post of Hongkong Cadets* (London, 1878).

27. G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 95.

28. Colonial Office, *Notes of Information for Applicants to the Post of Hongkong Cadets*.

29. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, p. 108.

30. Sir M. Hewlett, *Forty Years in China* (London, Macmillan, 1943), p. 1.

31. Colonial Office, *Notes of Information for Applicants to the Post of Hongkong Cadets*.

32. H. J. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 1.

33. Letter from the Civil Service Commissioners to Stewart Lockhart, 24 October 1878, SLPNLS, Vol. 1, and *The Colonial Office List* for 1887, 1889, 1899, 1907, and 1910.

34. Colonial Office, *Results of the Examination for Two Ceylon Writerships and Two Hongkong Cadetships* (London, 1878).

35. Letter from Robert George Herbert to Stewart Lockhart, 25 November 1878, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

36. In addition to fluent Cantonese, Dyer Ball also spoke Hakka, one of the dialects of Hong Kong, 'well enough to interpret in it', Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 7 June 1882, Enclosure in No. 86, CO 129/201.

37. Letter from Robert George Herbert to Stewart Lockhart, 25 November 1878, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

38. Hong Kong 5608, undated note, CO 129/192.

39. In 1900, there were still fewer than 100 staff employed within the Colonial Office in Whitehall. See Hall, *The Colonial Office*, p. 25.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Colonial Estimates, No. 134 Hong Kong, 1881, CO 129/189.

2. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 7 June 1882, Enclosure in No. 86, CO 129/201.

3. See E. H. Parker, *John Chinaman. And a Few Others* (London, John Murray, 1901), for information about a Briton in Guangzhou during this period. A yamen was the office or official residence of a Chinese mandarin and was a term sometimes adopted by British officials in China to describe their official residences.

4. I. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese* (London, 1883; Repr., London, Century, 1983), has excellent descriptions of Guangzhou in 1879.

5. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 20 April 1909, SLPGWC.

6. Parker, *John Chinaman. And a Few Others*, p. 208 ff.

7. Stewart Lockhart, undated note in a blue album in which he kept his most valued letters, SLPGWC.

8. Parker, *John Chinaman. And a Few Others*, p. 208.

9. Parker, *John Chinaman. And a Few Others*, p. 209.

10. See Note 9 above.

11. Recalled by Mary Stewart Lockhart in conversation with the author in 1980.

12. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 7 June 1882, Enclosure in No. 86, CO 129/201.

13. Meade to Lucas, 23 April 1883, Enclosure in Telegram 21, CO 129/208.

14. R. F. Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1934), pp. 181–2.

15. Notes on the subject are found in several vols. throughout SLPNLS.

16. Final Cadet Examination Results for Stewart Lockhart, Enclosure in No. 6, CO 129/194.

17. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, *A Manual of Chinese Quotations: Being a Translation of the Ch'eng Yü K'ao* (Hong Kong, Kelly and Walsh, 1893), Introduction.

18. Translation in a notebook, SLPNLS, Vol. 36.

19. Sir John Pope Hennessy (1834–1891), barrister and Member of Parliament, Governor of Labuan (1867), the Gold Coast (1872), Bahamas (1875), Hong Kong (1877), and Mauritius (1883–1889). His turbulent character is well documented by his grandson, J. Pope-Hennessy in *Verandah: Some Episodes in the Crown Colonies, 1867–1889* (London, Century, 1984).

20. Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah*, above, p. 185.

21. See Note 20 above.

22. E. J. Eitel, one of Hong Kong's first historians, was German by birth, but was made a naturalized Briton by a special Governor's Ordinance in 1880. A missionary, he became Director of Chinese Studies under Governor Kennedy in 1875, and was also the Colony's first Inspector of Schools. Disliked and mistrusted by many of the British in Hong Kong, Pope Hennessy's appointment of Eitel as his private secretary in 1880 did little to temper prevailing public opinion.

23. 'Correction of a false rumour', 28 October 1881, translation of a clipping from an unnamed Chinese newspaper, SLPNLS, Vol. 35.

24. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 7 June 1882, Enclosure in No. 86, CO 129/201.

25. Part of a translation in a notebook containing translation exercises in Stewart Lockhart's hand, SLPNLS, Vol. 35.

26. Parker, *John Chinaman. And a Few Others*, p. 210.

27. Letter from Addis to Stewart Lockhart, 14 September 1889, SLPGWC.

28. K. Newton, 'An Evening in a Library', (London, undated), typescript, pp. 3–4, SLPGWC.

29. Recalled by Mary Stewart Lockhart in conversation with the author in 1980. She was an invaluable informant about her father's collection of Chinese art and artefacts and the information she was able to provide appears reliable in view of the verification obtained, where available, from other sources.

30. Note amongst some translations in a notebook, 27 July 1880, SLPNLS, Vol. 36.

31. No. 13, 12 February 1881, CO 129/192.

32. Minute from Wingfield to Lucas, undated, in No. 13, 12 February 1881, CO 129/192.

33. Old Au had taught Stewart Lockhart well, as the cadet passed two of the five papers with credit. The examination saga is contained in No. 6, 28 September 1881, CO 129/194.

34. Lucas to Meade, 10 November 1881, Minute in No. 6, CO 129/194.

35. Stewart Lockhart to Secretary of State, 9 April 1883, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

36. See Note 35 above.

37. The secretariat was composed of the Governor, Colonial Secretary, Registrar General, Attorney General, Surveyor General, Colonial Treasurer, Auditor General, Harbour Master, Chief Justice, Registrar (Supreme Court), Interpreter (Supreme Court), Magistrate, Interpreter (Police Court). These were the main posts within the administration in the 1870s and 1880s. The list can never be definitive as posts were, from time to time, combined, and cadets and assistants also frequently accounted for varying numbers. The judiciary were, of course, not government officials in the strict sense, but their salaries were taken into account by the home government when judging budgets, and they were crucial to the running of the colony.

38. Letter from Nathan to Stewart Lockhart, 11 June 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

39. E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1895; Repr., Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing, 1968), p. 522.

40. Eitel, *Europe in China*, above, p. 529.

41. A. Ireland, *The Far Eastern Tropics* (London, Archibald Constable and Co., 1905), p. 27.

42. Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah: Some Episodes in the Crown Colonies, 1867–1889*, p. 200.

43. Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah*, above, p. 22.

44. Wingfield to Lucas, 25 February 1880, Minute in No. 4, CO 129/187.

45. Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah: Some Episodes in the Crown Colonies, 1867–1889*, p. 72.

46. Bowen to Secretary of State, 23 May 1883, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.

47. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong*, p. 75.
48. Eitel, *Europe in China*, above, p. 76 ff. Unless otherwise stated, statistics for opium in Hong Kong are taken from this source. It is impossible to obtain accurate figures as, at all times, a great deal of smuggling took place. All figures drawn from duties levied should therefore be treated with circumspection.
49. In the instance of Jardine Matheson, 'by the end of the 1830's they were handling over 6,000 chests each year, producing an annual profit of over \$100,000'. Crisswell, *The Taipans: Hong Kong's Merchant Princes*, p. 33.
50. 'Sir George Birdwood on the Opium Question', *The Overland Mail*, 27 January 1882, pp. 19-20.
51. Lord C. Beresford, *The Break Up of China* (London, Harper and Brothers, 1899), pp. 211-12.
52. Bertram, *The Colonial Office*, p. 55.
53. Marsh, Testimonial on Stewart Lockhart, undated, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
54. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 October 1908, SLPGWC.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. In a lengthy memo requesting the reorganization of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Bowen requested, amongst other things, that the number of unofficial members on the Legislative Council be increased and that one of them should always be of Chinese origin. No. 4, 14 May 1883, CO 129/208.
2. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, p. 199.
3. Letter from Ku Hung-ming to Stewart Lockhart, 20 November 1887, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
4. Letter from MacKinnon to Stewart Lockhart, 5 August 1884, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
5. Sir G. F. Bowen, *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, S. Lane-Poole, (ed.), (London, Longmans and Co., 1889), Vol. 2, p. 252.
6. Bowen, *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, p. 268.
7. Sir C. Collins, *Public Administration in Hong Kong* (London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1952), p. 119.
8. Bowen hardly mentions the unrest in his memoirs, whereas he discusses in depth the many diplomatic dinners he held in order to retain friendly communications with both sides. The disorders, however, merited much police time and attention and are described in various despatches and memos in CO 129/218.
9. Stewart Lockhart, 'Triads', 4 October 1884, SLPNLS, Vol. 25.
10. Mary Stewart Lockhart in conversation with the author in 1980.
11. No. 146, 4 May 1886, CO 129/226.
12. No. 224, 28 June 1886, CO 129/227.
13. Despatch from Bowen to Herbert, 3 May 1887, Enclosure in Telegram No. 2, CO 129/232.
14. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong*, p. 574.
15. Stewart Lockhart, translation from an unnamed Chinese newspaper cutting, 24 October (no year), SLPNLS, Vol. 35.
16. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, p. 243.
17. G. Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London, Robert Hale, 1966), p. 206.
18. Letter from Ku Hung-ming to Stewart Lockhart, 20 November 1887, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
19. See Note 18 above.
20. Stewart Lockhart, 'Memorandum on the Question of a Guarantee from

Chinese Authorities against the infliction of Torture on criminals extradited from Hongkong on their trial by Chinese Authorities', undated, SLPNLS, Vol. 24.

21. 'Rendition of Chinese Criminals', Hong Kong 3886, 27 February 1888, CO 129/240.

22. Curwin to Fiddes, 27 February 1888, Minute in Foreign Office to Colonial Office, CO 129/240.

23. Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 259.

24. H. F. MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad: Their Position and Protection* (London, 1933; Repr. Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing, 1971), p. 84.

25. See Note 24 above.

26. Stewart Lockhart, 'Notes on Chinese Emigration to Honolulu, Cuba and the Sandwich Islands', undated, SLPNLS, Vol. 27.

27. No. 360, 11 December 1888, CO 129/239.

28. For a history of the District Watch Committee and the development of the Tung Wah Hospital Group and the Po Leung Kuk, see, Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, pp. 104 ff.

29. Collins, *Public Administration in Hong Kong*, p. 128.

30. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, pp. 104 ff.

31. Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1870–1970*, (Hong Kong, Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1970), preface, Vol. 1. A substantial amount of information about the history of the Tung Wah is drawn from this publication.

32. Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1870–1970*, Vol. 2, p. 18.

33. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, p. 71. Also series CO 129, where references to the problems of prostitution in 19th century Hong Kong appear virtually on a monthly basis.

34. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with China* (London, Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1892), p. 339.

35. Stewart Lockhart to Bowen, 11 August 1884, Enclosure in No. 282, CO 129/217.

36. See Note 35 above.

37. Various Enclosures in No. 91, 24 March 1886, CO 129/225.

38. See Note 37 above.

39. De Robeck to Meade, undated note in No. 182, 29 May 1886, CO 129/226.

40. O. Chadwick, 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of Hong Kong', Eastern No. 38, 1882.

41. Surveyor General, Colonial Surgeon, and Registrar General.

42. G. B. Endacott, *The Government and People in Hong Kong 1841–1962* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 1964), p. 148.

43. Endacott, *Government and People*, above, p. 148.

44. A bibliography of most of Stewart Lockhart's published works is in Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, pp. 159–62.

45. J. H. Stewart Lockhart and A. R. Colquhoun, 'A Sketch of Formosa', *China Review*, 13, No. 3, 1884–85, pp. 161–207. The original notes for the article are in SLPNLS, Vol. 34.

46. Letter from Faber to Stewart Lockhart, 20 May 1885, SLPNLS, Vol. 7, and Stewart Lockhart's notes on the club, SLPNLS, Vol. 7.

47. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Chalmers, 9 February 1887, SLPNLS, Vol. 7.

48. No. 55, 24 February 1886, CO 129/228.

49. Letter from Chalmers to Stewart Lockhart, 11 August 1887, SLPNLS, Vol. 7.

50. Letters from Parker to Stewart Lockhart, various dates, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.

51. Letter from Ku Hung-ming to Stewart Lockhart, 15 July 1887, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
52. See Note 51 above.
53. Mary Stewart Lockhart, in a blue notebook containing a short biography of Stewart Lockhart, 1966, SLPGWC.
54. Letter From Lethbridge to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 23 August 1972, SLPGWC.
55. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to the Editor, *China Review*, 7 June 1886, SLPNLS, Vol. 37.
56. A copy of the translation is retained in SLPNLS, Vol. 37.
57. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, 'Some Notes on Chinese Folk-lore', *Folk-Lore*, 1, No. 3, September 1890, pp. 359–68.
58. Relevant notebooks, SLPNLS, Vol. 37.
59. Statistics sheet, Victoria Regatta, 1884, SLPNLS, Vol. 70.
60. *Hongkong Telegraph*, 29 September 1887.
61. N. Dunne, *Club: The Story of the Hong Kong Football Club 1886–1986*, (Hong Kong, Hong Kong Football Club, 1985), p. xvi.
62. *The Daily Press*, 20 February 1886, as quoted in Dunne above, p. 6.
63. Stewart Lockhart to Frederick Stewart, 13 October 1887, Enclosure in No. 355, CO 129/234.
64. See Note 63 above.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. *Hongkong Telegraph*, 26 February 1889.
2. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, p. 141.
3. J. W. Budd, 'Notes as to a comparatively modern family history' (manuscript, no place of writing, August 1904), SLPGWC. Mrs Hancock was a Budd by birth.
4. 'Address from the Traders and Inhabitants of Hong Kong to Mr Stewart Lockhart, Protector of Chinese', SLPNLS, Vol. 24. Other congratulatory addresses may be found in the same volume.
5. Jordan to Stewart Lockhart, 4 April 1889, SLPGWC.
6. J. N. Jordan and J. H. Stewart Lockhart, 'China in Transition', undated, SLPNLS, Vol. 2, p. 3.
7. Letter from Miles Lockhart to Edith Stewart Lockhart, 14 June 1890, SLPSSP.
8. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Edith Stewart Lockhart, 14 June 1890, SLPSSP.
9. Several thousand photographs, partially catalogued and dating from 1880, are retained in the Stewart Lockhart Collection of Photographs, SLPGWC.
10. Letter from Addis to Stewart Lockhart, 23 February 1890, SLPGWC.
11. Danby and Leigh, Plans for a three bedroomed house, 1890, SLPGWC.
12. J. Camplin, *The Rise of the Plutocrats: Wealth and Power in Edwardian England* (London, Constable, 1978) contains several references throughout the book to the Sassoons.
13. Mary Stewart Lockhart, note in F. D. Sassoon, 'Celebrities at Home', undated, SLPGWC.
14. Sassoon, 'Celebrities at Home', SLPGWC.
15. A Correspondent, 'British Ignorance of China', *New Books and New Editions Supplement to the London and China Express*, 17 October 1890, pp. 4–5, SLPNLS,

Vol. 13. This may have been written by Stewart Lockhart; he certainly made several corrections and annotations to the printed text.

16. Stewart Lockhart, undated note in large notebook, SLPNLS, Vol. 36.
17. No. 315, and Enclosures, 29 September 1889, CO 129/242.
18. Robinson to Knutsford, No. 4607, 3 February 1892, Confidential, CO 129/254.
19. Lucas to Wingfield, 1 February 1892, Minute in Telegram 1988, CO 129/254.
20. Several letters in this vein from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart are in SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
21. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong*, p. 286.
22. *Overland China Mail*, 24 November 1892.
23. Hong Kong, 'Petition of the Merchants, Bankers, Professional men, Traders, Artisans and other Ratepayers and Inhabitants of Hong Kong', *Papers on the Subject of a Petition Addressed to the House of Commons Praying for an Amendment of the Constitution of the Crown Colony of Hongkong* (Hong Kong, 1896).
24. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 20 April 1893, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
25. Enclosure in No. 132, 4 June 1894, CO 129/263.
26. Sir. G. Howe, as reported in *The Independent*, 1 June 1988.
27. Lucas to Wingfield, 6 December 1892, Minute in No. 400, Confidential, CO 129/256.
28. See Note 27 above.
29. The disaster is well documented throughout CO 129/256.
30. No. 10, 15 January 1894, CO 129/262.
31. No. 115, 17 May 1894, CO 129/263.
32. No. 203, 4 September 1894, CO 129/264.
33. No. 219, 26 September 1894, CO 129/264.
34. J. S. Thomson, *The Chinese* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1909), p. 327.
35. No. 219, 26 September 1894, CO 129/264.
36. Thomson, *The Chinese*, p. 327.
37. Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1870–1970*, Vol. 1, p. 6.
38. Sassoon, 'Celebrities at Home', SLPGWC.
39. Ireland, *The Far Eastern Tropics*, p. 33.
40. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, Chapter 5.
41. Most of the correspondence between Wei Yuk and Stewart Lockhart, which underlines the strong friendship between their families, is contained in SLPGWC.
42. Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change*, p. 110.
43. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, 'Report of the Special Committee . . . to Investigate and Report on . . . the Bill for the Incorporation of the Po Leung Kuk' (hereafter cited as *Po Leung Kuk Report*), (Hong Kong, Norohana and Co., 1893).
44. Letter from Whitehead to Robinson, 28 June 1893, Enclosure in No. 137, CO 129/259.
45. *Po Leung Kuk Report*, p. 2.
46. *Po Leung Kuk Report*, p. v.
47. The proceedings of the committee, as recorded in the *Po Leung Kuk Report*, are a fascinating insight into the committee's conduct. One can almost hear Whitehead and Stewart Lockhart raging at one another through the proceedings. Whitehead and Ho Kai also had the greatest difficulty being civil to one another at times.
48. *Po Leung Kuk Report*, p. 100.
49. *The Hongkong Weekly Press*, 43, No. 4, 22 January 1896, p. 66.
50. Menu card, 10 June 1893, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
51. *The Oban Times*, 30 September 1893.

52. *Pitch and Toss, or The Kurile Intelligencer*, 20 January 1894.
53. An enrolment card for Edinburgh University, Session 1889–90, SLPGWC. The relevant notebooks on law, SLPNLS, Vol. 35.
54. Relevant notebooks, SLPNLS, Vol. 28.
55. Stewart Lockhart, draft letter to unnamed Jesuit priest, 1 April 1890, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
56. Relevant notebook, SLPNLS, Vol. 28.
57. Eitel, *China Review*, 20, No. 5, as quoted in the Kelly and Walsh publicity sheet for *A Manual of Chinese Quotations* (Hong Kong, Kelly and Walsh, 1893), SLPGWC.
58. Letter from Watters to Stewart Lockhart, 14 April 1893, SLPGWC.
59. Letter from Legge to Miles Lockhart, 28 June 1893, SLPGWC.
60. *China Review*, 20–3 (1893–5).
61. *China Review*, 23 (1895), p. 485.
62. Letter from Eitel to Stewart Lockhart, 29 September 1896, SLPGWC.
63. Letter from Giles to Stewart Lockhart, 29 October 1903, SLPGWC.
64. Letter from Giles to Stewart Lockhart, 24 March 1904, SLPGWC.
65. Several letters from Bushells to Parker during the early 1880s survive in SLPGWC.
66. Letter from Bushells to Stewart Lockhart, 29 June 1896, SLPGWC.
67. Letter from Wadman to Stewart Lockhart, 18 July 1892, SLPGWC.
68. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, *The Currency of the Farther East: From Earliest Times up to the Present Day* (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1895), Vol. 1, preface.
69. Letter from Chalmers to Stewart Lockhart, 12 April 1894, SLPNLS, Vol. 8.
70. Letter from Addis to Stewart Lockhart, 23 February 1890, SLPGWC.
71. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, 'Review of a Catalogue of the Hippisley Collection', undated galley proof, SLPNLS, Vol. 29.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 16 August 1897, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
2. Letter from Addis to Stewart Lockhart, 30 July 1896, SLPGWC.
3. Mary Stewart Lockhart, in conversation with the author in 1982, described her father as a man who was recognized as being courteous and genial in his official duties. When roused, however, he 'blew the roof off', in her words, and she recalled that he was not a man to be crossed on such occasions.
4. No. 94, 27 March 1895, CO 129/266.
5. Captain Superintendent of Police to Governor, 20 March 1894, Enclosure in No. 63, CO 129/262.
6. No. 147, 16 June 1894, CO 129/263.
7. No. 94, 27 March 1895, CO 129/266.
8. Stewart Lockhart, 'Report on the Coolie Strike to the Legislative Council', 26 March 1895, as reported in the *Hongkong Weekly Press*, 41, No. 13, 28 March 1895, p. 227.
9. No. 206, 26 June 1895, CO 129/267.
10. See Note 9 above.
11. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Sun Zhongshan, 4 October 1897, as quoted in Great Britain, eds., *Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Central Office of Information, China Reflected: An Anthology from Chinese and Western Sources* (London, 1986), p. 40.
12. Lucas to Fairfield, 4 December 1895, Minute 506, Confidential, CO 129/269.
13. Chamberlain to Robinson, 21 October 1895, Confidential, CO 129/267.

14. Chamberlain to Robinson, 4 December 1895, Confidential, CO 129/269.
15. Letter from Robinson to Stewart Lockhart, 18 February 1896, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
16. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Robinson, 20 February 1896, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
17. Lucas to Wingfield, 31 March 1896, Minute in Confidential 6856, CO 129/271.
18. See Note 17 above.
19. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 11 April 1896, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
20. Wingfield to Chamberlain, 31 March 1896, Minute in Confidential 6856, CO 129/271.
21. Chamberlain to Robinson, 11 April 1896, Confidential, CO 129/271.
22. Lucas to Chamberlain, 11 April 1896, Confidential 6856, CO 129/271.
23. Chamberlain to Robinson, 4 May 1897, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
24. Lucas to Graham, 30 March 1897, Confidential, CO 129/275.
25. Mary Stewart Lockhart, undated note on Stewart Lockhart, SLPNLS.
26. Mary Stewart Lockhart, in a blue notebook containing a short biography of Stewart Lockhart, 1966, SLPNLS.
27. Letter from Blake to Stewart Lockhart, 2 July 1912, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
28. Lucas to Chamberlain, 21 January 1902, No. 8011, CO 129/310.
29. Letter from P'ang Shau-chun to Brewin, 16 September 1930, SLPNLS, Vol. 30.
30. Letter from Cai Tinggan to Stewart Lockhart, 29 April 1897, SLPNLS, Vol. 6.
31. No. 159, 20 July 1897, CO 129/276.
32. *Hongkong Weekly Press*, 43, No. 4, 22 January 1896, p. 66.
33. See Note 32 above. *Feng shui* is the superstitious belief in the propitious siting of buildings, graves, and so on.
34. Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1870–1970*, Vol. 1, p. 7.
35. *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah*, above, Vol. 1, pp. 23–4.
36. *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah*, above, Vol. 1, p. 7.
37. *One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah*, above, Vol. 2, p. 11.
38. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 90.
39. Bird, above, p. 89.
40. 'Address from the Chinese Community of Hong Kong to Stewart Lockhart', 19 April 1902, SLPNLS.
41. W. L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890–1902*, 2nd edn. (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1951), p. 46.
42. Langer, above, p. 78.
43. The scramble for territory and concessions is admirably covered by L. K. Young in *British Policy in China 1895–1902* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970). The acquisitions of the New Territories and of Weihaiwei are discussed in greater detail respectively in P. Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1980), and P. Atwell, *British Mandarins and Chinese Reformers* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1985).
44. Sir J. T. Pratt, *The Expansion of Europe into the Far East* (London, Sylvan Press, 1947), p. 97.
45. Beresford, *The Break Up of China*, p. 1.
46. The MP is unnamed, but quoted in a letter from Hugh Fraser to Stewart Lockhart, 19 March 1901, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
47. G. N. Curzon, *Problems of the Far East* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1894), p. 421.

48. Robinson to Ripon, 9 November 1894, Secret No. 23, CO 537/34.
49. Letter from Lovat Fraser to Stewart Lockhart, 16 May 1899, SLPNLS, Vol. 20.
50. Atwell, *British Mandarins and Chinese Reformers*, pp. 6–11, and Great Britain, *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th Series, Session 1899, various dates.
51. The scale of the scramble for territory by the European powers can be gauged by the number of leasing agreements China signed in just four months in 1898: 6 March, Germany leases Jiao Xian; 28 March, Russia leases Lüshun; 2 April, Britain leases Weihaiwei; 9 April, France leases the bay of Guangzhou; 9 June, Britain leases New Territories.
52. Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories*, p. 31.
53. No. 19, 26 January 1898, CO 129/281.
54. Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 22 June 1898, CO 13111/98, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
55. See Note 54 above.
56. 'A General Proclamation from the Governor General of Kwangtung Province, 19 July 1898'. Translation enclosed in a letter from Mansfield to Stewart Lockhart, 27 July 1898, Confidential No. 65 of H. B. M. Consulate Guangzhou, SLPNLS, Vol. 3.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Minutes of the various meetings are in CO 129/287.
2. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 22 June 1898, CO 13111/98, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
3. Memorandum from Hamilton to Lucas, 14 June 1898, Hong Kong 13111, Secret, CO 129/287.
4. See Note 3 above, and No. 209, 22 July 1898, and replies, CO 129/284.
5. Stewart Lockhart, 'Report on the Extension of the Colony of Hongkong', 8 October 1898, Eastern No. 66, and SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
6. Stewart Lockhart, 'Report on the Extension', (above), Index No. 30.
7. Stewart Lockhart, 'Journal of Inspection through the Newly Leased Territory', 9 August 1898, SLPNLS, Vol. 3.
8. See Note 7 above.
9. See Note 7 above. This custom may have been suggested by Stewart Lockhart, for in Scotland such 'pooroots' (literally, pour outs) were common on special occasions. It is a tradition which continues to the present day when coins are scattered for children to pick up after wedding ceremonies.
10. Stewart Lockhart, 'Journal of Inspection through the Newly Leased Territory', entry dated 18 August 1898, SLPNLS, Vol. 3.
11. Stewart Lockhart, 'Journal of Inspection', (above), entry dated 19 August 1898, SLPNLS, Vol. 3.
12. 'Address from 147 villages in the New Territories to Stewart Lockhart', 8th Moon 1898, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.
13. Stewart Lockhart describes the incident in a letter (undated) to Sercombe Smith: 'when we reached Kam T'in Hu yesterday we found that our chair coolies had been driven from the village. I tried to ascertain the reason for the extraordinary conduct on the part of the villagers, but they refused to furnish any explanation . . . In addition to having driven away our chair coolies, the villagers were most discourteous in their reception of our party; not one of the elders deigned to meet me though I carefully explained to the villagers who I

was and the object of my mission . . . Our reception at all other places visited by us has been so good that the behaviour of the Kam T'in Hu inhabitants is all the more extraordinary.' SLPNLS, Vol. 3. Several weeks later, a less than friendly press, including a vehemently anti-British French newspaper, picked up and reported the story with, it seems, some imaginative additions. See Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories*, pp. 46–7.

14. Stewart Lockhart, 'Report on the Extension of the Colony of Hongkong', p. 13.

15. Memorandum from Hamilton to Lucas, 14 June 1898, CO 129/287.

16. J. L. Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975), pp. 16–17.

17. Despatch No. 242, 27 August 1898, CO 129/284, and Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 7 October 1898, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.

18. Stewart Lockhart, 'Report on the Extension of the Colony of Hongkong', p. 13.

19. Minute from Lucas to Johnson, 21 November 1898, in No. 269, CO 129/285.

20. Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories*, pp. 88–92.

21. Minute from Grindle, 10 January 1919, in CO 1484, Confidential, CO 521/20.

22. Minute from Lucas to Johnson, 21 November 1898, in No. 269, CO 129/285.

23. Balfour to MacDonald, 29 April 1898, Telegram No. 141, FO 17/1340.

24. Letter from Gundry to Sercombe Smith, 13 November 1898, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 3.

25. Memorandum from Blake to Stewart Lockhart, 11 March 1899, SLPNLS, Vol. 2, and Telegram, 9 March 1899, CO 129/290.

26. 'Memorandum on the Delimitation of the Northern Boundary of the New Territories', Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 2.

27. Catalogue Nos. 2 and 3, Stewart Lockhart Collection of Paintings, SLPGWC, and Stewart Lockhart, notes on paintings in an Edinburgh University Notebook, SLPGWC.

28. These disturbances are comprehensively narrated in Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories*, pp. 57 ff. The best contemporary account is to be found in Stewart Lockhart, *New Territories Diaries*, which include verbatim accounts by May, SLPNLS, Vol. 36.

29. Telegram from Blake to Chamberlain, 1 April 1899, CO 129/290.

30. No. 88, 7 April 1899, CO 129/290.

31. Stewart Lockhart, *New Territories Diaries*, 25 April 1899, SLPNLS, Vol. 36.

32. See Note 31 above.

33. Letter from Assistant Superintendent of Police to Honorary Secretary for Chinese Affairs, 2 June 1924, Copy as Enclosure in CO 33142, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.

34. Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997: China, Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories*, p. 68.

35. No. 246, 7 June 1924, CO 33142, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.

36. Stewart Lockhart to Blake, undated copy of confidential memo, appended to 'Report on the Extension of the Colony of Hongkong'.

37. *The Daily Graphic*, 8 June 1900.

38. Stewart Lockhart, 'Translations of Miscellaneous Chinese Documents', SLPNLS, Vol. 3.

39. Notes by Stewart Lockhart, explaining the origin of many of the paintings,

are included in his manuscript catalogue of the Stewart Lockhart Collection of Paintings, SLPGWC.

40. Telegram, Hong Kong No. 25829, 8 August 1900, CO 129/300.
41. No. 206, 2 June 1900, CO 129/299.
42. For one of the best of these see Sir M. Hewlett, *The Siege of the Peking Legations* (Harrow, Editors of the Harrovian, 1900).
43. Letter from Michie to Stewart Lockhart, 24 June 1900, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
44. Letter from Blake to Morrison, 11 June 1900, G. E. Morrison, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison; Volume 1, 1895–1912*, ed., Lo Hui-min (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 138.
45. No. 3.25, Stewart Lockhart Collection of Photographs, SLPGWC.
46. Thomson, *The Chinese*, p. 218.
47. Nos. 2.25–2.34, Stewart Lockhart Collection of Photographs, SLPGWC.
48. *The Sphere*, 22 March 1902.
49. Lucas to Ampthill, 28 August 1901, Minute in Hong Kong 28308, CO 129/303.
50. Ampthill to Lucas, 29 August 1901, Minute in Hong Kong 28308, CO 129/303.
51. No. 8011, 21 January 1902, Confidential Despatch, CO 129/313.
52. Letter from G. Scott to Stewart Lockhart, 27 March 1902, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
53. Many of these are still preserved in SLPGWC.
54. 'Translation of Address from the Inhabitants of the Eastern Section of the New Territories', April 1902, SLPNLS, Vol. 24.
55. 'Farewell Address from the Chinese Community of Hong Kong', 19 April 1902, SLPGWC.
56. 'Farewell Address from the Po Leung Kuk', April 1902, SLPGWC.
57. 'Farewell Address from the Executive and Legislative Councils of Hong Kong', 1 April 1902, SLPGWC.
58. Speech by Fung Wa Chun, 19 April 1902, as reported in *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 21 April 1902.
59. *South China Morning Post*, 12 November 1902.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. G. T. Hare, 'Administrative Report on the Civil Administration of the Territory of Weihaiwei', 31 March 1902, Weihaiwei 20426, Secret, CO 521/3.
2. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890–1902*, p. 454.
3. A. J. Marder, *British Naval Policy 1880–1905: The Anatomy of British Sea Power* (London, Putnam and Co., 1940), p. 309.
4. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 21 April 1899, p. 230.
5. Convention for the Lease of Weihaiwei, in Major F. C. Turner, 'Military Report and General Information Concerning the Dependency of Wei-Hai-Wei', Confidential Report 083/3990 (Intelligence Division, War Office, 1904), p. 31.
6. Letter from Hosie to Stewart Lockhart, 27 May 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
7. *The Graphic*, 17 December 1898.
8. Beresford, *The Break Up of China*, p. 79.
9. Letter from Chirol to Morrison, 31 March 1898, Morrison, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, Vol. 1, p. 76.
10. Captain P. Scott, 'Report on Weihaiwei', 23 February 1902, Copy, p. 1, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
11. Letter from Windham to Fisher, 12 December 1901, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.

12. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Stubbs, 10 December 1920, SLPNLS, Vol. 1, and F. Swettenham, 'Report on Weihaiwei', Eastern No. 72, July 1900.
13. Scott, 'Report on Weihaiwei', p. 1, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
14. Hare, 'Report on Weihaiwei', CO 521/3.
15. See Note 14 above.
16. Cowan to Chamberlain, No. 9, 13 February 1902, CO 521/3.
17. Minute by Lucas, 14 April 1902, in memorandum from Blake to Onslow, Enclosure in Weihaiwei 20426, Secret, CO 521/3.
18. Merewether to Stewart Lockhart, 12 April 1902, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
19. No. 35, 5 December 1910, CO 521/11.
20. No. 19, 8 May 1902, CO 521/3.
21. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
22. Weihaiwei Order in Council, 1901, p. 1, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
23. Thomson, *The Chinese*, p. 344.
24. A record of visitors was made in the Commissioner's Visitors Book, SLPGWC.
25. No. 19, 8 May 1902, CO 521/3.
26. Numerous photographs of the territory, 1902–1921, remain in the Stewart Lockhart Collection of Photographs, SLPGWC.
27. R. F. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China* (London, John Murray, 1910), pp. 29 ff.
28. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 3.
29. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 94.
30. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 7.
31. Commissioner's Visitors Book, 6 May 1902, SLPGWC.
32. Commissioner's Visitors Book, June to September 1902, SLPGWC.
33. Edith Stewart Lockhart's Visitors Book, July to August 1902, SLPGWC.
34. Album No. 47, SLPGWC.
35. Commissioner's Visitors Book, December 1902 to February 1903, SLPGWC.
36. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 14 March 1905, SLPGWC.
37. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
38. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 96.
39. See Note 38 above.
40. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 97.
41. No. 9, 9 April 1907, CO 521/10.
42. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
43. Atwell, *British Mandarins and Chinese Reformers*, p. 43.
44. Unsigned manuscript, 'Notes on Weihaiwei', April 1934, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
45. Stewart Lockhart, 'Confidential Report of a Journey in the Province of Shantung Including a Visit to Kiao-chou', 26 June 1903, CO 521/4.
46. Hare, 'Report on Weihaiwei', CO 521/3.
47. Lucas, 28 June 1903, Minute in Confidential 25277, CO 521/4.
48. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 28 June 1903, CO 521/4.
49. See Note 48 above.
50. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4, and Turner, 'Military Report and Recent Information Concerning the Dependency of Wei-Hai-Wei', p. 18.
51. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 94.
52. Letter from Morrison to Roburo, 31 January 1905, Morrison, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, Vol. 1, p. 288.
53. H. B. Morse, *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire* (Hong Kong, Kelly and Walsh, 1908), p. 223.

54. No. 9, 2 February 1903, CO 521/4.
55. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 28 June 1903, CO 521/4.
56. Letter from Morrison to Roburo, 31 January 1905, Morrison, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, Vol. 1, p. 288.
57. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 14.
58. Letter from Satow to Morrison, 24 March 1904, Morrison, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, Vol. 1, p. 258.
59. Commissioner's Visitors Book, 19 August 1903, SLPGWC.
60. Letter from Satow to Morrison, 24 March 1904, Morrison, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, Vol. 1, p. 258.
61. Memorandum from Lucas to Chamberlain, 29 August 1903, CO 521/4.
62. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
63. Memorandum from Stewart Lockhart to Colonial Office, 14 October 1903, Foreign 37912, CO 521/5.
64. Thomson, *The Chinese*, p. 321.
65. Stewart Lockhart, 'Confidential Report on a Journey in the Province of Shantung', CO 521/4, and Eastern No. 84, August 1903.
66. See Note 65 above. Additional information is contained in Stewart Lockhart's diary of the visit, SLPNLS, Vol. 36.
67. Stewart Lockhart, 'Confidential Report on a Journey in the Province of Shantung', for 27 April 1903, CO 521/4.
68. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 28 June 1903, CO 521/4.
69. Much of the correspondence is retained in SLPNLS, Vols. 38–40. Between the years 1902–6 there are more letters to Chinese officials than there are despatches to London.
70. R. F. Johnston, *Account of a Journey in Shantung from Weihaiwei to the Tomb of Confucius* (Weihaiwei, Weihaiwei Press, 1904), p. 1.
71. Nos. 5.1–5.84, 6.1–6.95, 7–14, SLPGWC.
72. Telegram No. 13, 16 May 1902, CO 521/3.
73. Fiddian, 3 June 1903, Minute in Telegram CO 21791, CO 521/3.
74. No. 19, 8 May 1902, CO 521/3.
75. Copies of both publications are bound in an album, SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
76. *Weihaiwei Gazette*, No. 418, 11 April 1903.
77. Fiddian to Risley, 16 February 1903, Minute in No. 1, CO 521/4.
78. Lucas to Ommanney, 21 February 1905, Minute in No. 1, CO 521/8.
79. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
80. Stewart Lockhart, 'Speech to the Chinese Regiment', 1 January 1903, SLPNLS, Vol. 4. See also A. A. S. Barnes, *On Active Service with the Chinese Regiment* (London, Grant Richards, 1902).
81. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 30 January 1902, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
82. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
83. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 1 April 1906, SLPGWC.
84. Letter from Anna Lockhart to Stewart Lockhart, 24 July, 1902, SLPSSP.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. No. 61, 7 September 1903, CO 521/5.
2. Minute from Antrobus to Lucas, 30 November 1903, in Weihaiwei 43148, CO 521/5.
3. Johnson to Lucas, 27 November 1903, Minute in No. 61, CO 521/5.

4. G. Woodcock, *The British in the Far East* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 70.
5. Lucas, 8 April 1904, Minute in Telegram, CO 521/6.
6. No. 30, 9 May 1904, CO 521/6.
7. Letter from Johnston to Chamberlain, 25 November 1898, CO 129/289, and letter from Johnston to the Academic Registrar, University of London, January 1931, enclosing curriculum vitae, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
8. Letter from Johnston to the Academic Registrar, University of London, January 1931, enclosing curriculum vitae, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
9. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Chamberlain, 19 November 1903, Weihaiwei 43148, Private, CO 521/5.
10. Harding to Lucas, 24 February 1905, Minute in CO 5714, Confidential, CO 521/8.
11. No. 65, 27 August 1904, CO 521/6.
12. No. 70, and enclosures, 30 September 1904, CO 521/7.
13. The Grant-in-Aid of £11,250 for 1901–2 had diminished to £6,000 in 1904–5. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1903', CO 521/6.
14. No. 15, 19 February 1904, CO 521/6.
15. Confidential, 17 March 1904, CO 521/6.
16. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 30 November 1904, SLPGWC.
17. Letter from Lady Blake to Morrison, 4 June 1904, *Morrison, The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, Vol. 1, p. 204.
18. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 12 January 1905, SLPGWC.
19. See Note 18 above.
20. Letter from Edith Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, October 1906, SLPGWC.
21. See Note 20 above.
22. The bulk of the letters, dating from 1906, are to be found in SLPNLS, Vols. 9, 10, and 10A. A few others have been located in other SLPNLS volumes, and a further small number in SLPGWC. Johnston's letters to Edith and Mary Stewart Lockhart are also retained in SLPGWC.
23. Nos. 4.10–4.23, Stewart Lockhart Collection of Photographs, SLPGWC.
24. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 17.
25. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1915', CO 521/17.
26. Letter from Moss to Stewart Lockhart, 7 April 1933, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
27. No. 24, 22 March 1904, CO 521/6.
28. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1905', CO 521/8.
29. No. 28, 28 April 1906, CO 521/9.
30. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 23 January 1905, SLPGWC.
31. Letter from Moss to Stewart Lockhart, 22 March 1934, SLPNLS, Vol. 6.
32. No. 75, 14 November 1904, CO 521/7.
33. No. 1, 7 January 1905, CO 521/8.
34. Fiddian to Lucas, 20 February 1905, Minute in No. 1, CO 521/8.
35. Lucas to Ommanney, 21 February 1905, Minute in No. 1, CO 521/8.
36. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 22 September 1905, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
37. CO 5714, Confidential, 11 January 1905, CO 521/8.
38. Harding to Lucas, 24 February 1905, Minute in CO 5714, Confidential, CO 521/8.
39. Letter from Nathan to Lucas, 7 April 1905, Enclosure in CO 5714, Confidential, CO 521/8.

40. *The Times of India*, 29 November 1904.
41. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1904', CO 521/8.
42. Cox to Lucas, 25 May 1905, Minute in No. 20, CO 521/8.
43. Fiddes to Lucas, 27 May 1905, Minute in No. 20, CO 521/8.
44. Johnston, 'Secretary to Government's Report for 1904', CO 521/8.
45. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1904', CO 521/8.
46. No. 55, 30 September 1905, CO 521/8.
47. Bertram, *The Colonial Office*, p. 47.
48. Unsigned manuscript, 'Notes on Weihaiwei', April 1934, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
49. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 155 ff.
50. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon*, above, p. 15.
51. See Note 50 above.
52. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon*, above, p. 80.
53. Elgin to Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1906, Telegram, CO 521/9.
54. No. 15, 13 February 1906, CO 521/9.
55. See Note 54 above.
56. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
57. Fiddes to Lucas, 17 May 1906, Minute in No. 24, CO 521/9.
58. Lucas to Ommanney, 18 May 1906, Minute in No. 24, CO 521/9.
59. A wealth of information on the reorganized administration is to be found in Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 98–9.
60. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 July 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
61. Letter from Walter to Stewart Lockhart, 17 July 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
62. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 July 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
63. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 99.
64. Stewart Lockhart, 'Annual Report for 1902', CO 521/4.
65. Letters from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, various dates, SLPNLS, Vols. 9 and 10.
66. Hewlett, *Forty Years in China*, p. 42.
67. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 10 February 1906, SLPGWC.
68. See Note 67 above.
69. Letter from Edith Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, October 1907, SLPGWC.
70. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 14 September 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
71. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 January 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
72. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, facing p. 46.
73. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 May 1908, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
74. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
75. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 2 May 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
76. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 October 1908, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
77. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
78. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 25 May 1908, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
79. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 June 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
80. The articles are listed in a letter from Johnston to the Academic Registrar, University of London, January 1931, enclosing his curriculum vitae, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
81. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.

82. 'List of Persons detailed at Li Kung Ch'ih to render services to H. H. The Commr. and his staff', SLPNLS, Vol. 24, and Stewart Lockhart, 'Report on a Visit to Kiaochou and Chinan', Eastern No. 104, August 1906.

83. 'Report on the Entertainment of His Honour The Commissioner of Wei Hai Wei by the Governor of Shantung on May 19th 1906', SLPNLS, Vol. 24.

84. 'Report on the Entertainment of His Honour The Commissioner of Wei Hai Wei by the various Civil and Military Officials at Chinanfu on May 21st 1906', SLPNLS, Vol. 24.

85. 'Report of the Conversation between the Commissioner of Wei Hai Wei and the Governor of Shantung on May 19th 1906 when the Commissioner called officially on the Governor', SLPNLS, Vol. 24.

86. Colonial Office Print, Eastern No. 104, p. 11.

87. R. Walter, 'Weihaiwei', in R. C. Forsyth, ed., *Shantung: The Sacred Province of China* (Shanghai, Chinese Literature Society, 1912), p. 109.

88. See Note 87 above.

89. Stewart Lockhart, 'Speech to Schoolmasters and Students', Speech No. 8, 31 July 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 46.

90. Numerous minutes regarding Weihaiwei's future are to be found throughout CO 521/9.

91. Letter from Satow to Stewart Lockhart, 31 January 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.

92. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 15 August 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 4.

93. Lucas to Ommanney, 19 July 1906, Minute in No. 36, CO 521/9.

94. See Note 93 above.

95. Admiralty to Commander in Chief, 9 October 1906, Telegram No. 138, Confidential, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 4.

96. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 7 December 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 4.

97. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Lucas, 15 November 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 4.

98. Minute from Lucas to Ommanney, 19 July 1906, in No. 36, CO 521/9.

99. Minute from Lucas to Ommanney, 13 December 1906, in Weihaiwei 46163, Private, CO 521/9.

100. Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, various letters, 1906–1907, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Jordan, 26 July 1907, SLPNLS, Vol. 6.

2. Letter from Jordan to Stewart Lockhart, 1 August 1907, SLPNLS, Vol. 6.

3. Register of Letters Received, 1906, CO 770/1.

4. Minute from Lucas to Ommanney, 13 December 1906, in Weihaiwei 46163, Private, CO 521/9.

5. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 28 February 1907, SLPGWC.

6. CO 521/10 and CO 129/332–342 respectively.

7. Over 600 volumes exist, covering Stewart Lockhart's term in the territory, in the Commissioner's Files for Weihaiwei, CO 873. This compares with only eighteen in Weihaiwei Original Correspondence, CO 521, sent to the Colonial Office for the same period.

8. No. 9, 9 April 1907, CO 521/10, and Stewart Lockhart, 'Presentation of Medals to Headmen', Speech No. 2, 26 November 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 46.

9. Minute from Lucas to Hopwood, 15 May 1907, in No. 9, CO 521/10.
10. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 28 February 1907, SLPGWC.
11. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 4 May 1907, SLPGWC.
12. Letter from Ferguson to Stewart Lockhart, 19 May 1906, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
13. *Ends of the Earth Membership Booklet*, 1906 (no place of publication, or publisher), SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
14. See Note 13 above.
15. Weihaiwei Golf Club, *List of Rules*, (Weihaiwei, 1902), p. 1, SLPNLS, Vol. 65.
16. Weihaiwei St Andrew's Society Booklet, SLPNLS, Vol. 44.
17. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Addis, 27 November 1903, SLPNLS, Vol. 69.
18. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, August 1908, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
19. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 19 October 1908, SLPGWC.
20. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 October 1908, SLPGWC.
21. Letter from Edith Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 October 1908, SLPGWC.
22. See Note 21 above.
23. See Note 21 above.
24. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 October 1908, SLPGWC.
25. Crewe to Stewart Lockhart, 9 November 1908, Telegram Foreign No. 62, SLPNLS, Vol. 4.
26. *South China Morning Post*, 12 December 1908.
27. Confidential Despatch, 5 July 1909, CO 521/11.
28. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 February 1909, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
29. Collins, *Public Administration in Hong Kong*, p. 143.
30. No. 10, 15 April 1910, CO 521/11.
31. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 2 May 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
32. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 8 February 1909, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
33. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 March 1909, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
34. Commissioner Confidential Despatch, 3 May 1909, CO 19802, CO 521/11.
35. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 20 April 1909, SLPGWC.
36. See Note 35 above.
37. See Note 35 above.
38. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 21 May 1909, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
39. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 'Thursday', SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
40. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 19 February 1910, SLPGWC.
41. See Note 40 above.
42. A collection of cartoons was, however, amassed. The bulk of them, pasted into albums, are retained in SLPNLS, Vols. 51–53.
43. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 11 April 1910, SLPGWC.
44. See Note 43 above.
45. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 2 May 1910, SLPGWC.
46. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 20 June 1910, SLPGWC.
47. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Tse, 1 July 1910, SLPGWC.

48. Stewart Lockhart, 'Notes on Chinese Art', undated, SLPNLS, Vol. 14.
49. Stewart Lockhart, 'Catalogue of Collection of Chinese Paintings', SLPGWC.
50. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 11 July 1910, SLPGWC.
51. S. M. Airlie, *An Ardent Collector: An Exhibition of the Stewart Lockhart Collection* (Edinburgh, Merchant Company Education Board, 1982), pp. 9–11.
52. Catalogue nos. 4, 1, 6, and 31 respectively, Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Paintings, SLPGWC.
53. A fact confirmed by his daughter, Mary, in conversation with the author in 1982.
54. Catalogue no. 1, Stewart Lockhart, 'Catalogue of Collection of Chinese Paintings', SLPGWC.
55. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 17 October 1912, SLPGWC.
56. Mary Stewart Lockhart, in a blue notebook containing a short biography of Stewart Lockhart, 1966, SLPGWC.
57. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 21 May 1913, SLPGWC.
58. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 19 November 1934, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
59. Letter from Tse to Stewart Lockhart, 6 March 1911, SLPGWC.
60. Mary Stewart Lockhart, in a blue notebook containing a short biography of Stewart Lockhart, 1966, SLPGWC.
61. Letter from Ros to Stewart Lockhart, 24 May 1913, SLPGWC.
62. Many of the blocks are retained in SLPGWC.
63. The calligraphic scrolls and several trunks of rubbings, uncatalogued, are in SLPGWC.
64. See especially SLPNLS, Vols. 14, 25, 27, 30, and 33.
65. Minute from Harding to Fiddes, 6 December 1907, in No. 35, CO 521/10.
66. Minute from Stubbs to Fiddes, 9 September 1910, in Confidential File dated 1 August 1910, CO 521/10.
67. Minute from Harding to Collins, 19 December 1910, in No. 32, CO 521/11.
68. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 23 December 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
69. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Secretary of State, 8 August 1911, Confidential, CO 521/12.
70. Minute from Stubbs, 30 August 1911, in Confidential File dated 8 August 1911, CO 521/12.
71. Minute from Risley to Collins, 28 August 1911, in Confidential File dated 8 August 1911, CO 521/12.
72. Minute from Collins, 30 August 1911, in Confidential File dated 8 August 1911, CO 521/12.
73. Despatch from Crewe to Stewart Lockhart, 1 September 1911, No. 27919/11, CO 521/12.
74. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 February 1912, SLPGWC.
75. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 1 December 1912, SLPGWC.
76. Letter from May to Stewart Lockhart, 28 August 1912, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
77. Blake to Stewart Lockhart, 2 July 1912, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
78. See Note 77 above.
79. Minute from Harding to Fiddes, 16 December 1907, in No. 35, CO 521/10.
80. Mary Stewart Lockhart, in a blue notebook containing a short biography of Stewart Lockhart, 1966, SLPGWC.

81. Letter from Blake to Stewart Lockhart, 2 July 1912, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
82. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 29 December 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
83. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 August 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
84. See Note 83 above.
85. See Note 83 above.
86. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 September 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
87. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 23 January 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
88. Yuan Mei manuscript and notes, SLPNLS, Vol. 23, and letters from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart throughout 1910 and 1911, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
89. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Heatley, 15 September 1912, 'Johnston is . . . as enthusiastic a student as ever. I need hardly tell you what a great help he is to me in the work of the administration', SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
90. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, p. 104.
91. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 May 1911, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
92. Letter from Beer to Stewart Lockhart, 6 May 1911, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
93. Letter from Lugard to Stewart Lockhart, 17 July 1911, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. No. 31, 15 August 1911, CO 521/12.
2. See the various reports and files on the subject in CO 873/199–217, and the Annual Reports for the territory between 1904 and 1906, for the start and progress of the school. It is also mentioned in annual reports thereafter. See also R. Walter, 'Weihaiwei', in Forsyth, ed., *Shantung*, pp. 103–5.
3. Minute from Stubbs to Collins, 16 September 1911, in No. 35, CO 521/12.
4. Several instances of the daily workload are quoted in a letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 August 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
5. Stewart Lockhart kept the flag, now in SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
6. Stewart Lockhart, 14 November 1911, Confidential Despatch, CO 521/12.
7. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1912, SLPGWC.
8. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 November 1911, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
9. Commissioner Confidential Despatch, 13 January 1912, CO 521/13.
10. No. 1, 13 January 1912, CO 521/13.
11. No. 6, 2 February 1912, CO 521/13.
12. 'Report by Secretary to Government', 23 January 1912, Enclosure in No. 4, CO 521/13.
13. No. 7, 10 February 1912, CO 521/13.
14. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 13 February 1912, SLPGWC.
15. Catalogue no. 147, Stewart Lockhart, 'Catalogue of Collection of Chinese Paintings', SLPGWC.
16. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 25 February 1912, SLPGWC.
17. No. 32, 4 November 1910, CO 521/11.
18. No. 14, 4 April 1912, CO 521/13.
19. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 August 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.

20. Commissioner's Visitors Book, SLPGWC.
21. Minute from Stubbs to Collins, 25 April 1912, in No. 14, CO 521/13.
22. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 August 1910, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
23. Minute from Stubbs to Collins, 16 August 1912, in No. 42, CO 521/13.
24. Minute from Stubbs to Collins, 25 April 1912, in No. 14, CO 521/13.
25. See Note 24 above.
26. No. 46, 12 August 1913, CO 521/14.
27. Minute from Stubbs to Collins, 25 April 1912, in No. 14, CO 521/13.
28. No. 46, 12 August 1913, CO 521/14.
29. Several letters between Stewart Lockhart and Jordan cover this subject in 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
30. No. 58, 21 October 1913, CO 521/14.
31. No. 69, 22 October 1913, CO 521/14.
32. Minute from Risley to Collins, 10 February 1913, in Weihaiwei 4425, CO 521/13. The enormous amount of correspondence in the Commissioner's files for Weihaiwei, CO 873/7 ff., likewise bears testament to the piles of papers and work he and his officers undertook.
33. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 6 March 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
34. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 October 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
35. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 December 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
36. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 December 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
37. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 April 1914, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
38. C. P. Skrine and P. Nightingale, *Macartney of Kashgar: New Light on British, Chinese, and Russian Activities in Sinkiang, 1890–1918* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 259.
39. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 19 December 1912, SLPGWC.
40. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 8 May 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
41. CO 521/15.
42. A. Feuerwerker, *The Foreign Establishment in China in the Early Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1976), p. 9.
43. E. M. Gull, *Facets of the Chinese Question* (London, Ernest Benn, 1931), p. 139.
44. Letter from Idina Sackville to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 1 August 1914, SLPGWC.
45. Letter from Idina Sackville to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 16 October 1914, SLPGWC.
46. Telegram dated 16 October 1916, enclosed in Confidential 49281/1916, CO 521/17.
47. MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad*, p. 235.
48. No. 44, 20 December 1916, CO 521/17.
49. 'Annual Report for 1920', Eastern No. 1097, p. 4.
50. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 14 February 1917, SLPGWC.
51. MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad*, p. 235.
52. Secretary of State to Governor of Hong Kong, 29 September 1916, War Office 46369/1916, Copy of paraphrase Telegram, CO 521/17, and E. M. Gull, 'The Story of the Chinese Labor Corps', *Far Eastern Review*, 15, No. 4, April 1918, pp. 125–35.

53. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 17 December 1917, SLPGWC, and Gull, 'Chinese Labor Corps', p. 135.
54. MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad*, p. 236.
55. Secretary of State to Stewart Lockhart, 16 November 1918, as reported in *Weihaiwei Government Gazette*, Vol. xi, No. 28, 1918.
56. Letter from Johnston to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 4 December 1914, SLPGWC.
57. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 July 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
58. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 8 August 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
59. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 14 November 1915, SLPGWC.
60. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 23 January 1913, SLPNLS, Vol. 9.
61. Minute by Collins, 30 August 1911, in No. 18, CO 521/12.
62. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Jordan, 15 May 1914, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
63. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Secretary of State, 17 September 1914, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
64. Colonial Office file 40110, 17 September 1914, CO 521/15.
65. Minute from Risley to Collins, 19 October 1914, in Colonial Office 40110, CO 521/15.
66. Ku Hung-ming, 'Reminiscences of a Chinese Viceroy's Secretary', *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 46, 1915, pp. 61–76.
67. No. 2, 3 January 1918, CO 521/19.
68. See Note 67 above.
69. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 November 1917, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
70. Minute from Risley to Collins, 11 April 1916, in No. 8, CO 521/17.
71. Minute from Collins to Macnaghton, 12 April 1916, in No. 8, CO 521/17.
72. Undated Minute from Beckett to Fiddes, in Confidential File dated 10 August 1920, CO 521/21.
73. Minute from Beckett to Grindle, 28 March 1919, in Secret File CO 18353, CO 521/20.
74. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 16 January 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 11.
75. Letter from May to Stewart Lockhart, 5 October 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
76. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 3 March 1917, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
77. Letter from Eliot to Stewart Lockhart, 18 January 1917, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
78. Most of these highly decorated letters are in SLPNLS, Vol. 38.
79. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 8 October 1918, SLPGWC.
80. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 23 August 1918, SLPGWC.
81. See Note 80 above.
82. Letter from Revd and Mrs Burnett to Stewart Lockhart, April 1921, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
83. 'Copy of Commissioner's Address to the people of Lin Chia Yuan', 6 December 1915, SLPNLS, Vol. 45.
84. See Note 83 above.
85. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 8 October 1918, SLPGWC.
86. No. 4, 25 January 1916, CO 521/17.
87. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 21 November 1918, SLPGWC.

88. The silver junk was stolen from the Stewart Lockhart Collection at George Watson's College in 1988.

89. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 21 November 1918, SLPGWC.

90. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 22 November 1918, SLPGWC.

91. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 31 October 1913, SLPGWC.

92. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 22 November 1918, SLPGWC.

93. No. 44, 15 August 1918, CO 521/19.

94. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 8 September 1918, SLPGWC. Wu Dingfang agreed with Stewart Lockhart that China had been 'to a great extent mismanaged' since the revolution, Wu to Stewart Lockhart, 23 December 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.

95. E. Teichman, *Affairs in China: A Survey of the Recent History and Present Circumstances of the Republic of China* (London, Methuen, 1938), p. 46.

96. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 June 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

97. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 22 May 1916, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

98. Confidential Despatch CO 59518, 19 October 1918, CO 521/19.

99. Letter from Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 29 October 1918.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 17 November 1917, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

2. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 24 September 1918, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

3. See Note 2 above.

4. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 28 October 1918, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

5. Johnston, 25 January 1919, Enclosure in Secret CO 18353, CO 521/20.

6. See Note 5 above.

7. See Note 5 above.

8. See Note 5 above.

9. Johnston, 7 March 1919, Enclosure in Johnston to Li, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

10. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 14 July 1920, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

11. Johnston, 25 January 1919, Enclosure in Secret File CO 18353, CO 521/20.

12. See Note 11 above.

13. See Note 11 above.

14. See Note 11 above.

15. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 December 1918, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

16. Telegram CO 62741, 27 December 1918, CO 521/19.

17. The tawse, a leather belt, was used in place of the cane as a punishment in Scottish schools. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 4 January 1919, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

18. Secret File CO 18353, 27 January 1919, CO 521/20.
19. Johnston, 7 March 1919, Enclosure in Letter from Johnston to Li, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
20. Letter from Johnston to Li, 17 July 1919, Copy, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
21. See Note 20 above, and Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 23 March 1919, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
22. Minute from Beckett to Grindle, 28 March 1919, in Secret File CO 18353, CO 521/20.
23. Programmes for all these events, and more, are in SLPNLS, Vol. 69.
24. No. 39, 23 July 1920, CO 521/21.
25. Various letters, from the Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong to Stewart Lockhart, and replies, July 1919, SLPNLS, Vol. 5.
26. 'Annual Report for 1920', Eastern No. 1097, p. 6.
27. See Note 26 above.
28. Draft, 1921 Census, p. 1, SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
29. Draft, 1921 Census, p. 4, SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
30. See Note 29 above.
31. Telegram, 13 March 1920, CO 521/21.
32. The Census reported the famine two years before as one of the reasons behind the small increase in population, Draft, 1921 Census, p. 1, SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
33. No. 11, 19 March 1920, CO 521/21.
34. Draft, 1921 Census, p. 1, SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
35. A. E. Wright and R. M. Henderson, 'Report in regard to the Sanitary Condition of the Island of Liu Kung Tao, Wei Hai Wei', Hong Kong, 7 December 1918, CO 521/20.
36. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 4 September 1917, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
37. Wright and Henderson, 'Report on Liu Kung Tao', p. 1, CO 521/20.
38. Wright and Henderson, 'Report on Liu Kung Tao', p. 2, CO 521/20.
39. See Note 38 above.
40. 'Annual Report for 1918', Eastern No. 999, p. 4.
41. Memorandum from Stewart Lockhart to Secretary of State, 25 January 1919, Enclosure in Wright and Henderson Report, CO 521/20.
42. C. A. M. Smith, *The British in China and Far Eastern Trade* (London, Constable, 1920), p. 63.
43. Letter from Lawson to Stewart Lockhart, 10 November 1919, SLPGWC.
44. Stewart Lockhart, 'Catalogue of Collection of Chinese Paintings', SLPGWC.
45. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 8 September 1920, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
46. See Note 45 above.
47. See Note 45 above.
48. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 15 September 1920, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
49. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 2 November 1919, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
50. See Note 49 above.
51. Minute from Beckett to Fiddes, 10 August 1920, in Confidential File CO 521/21.
52. Confidential Note from Grindle, 23 November 1921, CO 521/22.
53. Minute from Beckett to Fiddes, 10 August 1920, in Confidential File CO 521/21.

54. Minute by Grindle, 10 January 1919, in Confidential File CO 1484, CO 521/20.
55. For both comments see Curzon to Colonial Office, 24 February 1919, Enclosure in CO 12649, CO 521/20.
56. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 21 December 1920, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
57. Confidential File CO 1484, 16 January 1919, and Enclosures, CO 521/20.
58. Convention for the Rendition of Weihaiwei, *Weihaiwei Government Gazette*, 5 May 1930, Vol. xxiii, No. 10 of 1930. For the rendition of Weihaiwei, and the events in the decade leading up to this see Atwell, *British Mandarins and Chinese Reformers*, pp. 124 ff.
59. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 July 1919, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
60. Draft, 1921 Census, SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
61. Invoice from Ah Mee to Stewart Lockhart, April 1921, SLPGWC.
62. Now in SLPNLS, Vol. 66.
63. By January 1921 Stewart Lockhart had told Johnston that all his books were in store, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
64. 'Address from the British Staff in Weihaiwei to Sir James H. Stewart Lockhart', April 1921, SLPGWC.
65. Now in SLPGWC.
66. 'Address from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Weihaiwei', April 1921, SLPGWC.
67. Letter from Whittaker to Stewart Lockhart, 10 January 1935, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
68. Despatch from Blunt to Churchill, 7 May 1921, CO 31049, CO 521/22.
69. Unsigned Minute in CO 31049, CO 521/22.
70. Beckett, 7 October 1921, Enclosure in CO 49157, CO 521/22.
71. Letter from Lucas to Stewart Lockhart, 24 December 1922, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
72. Telegram from Duff to Stewart Lockhart, 18 April 1921, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
73. *North China Daily News*, 26 April 1921, p. 9.
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2. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 5 December 1921, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
3. Photographs from all these holidays are in the uncatalogued section of the Stewart Lockhart Collection of Photographs, SLPGWC.
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5. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 15 January 1922, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
6. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 17 January 1923, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
7. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 5 December 1921, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.

8. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 17 January 1923, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
9. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 15 January 1922, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
10. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 31 January 1924, SLPNLS, Vol. 10.
11. Newton, 'An Evening in a Library', SLPGWC.
12. Mary Stewart Lockhart in conversation with the author in 1980.
13. Letter from Wilcox to Stewart Lockhart, 16 May 1924, SLPNLS, Vol. 62.
14. Letter from Jordan to Stewart Lockhart, 27 April 1924, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
15. Letter from Jordan to Stewart Lockhart, 3 March 1922, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
16. Letter from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 2 January 1929, SLPNLS, Vol. 10A.
17. Letter from Grindle to Stewart Lockhart, 15 May 1923, CO 22125/1923, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
18. Letter from Fiddian to Stewart Lockhart, 31 October 1924, CO 47832/24, and Replies, SLPNLS, Vol. 1.
19. Letter from Whitwright to Stewart Lockhart, 1 December 1911, SLPNLS, Vol. 43.
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21. See Note 20 above.
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23. Letter from Beavis to Stewart Lockhart, 22 October 1925, SLPNLS, Vol. 13.
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27. Programme, London Highland Club, 1926–7, SLPSSP, and for 1927–8, SLPNLS, Vol. 25.
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33. A series of pamphlets from various sources, dating from 1926 to 1931, on a variety of topics on China, are in SLPNLS, Vol. 67.
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53. Letter from Taylor to Stewart Lockhart, 19 November 1932, SLPNLS, Vol. 12.
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55. Letter from the Scottish National Portrait Gallery to Stewart Lockhart, 9 March 1933, SLPSSP.
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