Scottish Mandarin

The Life and Times of Sir Reginald Johnston

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The Predictable Path (1874–1898)

In 1919, a thirteen-year-old boy lived in considerable luxury in a walled palace complex in the centre of Beijing. His home was the Forbidden City, and the boy, Puyi, resided there like an emperor, even though China was by then a republic. The Forbidden City was a miniature town like no other in the world. Its high walls, some almost fifty feet wide, separated its 178 acres from the rest of Beijing. Within the walls lay twenty palaces which accommodated the emperor and his court—in all almost 9,000 rooms, with courtyards large enough to hold 20,000 people. Every building was decorated with brilliant and ornate patterns so that even the alleyways in this strange city were filled with colour.

In this extraordinary residence, the young emperor lived a life far removed from normal life. His was a strange world inhabited almost entirely by men, of which half—more than a thousand—were eunuchs. The eunuchs watched his every move, and catered for his every need. If he wanted food, he had only to say and a banquet would be laid before him. If he wanted to mete out punishment, a eunuch would always be at hand to be thrashed. His own mother was rarely allowed entry into the Forbidden City to see him. There were no children to play with, nor was he permitted to venture outside the strong, high walls which separated him from the rest of the world. Instead, Puyi was treated to elaborate rituals which had been part of imperial daily life for centuries. Even without an empire to reign over, he would sit on his dragon throne, dressed in robes appropriate to the day and the ceremony, and read edicts that informed the court of his wishes. Centuries before, such pronouncements would have shaped the destiny of the nation. But Puyi was reduced to announcing the latest round of gifts to palace officials, or honours he had recently bestowed on court familiars.

Although Puyi had no power or influence in the world beyond the walls, within them he was treated with all the respect due to the 'son of heaven', a god to be worshipped. Every act he performed became a ceremonial event. Even his movement from one room to another was

a procession of state involving canopied chairs and a large retinue of servants. The emperor—until he was old enough to make up his own mind about such matters—did not walk, but was carried. The emperor did not put anything away, but simply discarded objects or clothes he no longer required to be picked up by a servant. The emperor did not even go to the toilet like ordinary mortals. A eunuch carried a chamber pot for him wherever he went.

By 1911, when the Qing Dynasty was overthrown, the monarchy was in a sorry state. Nevertheless, republicans saw no reason to destroy the entire imperial structure when they published the Articles of Favourable Treatment in 1912. Through these articles, Puyi was divested of any real power but retained his title, court, and way of life within the Forbidden City. That the emperor should continue to live in Beijing with all his imperial trappings gave many monarchists the hope that, one day, there would be a restoration and Puyi and his successors would rule China for a further three centuries. Some wished, somewhat forlornly, for a return to a pre-republican empire; others looked towards a constitutional monarchy. One of these modernisers was Xu Shichang, appointed president of the republic in 1918. He was to be responsible for one of the greatest changes in Puyi's life.

For hundreds of years, Chinese emperors had been given a traditional education. They learned classical texts, poetry, and calligraphy. The first thing Puyi was taught by his tutors was Chinese writing. Many Qing emperors had been renowned for their calligraphic abilities; it was an art prized by the educated man. Before Puyi could read or understand what he was writing, he had first to learn to write with 'a good hand'. His tutors included some of the most distinguished scholars of their day in China, but their erudition was largely wasted on their young pupil. They taught him some Chinese classical texts, but did not tell him about the world outside. Well-meaning but conservative to a man, they taught him how to write Chinese poetry but not how to count.

President Xu decided that a more broadly based education, better suited to the twentieth century, was required for the young emperor. He wanted the boy to learn English, the language of the West, and to be taught about government and the history of the modern world. He even hoped that Puyi might learn about monarchies in other countries, such as Britain, where monarch and government worked together. His motives were not entirely altruistic. In 1918, the Chinese republic was in a sufficiently perilous state for restoration of the empire to be a real possibility. In that eventuality, Xu Shichang believed it better to have a monarch schooled in the ways of constitutional monarchy than one who still lived in a surreal world with the trappings of supreme authority but no actual power. President Xu discussed his idea with close associates,

doubtless aware that any move to break with tradition would not be welcomed by the conservatives at court. Within the closed circle of modernists, names for a new tutor were suggested. One favoured candidate was approached informally but he declined the appointment. The post was then offered to a British colonial officer called Reginald Johnston.

The mere idea of appointing a tutor of foreign subjects for the emperor, far less introducing a non-Chinese into the post, was enough to give court conservatives the vapours. The choice of Johnston for this appointment was at first glance rather surprising. Middle-aged, unmarried, and Scottish, Johnston had nevertheless several attributes and skills to commend him. Having lived in Hong Kong and China for twenty years, he knew many of the modernists and also members of the imperial family. He spoke several Chinese dialects fluently and had proven his knowledge of China—and his intellectual capabilities—by publishing several articles and four books about the country and its people. Other aspects of his life were less inspiring. After two decades of service with the British Colonial Office, he had achieved little professional success. At the time of his appointment as Puyi's tutor in the spring of 1919, he was a lowly district officer in a tiny British-administered territory in Shandong Province called Weihai. It was a great challenge to move from a minor posting in rural Weihai to the splendours of the Forbidden City and to membership of the emperor's court, but such unlikely moves were typical of Johnston's life. What should have been a predictable, middle-class existence took the most unpredictable twists and turns. His was a remarkable life, in which being tutor to the last emperor of China was but one small part of an extraordinary story.

His life began, not in China, but in Scotland in late nineteenth-century Edinburgh. In this most class-conscious of Scottish cities, the suburb of Morningside has long been the butt of Edinburgh humour because of its thoroughly middle-class pretensions. Even today, it is identified in the minds of Edinburgh's citizens as a place populated by ladies in hats who talk with refined suburban accents. During the Victorian period, when the citizens of Edinburgh began to leave the grimy town centre for greener spaces on the edge of the city, the middle class, in particular, favoured Morningside as a verdant space. To this day it remains a pleasing mixture of solid Victorian tenement blocks and imposing stone terraces, little changed since the nineteenth century. Then, one could move away from the bustle of the main street, with its busy shops and high tenement blocks, into quieter, tree-lined lanes where houses retained their privacy behind high stone walls. In Canaan Lane, close to the main street, lay Goshen Bank, an early Victorian house of plain façade, with half an acre of garden closed in by an imposing wall. Built in 1820, Goshen Bank had the air of a miniature country residence set in

the city. It was a desirable property, spacious enough to be a comfortable family home. Fifty years after Goshen Bank was built, when Morningside was at its most fashionable, the house caught the attention of a young Edinburgh lawyer, Robert Johnston, who purchased it as a home for himself and his intended wife.

Robert Johnston was the son of a successful criminal lawyer. He had aspired to be a writer, but finally accepted his destiny and trained as a lawyer in his father's Edinburgh office.[1] Following his apprenticeship, he joined the firm of John Richardson, W.S., was admitted as a Writer to the Signet in 1874, and became sole partner in the firm, now renamed Richardson and Johnston, on John Richardson's death in 1876.[2] Robert was, apparently, an absolutely typical Edinburgh lawyer, indistinguishable in his working life from hundreds of other Edinburgh solicitors. His private life seemed to follow an equally predictable course: exactly a year after he purchased Goshen Bank, he married a young Irish lady, Isabella Irving, the daughter of an Irish minister.

Born in 1855, Isabella was her husband's junior by fifteen years. She was only seventeen at the time of her wedding and could have had but little knowledge of the ways of the world, coming as she did from the small village of Donoughmore in County Cork. Her husband, on the other hand, was thirty-two and well established in a solid profession. Having inherited his father's estate upon his death in 1866, Robert doubtless felt sufficiently secure financially to support his new wife in some comfort.

Robert and Isabella wasted no time in starting a family. A few days before their first wedding anniversary, a daughter, Constance, was born at Goshen Bank. She was barely seventeen months old when a second child arrived.[3] Robert was in attendance at the birth of their first son, as at Constance's delivery. At eleven o'clock on the morning of 31 October 1874, Reginald Fleming Johnston made his entrance into the world. Just like his sister, Reginald was born at Goshen Bank. This birth, like the first, presented Isabella with no problems. The family was completed with the arrival of a third child, Charles Edward, two years later.

Family life in Morningside was pleasantly middle class. Robert became an active member of the Conservative Party Club and was closely involved in the affairs of the local Episcopal church, Christchurch. By 1883, he was treasurer and secretary of the church and, for a decade, was one of the committee's most prominent members. Reginald was the second child to be baptised in the church; all three children attended church regularly. At his baptism, Reginald was given the additional name, John, to follow his Christian name. It was a name he was to use sporadically throughout his life.

Robert Johnston's social life was a mirror of his professional one. Both he and Isabella enjoyed company. Their friends were drawn from Robert's involvements in the church and politics, as well as from legal circles. Probably their closest friends in Edinburgh were the Robertson family, who, like Robert, were lawyers. Robert Robertson was the senior partner in the family firm of J. and R. A. Robertson. His son, Euan, was to continue the family friendship a further generation. He and Reginald were childhood friends; their connection with one another was to continue until Reginald's death.

Most of the Johnstons' entertaining took place at home. As befitted his professional status, Robert ensured that Isabella had her fair share of help at Goshen Bank. She could call on several servants to assist her within the house, as well as tutors and nannies to help her with the children, thereby giving her the time to play the perfect hostess.[4] Well liked within the city, the Johnstons had an extravagant lifestyle. Robert was outgoing and companionable, and enjoyed eating and drinking with friends. Isabella was equally extrovert and spent a great deal of time and effort—and money—on ensuring their house was filled with expensive furniture and paintings in the height of fashionable taste. She shopped at the best shops, always purchasing goods of the highest quality, whether it was furnishings or food.[5]

When it came to the question of his children's education, Robert was equally generous. All three children were bright: Constance was good at English and acting, Reginald at history and writing, and Charles at music. Private tutors taught the essential skills of reading and writing before the children were sent off to private schools. When he was not quite ten years old, Reginald was sent to Strathmore School, a preparatory establishment in Lancashire. This would normally have formed the preparation for entry into an English public school, but in 1888 Robert instead decided to send his son to senior school only a few minutes' walk away from their house in Morningside. The school, Falconhall, had been founded a few years earlier in a gracious mansion with extensive grounds. Unusually for a Scottish school, it specialised in training its pupils for entry into the public services and armed forces. Access to these careers was through competitive examination. Robert's choice of school for his son indicated that he had hopes Reginald would find a career in public service. He did not send the musically inclined Charles to Falconhall.

Reginald entered Falconhall in 1888 with his love of history undiminished. Inspired by the heroic tales of the Scottish clan chiefs, Reginald's 'pet hero' was the first Lord of Douglas, a fourteenth-century clan chief who fought in the Scottish wars of independence.[6] He would write stories about such men, weaving his own fantasy into the reality of history. One

story he wrote, the 'History of Great Victor and Dunstan', featured the Lord Douglas as prime minister to a dastardly King Charles, who reigned for an astonishingly long time—from 182 BC to 691 AD. The tale must have been written when he was quite young and displays a typical boy's love of blood and gore:

> Laggad Charles fist [*sic*], was one of our most wicked laggads we ever had, he began to reign, when he was thirty-one, and the first things he began to do, was to burn up, all the people he didn't like.' When Lord Douglas protested at this dastardly behaviour, Laggad Charles replied, 'Ho, Ho, my man, I wonder how you would relish being burned, come on let us try, so he then ordered some officers to bind him, and throw him on to the fire, then the Laggad danced merrily round and round the fire, watching Lord James Burning.[7]

This was a story written with enormous relish; even as an adult Johnston was never to lose his ability to create wonderfully inventive worlds in his mind. Whilst writing was his favourite pastime, he also enjoyed music, though in this field he lacked the talent of his brother, Charles. In any case, Falconhall intended to turn him into a crown civil servant, not a musician. It is interesting that Robert's aspirations for his sons did not include a career in the legal profession.

Falconhall's emphasis on academic subjects was devised to take Reginald and his fellow pupils through the rigours of the public examination system. Reginald quickly set his sights on entry into the Indian Civil Service, which, as the premier service in the vast British Empire, was the one to which the brightest young men gravitated. He later wrote that he worked extremely hard at school and that he 'was desperately ambitious: I thought nothing too great for me to attempt'.[8] Despite his desire to do well, Falconhall seems to have left very little impression on him. When, for example, Reginald applied for entry into Edinburgh University, he did not even mention his attendance at the school. One reason for this surprising omission may have been his unhappiness during these years. As an adult he revisited many of the sites of his schooldays, but recalled not one single aspect of his schooling in Edinburgh, remembering only the beauty of the Lancashire countryside which he had enjoyed so much at Strathmore.[9] His life in Edinburgh is always concealed, and it is clear from later letters to friends that he was at his unhappiest when he was living at home. Falconhall, of course, entailed just that. The family lived virtually on the school's doorstep, making it impractical for Reginald to live as a boarder.

The Johnston children lacked for little in the material sense, and Robert and Isabella gave them every encouragement to pursue their interests and develop their talents. The family love of music was fostered

through membership in the church choir. Constance, known in the family as Noney, was encouraged to write, and Reginald's interest in history was indulged through visits to clan sites throughout Scotland.[10] Why, then, was Reginald so utterly miserable at home? The most cursory glance at any of the papers relating to the family demonstrates that not only Reginald, but also Teddy—as Charles preferred to be known—found life with their parents difficult. Noney was an easy-going child, closest in character to both her parents; she was the one child who kept in close contact with them throughout their lives. Teddy and Reginald, on the other hand, were more sensitive and had far greater difficulty living with their parents. The boys cared little for their father, whom Reginald described as being 'utterly indifferent' to his children.[11] By the time the boys were adolescents, family rows had become commonplace, both between Robert and his sons and Robert and his wife.

Isabella was impossible with money. Reginald ruefully wrote that 'her knowledge that there is … money deposited on her behalf will have the usual result: extravagance, and the purchase of things she would be better without'.[12] Her inability to curtail her spending put an increasing strain on the family's finances as time passed. As family life became more tense and unhappy, Robert speculated with property to raise money and found solace in alcohol, spending hundreds of pounds with his local wine merchant in Morningside.[13] The outward predictability of the Johnstons' life gradually developed into a play acted out for the benefit of the outside world. Few but their closest friends could have guessed the misery and turmoil hidden behind the continual round of socialising and worthy involvement in politics and the church. The misery of home life was ultimately to affect all three children in their adult life. Reginald, in particular, would never recover from the effects of his parents' excesses. He became more and more determined to get himself away from his 'demoralised family of drunkards and spendthrifts'.[14]

It seems unlikely that the Johnston children knew much about their father's affairs, but business pressures certainly added to his distance from the family. Reginald found solace from his unhappiness at home by creating fantasies, writing wildly fictitious histories. He created a series of imaginary characters which he was to keep with him for the rest of his life—always there to relieve the tedium of everyday existence or to act as a shield when his unhappiness became too great. From the 'laggads', he created a race called the Elephantines, of whom the drunken Earl of Dumbarton was the premier member. When Reginald eventually moved to China, the 'Earl' came with him and established his base on the summit of Mount Everest. Unlike Johnston's indifferent father, the Earl was an amiable drunk, the life and soul of the party. Another figure he created was 'The Quork'. She always carried a 'bonnet box and green

umbrella' and was notorious for creating 'scandal among all the married and unmarried men' with her outrageous behaviour.[15] The Quork flirted with every man she met, but seems not to have been a compulsive purchaser of luxuries, so was probably not based on his mother. The Hopedarg was another shadowy, mythical creature he invented, a beast of indeterminate features responsible for unspecified, but dark, deeds. These strange characters belonged to Johnston's world from his youngest days; though they inhabited 'a country that had no existence except in my imagination', he was to share them with his friends and his friends' children throughout his adult life.[16] He would write about them in his letters, and although his closest acquaintances in the main enjoyed his humour, some found it all a bit too much at times. One colleague who lived with Johnston for four months in Hong Kong wrote that 'his inane talk about the Quork and the Hopedarg irritate me past expression', so much so that he was finally forced to move out of his quarters with Johnston.[17]

While Reginald filled his mind with a fantasy world, his brother and sister had their own ways of dealing with life at home. Noney survived by becoming as flighty as her mother. Gregarious and outgoing, she became an actress. Even Reginald's university friends found her to be 'a very nice girl'.[18] Charles threw himself into his music and, aged just sixteen, wrote his first full score: the music for a children's opera in three acts with a libretto by his talented and amusing brother. The brothers published the *Queen of the Fairies* in November 1892, just in time for the festive season.[19] It is not known if it was ever performed professionally, but it seems likely that some children, perhaps drawn from the local church congregation, would have been enticed to play their part.

Requiring eight main players plus a chorus of assorted fairies and elves, it is a delightful little drama. Set in a wood, the opera takes place on the one night each year when all fairies meet to crown their queen. There was much to please a Victorian audience: a human threatening to spoil the fairies' meet; a bogeyman exiled from fairyland to keep human children in check; and gentle reminders to draw adults in the audience back to their childhood. As the Queen of the Fairies sings in her prologue:

> So forget for this evening that childhood
> Has ever departed at all,
> And forget the long years that have pass'd on
> And gone beyond hope of recall:
> And you'll say, though we've no magic carpets,
> Though witches are passing away,
> Though the Man in the Moon has been banish'd—
> Still, fairies are things of today![20]

Reginald's libretto survives to charm, but Charles's music has sadly long been lost, though it must have been lively and haunting in parts if it mirrored his brother's verse.

In 1892, after four years at Falconhall, Reginald completed his schooling, but, being only seventeen, was still too young to take the examinations for the Civil Service of India. He therefore decided to enrol at the University of Edinburgh. He quickly established himself as one of the better students in the Arts Faculty, and was awarded an essay prize and a distinction from the English Department during his first year. He studied English and history, and although he was a first-rate student of English, it was history at which he truly excelled. In 1893, he received the prestigious Lord Rector's Prize of twenty-five guineas for the best essay on an historical subject. A year later, he triumphed once more, this time winning the Gray Essay Prize.

Just before Reginald ended his studies at Edinburgh University, the family left Goshen Bank. They retained ownership of it, but moved into the town centre, to Grosvenor Street in Edinburgh's west end. Robert had bought this substantial property some time earlier. The move gave him the opportunity to combine home and office in a single building. Although part of an imposing Victorian terrace, it was a heavy, gloomy house compared to the Morningside home. Decorated with Isabella's characteristic lavishness and in the height of prevailing contemporary taste, rooms were filled with Turkey and Brussels carpets, dark mahogany furniture, and large numbers of landscape paintings by some of Scotland's most fashionable artists.[21]

Reginald loathed the place. It was following the move to this house that relations with his parents became so bad that neither he nor Teddy could bear to stay at home more than was absolutely necessary. Teddy was in due course to leave home for good. Reginald simply lived with family friends whenever possible, or stayed with relations in Dumfriesshire on Scotland's southwestern borders. The Robertson family had a house on the outskirts of the city where Johnston would sometimes stay, writing to friends that 'I have again fled from home and come out here'.[22] On other occasions, he would visit his old friend McKelvie, who lived in the village of Hermiston near Edinburgh. He looked on McKelvie 'as a kind of older brother', and his house became a place where he could 'get away from the oppressiveness of Grosvenor Street'.[23] Sometimes he would travel further afield: 'I have climbed one of the highest mountains in Skye, from Loch Scavaig: and I have paid my respects to the tombs of deceased monarchs on Iona: and eaten sardines on the Isle of Jura: and was nearly killed in trying and failing to reach Ossian's cave in Glencoe.'[24] These were times when he had real fun. In all these places he could forget his father's drunken indifference and his mother's

incessant spending sprees, and pursue some of his favourite pastimes: hunting, shooting, and walking.

No matter how well he did at university, academic success, it would seem, was not sufficient compensation for the traumas of living at home. So in 1894, after just two years at Edinburgh University, Reginald abandoned his studies in Scotland to read modern history at Magdalen College in Oxford. His time at Edinburgh had not been wasted, for he won a scholarship to Magdalen. Oxford, of course, had one overriding advantage over Edinburgh: it was a considerable distance from home. The move was made, one suspects, with few regrets.

Probably the most beautiful of the Oxford colleges, Magdalen was not to disappoint him. Reginald quickly fell under its charms. Not only did he find academic stimulation here, he also gathered around him a group of friends with whom he was to remain in contact for the rest of his life. He arrived at Magdalen on 16 October 1894 to discover he was to live in rooms in New Building, a magnificent Georgian block inspired by Italian architecture and erected in 1733. New Building sits at the back of the college cloisters and is bounded by a broad sweep of lawn to the front and by the college's Deer Park to the rear. Both the building and its setting are quite splendid, and were quite a contrast to the sooty grime he was used to in central Edinburgh. Reginald had rooms in the block's west wing, in stair number six. Up a wide, sweeping wooden staircase lay six double rooms, two to a floor. On the same day as Reginald entered his rooms, so did four other students: Francis Armitage, Cecil Clementi, Percy Dale, and Thomas Loveday. The senior member of the stair, George Lambert, had gone up to Magdalen two years earlier and completed the stair six group. In later years, Lambert kept in contact with the others, but it was the new men who formed a close friendship almost immediately and who would remain firm friends.

They were a bright group. Reginald impressed the college authorities sufficiently to be awarded an Exhibition. Of the rest of stair six, only Dale had not been awarded a scholarship. On his arrival at Magdalen, Johnston seems to have tried to distance himself from his former life in a number of small ways. For example, at home he was known as Reginald or Reggie, but his Magdalen friends were asked to call him John, and did so for the rest of his life. Other attempts at erasing the past were less successful; before the end of the first term, all the members of the stair knew of John's 'selfish and cantankerous and silent moods', which could make him 'a very difficult house-mate' at times.[25]

Reginald was the oldest of the five new men by a year, but was in no manner the leader of the group, which seems to have been a remarkably democratic and self-supporting fellowship. For two years, the five students lived in the Georgian splendour of New Building. The day started with

a servant filling a zinc bath in each of their rooms, after which they would be served breakfast. Lunch, too, was taken in one's room, and at night one dressed for dinner in the college hall. Free time was spent cycling to neighbouring villages or celebrating academic achievements large and small in the time-honoured tradition of students: by getting drunk.[26] Reginald continued to enjoy music. The college chapel was a particularly favourite place, where he could demonstrate 'how deep was my love for our glorious chapel music' by singing in the college choir. In the beautiful chapel, with the sound of the choir ringing in his ears, he entered a world which gave him peace and which 'seemed to contrast so beautifully and so vividly with the unhappiness of home'.[27] He also wrote poetry, some of which was later published.

When his mood lightened and he was not being 'ill-tempered and unsociable', Johnston could be charming and witty.[28] It was not long before his friends on the stair were introduced to the fantastic characters he had created in his childhood. They were all to learn about the Quork and her distinctly undesirable reputation. Then there was the irrepressible Mrs Walkinshaw, whom he described as a 'most remarkable lady woman female creature'.[29] She was to follow Johnston wherever he went, and he later recorded a disgraceful episode in which she was 'expelled from Japan by the Japanese police. I don't wonder, and am sorry to say she fully deserved her fate. Her conduct at Obama was calculated to shock even the ladies of the geisha houses: and they are no prudes.'[30] The marvellous Earl of Dumbarton continued his wild and drunken ways and occupied himself as 'Chancellor of the Order of the Lords Elephantine'.[31] These and many other creations were characters of frivolity and mirth, which Reginald used to lighten his darker moods. Indeed, there were many occasions when he spent more time on his poetry, music, and fictional characters than he did on his studies.

For the first time in his life, Reginald had a settled domestic base and was surrounded by a circle of supportive friends who gave him 'unceasing kindness and forbearance'.[32] He was far away from the misery of home, and was afforded every opportunity to relax in congenial company. His interest in classical music became a passion to be indulged at concerts in Oxford. He also made regular visits to the chapel to hear the accomplished singing of the Magdalen choir. When he was not listening to music, he filled his time writing poetry. Work very quickly became a secondary consideration. Music remained a passion for brother Teddy, too. In 1896, when both he and Noney visited Reginald at Magdalen, Teddy proudly announced the publication of one of his songs, 'Lament for Summer'. But even though music filled his life and good friends were always at hand, Reginald remained unhappy. During such periods, the patience of his friends could be sorely tried, and it was impossible to

lift him from what appears to have been quite severe depression. When the stair moved themselves into lodgings in Cowley Place, just over Magdalen Bridge and not far from the college, Loveday and Armitage found it hard at times to contain their irritation with Reginald's swings of temperament. It is to their credit that they did not let his moods spoil their friendship.

At the end of his second year at Magdalen, Reginald sat the examination for entry into the Civil Service of India. A single examination was held each August in London to select officers for the Civil Service of India, the Home Civil Service, and for cadetships in the East. These were the examinations he had been aiming for since his schooldays. Two years at Oxford had given the final polish to his character as a gentleman. Ironically, the one thing he did not require for entry into the elite of the British Colonial Office was a degree. In the 1890s, competitive examination was the sole means of entry into the service, and the competition was therefore fierce. The highest scoring candidates would be offered plum posts in London or India, where they would be groomed to be the future leaders of the British Empire. Additionally, there were Eastern Cadetships to the Straits Settlements, the Malay States, Ceylon, and Hong Kong. All these posts offered a good income, a steady job, and the possibility of advancement at home and abroad. They were desirable posts, and as many as seven candidates applied for every available vacancy.

Despite not having studied in any really solid way at Magdalen, Reginald had passed all his university exams and seems to have sat the competitive examination with little trepidation. He had bidden farewell to his college friends that summer, promising to keep in contact, but with no intention of returning to university. It must have been a considerable shock to him to discover, a month later, that he had, in his own words, 'hopelessly ploughed' paper after paper, passing only English language and composition, and English history.[33] The results for the other subjects he sat were dismal; he even failed by a large margin the subject he was studying at Oxford, modern history. Rather surprisingly, Johnston was barely perturbed by his failure and recovered from the initial shock very quickly. This may have been in part due to the assurance given during the summer term by the Magdalen College president that, were he to be unsuccessful, he could return there. His mother was also keen that he should complete his degree. Even his father, 'more or less indifferent as usual—seems willing that I should go back'.[34] And so Reginald returned to Magdalen for a final year, staying once more with the rest of the stair at Cowley Place, where he resumed the erratic and moody lifestyle which had been his hallmark since his arrival in Oxford.

From time to time he would write of the 'various things that have distressed me', though he rarely specified what these were. He could plunge into a state of complete lack of confidence, sufficiently upset at one point to complain that his greatest friend, Clementi, showed 'vastly superior moral and intellectual power, when he comes into contact with people like me'.[35] He was obviously capable of being witty and charming one day and difficult and depressive the next. He also continued to spend more time on non-academic pursuits. He was honest enough to admit to some satisfaction when he gained a second-class degree in 1898, observing that 'it was far more than I deserved; I don't suppose anyone … did less work than I did'. A self-satisfied streak which was to recur throughout his life was apparent in his comment that the result also showed 'how very easily I could have got a first'. However, his tutors, having reread his papers, 'discovered that though there was "much obvious cleverness" there was also a great deal of irrelevance and some other vagaries they could not understand!'[36]

The summer of 1898 should have been spent working for the next round of competitive examinations to be held that August, but Reginald had returned to the oppressive atmosphere of the Grosvenor Street house. The situation there had not improved during his absence at Magdalen. By 1897, Noney had left home, moved to Australia, and married a fellow actor.[37] Charles was next, in 1898, when he 'at last had to give up the hopeless task of living at home, and has left for good, in the midst of a terrific row' to move into rented lodgings in Edinburgh.[38]

On his journey back home, Reginald wrote, 'I am returning to Edinburgh where my address will be Grosvenor Street, damn its soul.' His feelings did not change on arrival: 'things at home are far too miserable to make real work possible'.[39] The only relief he found from an unbearable domestic situation were his visits to as many concerts as possible in Edinburgh. Family life bore down on him, to the extent that he wrote, 'I have had a most awful time at home, and had no spirit to work'.[40] Despite this, Reginald entered the examinations with a determination to pass sufficiently well to be offered a post that would take him away from home. He was now almost twenty-four—too old to qualify for entry into the Civil Service of India—but Cecil Clementi's family were acquainted with Hong Kong and had recommended the colony to him as a good posting to get, particularly because of 'the excitements that are making China interesting at present'.[41] He therefore pinned his hopes on a sufficiently good set of marks to be offered either a Hong Kong Cadetship or a London-based posting in the Home Civil Service.

The rules for the examinations were relatively straightforward. There were no compulsory papers, and candidates could sit as many papers as they wished, in subjects ranging from mathematics to moral philosophy,

languages, and law. Reginald sat eight papers, including English, French, history, politics, and philosophy. Although his results were once again patchy (he failed French, politics, and philosophy), he passed all the other papers and gained the second highest mark overall in the English history paper. In all, he gained fifty percent more marks than he had achieved in the 1897 examination, and was confident of being offered some sort of post.

It was more than a month before he knew he had been offered a posting in one of the Eastern colonies. More than 600 candidates sat the examination, but only 98 posts were available in 1898. Sixty-five of these were based in India, and most of the eligible top candidates were appointed there. Reginald, in sixty-eighth place overall, was selected for one of the six available posts in the Home Civil Service; however, he was told that no post would be free in London until at earliest the spring of 1899. To wait for a London appointment meant returning home to Edinburgh for six months: the one thing he wanted to avoid. 'I might have got an appointment within the next six months if I had elected to wait and chosen to run the risk. I didn't do so, and have irrevocably put down my name for the Colonies'.[42] So it was that he elected to take one of the Eastern Cadetships, stating Hong Kong as his preference.

By late September, he had passed his medical exam and been interviewed by the Colonial Office, which had governmental responsibility for British colonies. His glimpse of the corridors of power at Whitehall, where he saw clerks scribbling their way through the mounds of paper created in running an empire, did not impress him. This, and the interview he was given there, caused him to observe that 'I now know something of officialdom and red tapeism in Downing Street, and don't think much of it'.[43] Unfortunately for his career, he was never able to revise his jaded opinion of the Colonial Office.

A few more anxious weeks passed before Reginald was finally informed that he had been accepted for a Hong Kong cadetship. His keenness to leave the country was such that he even wrote to the secretary of state offering to leave for the colony with as little as three days' notice. As it was, the Colonial Office gave him three weeks to prepare for his new life. In that short time, Johnston had to pack up all his belongings. He left nothing in Edinburgh, carrying all his papers and books with him to the East.[44] School friends in Edinburgh held a dinner for him in the city's largest hotel, the Balmoral, and farewell letters were written to those who could not attend, including his friends from Magdalen. Even his father expressed regret at his departure and at his farewell party 'made a speech, which was the best I ever heard him make; but he was cut up at my going away and he showed it.'[45] It was with some surprise that he discovered that his parents actually cared enough to accompany him to

London to see him depart Britain. It was the last time they would ever see their son.

Reginald set sail for Hong Kong on 17 November 1898, arriving there on 25 December. He was one of two cadets to be sent to Hong Kong that year. The other, Joseph Kemp from London, had gained the best marks of all the Eastern Cadets and had elected to join the Hong Kong Service as his first choice. Johnston passed the long sea journey by organising musical entertainment on board, and seems to have spent little time with his fellow cadet. Indeed, they never really became friends, despite careers that threw them together for almost six years in Hong Kong. Perhaps it was because Kemp was rather older than Johnston and lacked the charm of his Magdalen friends. The sea journey also gave Reginald the opportunity to begin his Chinese studies and to contemplate what lay ahead for him. On arrival in Hong Kong, he knew, he would begin his Chinese studies proper, with the government providing him with books, teachers, and living quarters. His salary would enable him to live in some comfort, being a generous HK$1,500 (about £225)—in those times, an average family could live on £150 a year.

The Clementi family had already told Reginald of the excitements in China and Hong Kong in 1898—indeed a momentous year for the region. Any other information about the country he would have had to discover from books or newspapers, for the Colonial Office offered him no written information about Hong Kong or its mother country. And there was much to discover. Whereas Britain had colonised all of India and was in the process of colonising large parts of Africa, Hong Kong was the only colony she controlled in China. For more than sixty years, Britain and the other Western powers had encroached on Chinese territory, not through outright colonisation, but in the main by gaining preferential commercial concessions.

From the 1830s onwards, most of the Western powers and, later, Japan had jostled and fought for their various toeholds within China. Mining and railway concessions brought them income and influence; treaty ports were created. Situated on the coast and on the major rivers, these towns were centres for Western trade in China.[46] Foreign governments were given special concessions in these areas; Britain had representatives in most of them. China did not give these concessions willingly. Most of the foreign spheres of influence in China had been won by Western powers taking unfair advantage of a weak government, at times shamefully exploiting the current political situation for their own ends.

1898 was a year in which this shameful foreign treatment of China was at its worst. Throughout the year, the European powers and Japan had vied for territorial and commercial supremacy across the country. The weak and declining Qing Dynasty was powerless to prevent the grasping

hands of these various countries scrambling for further concessions. In 1894, China and Japan had gone to war with one another. The Japanese decimated China's forces; in 1895, a treaty formally concluding the war was agreed. As a result of her victory, Japan was given territory in north China. However, the other foreign powers were not prepared to see Japan increasing her influence in China without being given proportionate concessions for themselves. It was rather as if the great powers viewed China as a kind of giant cake from which everyone took a piece, the size of which depended on one's international standing. With its enormous navy and vast commercial concerns, Britain had long been the country with the greatest number of interests in China. For Britain, the important thing was to retain the largest slice of the cake. Russia, on the other hand, never enjoyed seeing Japan increase her power in north China; that was too close to her own borders for comfort. Germany liked to be at least on par with Russia, and France felt the same way about Germany. China was helpless, time and again, as her spoils were shared out among these powers.

When Japan was given the Liaodong peninsula after her defeat of China, this upset the international balance. Russia, France, and Germany demanded that Japan return the territory to China in return for a cash indemnity. China was virtually bankrupt, but that was not a problem because Russia, France, and Germany generously offered to lend her the money she needed to pay Japan. Of course, in return they expected, and were given, further commercial and territorial concessions. It was at this point, in 1898, that Britain stepped in and demanded her 'rights' to Chinese territory as well. It is some indication of the scale of foreign incursions on Chinese soil that, in just four short months in 1898, China lost territory in the north of the country to Germany and Russia, and in the south to France. These 'spheres of influence' were handed over in a series of one-sided leases which gave China nothing and the foreign powers commercial advantage and territorial gain. The leases were not entirely open-ended, however, and did give China the hope that one day her land would once more belong only to her.

Britain had played little part in these negotiations with China, content to let Russia, Germany, and France do their best before stepping in and demanding the lion's share of the spoils. In 1842, China had been forced to cede the island of Hong Kong to Britain in perpetuity, thereby enabling a British colony to be set up there. Now Britain demanded an extension to the territory in order to protect her interests in Hong Kong. She was given the area known as the New Territories on a ninety-nine year lease. As a balance to Germany's newly leased territory in north China, Britain was also leased land in the north, at a place then called Weihaiwei, but now known as Weihai. This was to be held for as long as

Germany held her northern territory, Jiao Xian. Neither Weihai nor the New Territories were particularly large areas, both being roughly 350 square miles. In gaining the New Territories, Britain was, she believed, securing the future of Hong Kong. In gaining Weihai, she hoped she was acquiring a deep-water harbour that would eventually rival those in Gibraltar or Singapore.

This scramble for concessions was a period of deep humiliation for China, and one without historical parallel. At the time, there were fears amongst many observers that this undignified rush for land and concessions by all the foreign powers might lead to the complete disintegration of the Chinese empire. The Qing Dynasty was unable to do much more than sit and watch while these incursions took place, but some sections of the Chinese population were prepared to take direct action against the encroaching foreigners. Trouble began in Shandong Province, where rebellious peasants started to attack foreign, and particularly missionary, settlements. Inflamed by a hatred of foreign religious and commercial encroachment within China, the attacks soon spread to other parts of the country, and culminated in 1900 with the siege in Beijing of the foreign legations—the seats of foreign power in China—in the Boxer uprising. It was indeed an interesting time to arrive in the country.

Notes

Chapter 1 The Predictable Path (1874–1898)

1. In the Scottish census for 1861, Robert lists his occupation as a writer.
2. *The Scottish Law Review* 18 (1902): 229–30 and *The Scots Law Times* 10 (1902–3), 19 July 1902. Writers to the Signet are the senior group of solicitors in Scotland.
3. Constance Margaretta Fleming Johnston was born on 5 May 1873.
4. The Scottish census for 1891 lists a gardener, cook, ladies' maid, and housemaid as live-in servants at Goshen Bank.
5. A great deal of information about the family's purchases is contained in a fascinating file, Concluded Sequestration Processes, Vol. 1, p. 23, CS318/50/175, Scottish Record Office.
6. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 May 1908, Vol. 9, Stewart Lockhart Papers, National Library of Scotland (henceforth cited as SLPNLS).
7. Enclosed in Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 25 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
8. Johnston to Loveday, 2 August 1897, Loveday Family Papers (henceforth cited as LFP).
9. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 20 August 1926, Vol. 10A, SLPNLS.
10. Johnston to R. A. Robertson, 16 August 1934, File 1, Box 39, J. and R. A. Robertson Papers (henceforth cited as JRAR).
11. Johnston to Loveday, 29 September 1897, LFP.
12. Johnston to Robertson, 25 September 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR.
13. List of creditors, 14 January 1903, Concluded Sequestration Processes, CS318/50/175.
14. Johnston to Robertson, 1 May 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR.
15. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 January 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
16. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
17. Clementi to Loveday, 6 October 1900, LFP.
18. Clementi to Loveday, 30 December 1896, LFP.
19. *Queen of the Fairies: A Children's Opera in Three Acts*, libretto by Reginald Fleming Johnston, music by C. E. Fleming Johnston (Edinburgh L Gray & Co, November 1892).
20. Ibid., p. 7.
21. *The Scotsman*, 19 March 1903.

22. Johnston to Loveday, undated, LFP.
23. Johnston to Robertson, 25 September 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR, and Johnston to Loveday, 7 October 1897, LFP.
24. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 22 September 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
25. Johnston to Loveday, 30 March 1897, LFP, and Clementi to Loveday, 6 November 1900, LFP.
26. *Memories of Oxford in 1894. Reminiscences of Thomas Loveday*, transcribed by Mrs Sarah Markham, pp. 29–33 (*Magdalen College Record*, Oxford, 1983); *Memories of Magdalen and Oxford. Reminiscences of Thomas Loveday*, transcribed by Mrs Sarah Markham, pp. 39–45 (*Magdalen College Record*, Oxford, 1984).
27. Johnston to Loveday, 2 August 1898, LFP.
28. Ibid.
29. Johnston to Edith Stewart Lockhart, 18 May 1910, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
30. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 16 March 1911, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
31. Application for The United Empire Club, 2 June 1910, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
32. Johnston to Loveday, 2 August 1898, LFP.
33. Johnston to Loveday, 29 September 1897, LFP.
34. Ibid.
35. Johnston to Loveday, 30 March 1897, LFP.
36. Johnston to Loveday, 2 August 1898, LFP.
37. She married W. E. H. Terry on 24 September 1897, Marriages solemnized in the District of Bourke, Colony of Victoria, 1897, Record Office of Victoria.
38. Johnston to Loveday, 2 August 1898, LFP.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Johnston to Loveday, undated [September 1898], LFP.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 25 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
45. Johnston to Loveday, 29 March 1899, LFP.
46. Robert Nield, *The China Coast: Trade and the First Treaty Ports* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., 2010) gives an excellent survey of these ports.

Chapter 2 China Beckons (1898–1903)

1. Johnston to Loveday, 29 March 1899, LFP.
2. Johnston to Armitage, 27 December 1898, LFP.
3. Johnston to Loveday, 29 March 1899, LFP.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. The extent of the unrest remains a matter of some dispute. A contemporary account can be found in Stewart Lockhart's diaries for the period in Vol. 36 SLPNLS; in Peter Wesley-Smith, *Unequal Treaty 1898–1997* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1980); and in Patrick H. Hase, *The Six-Day War of 1899: Hong Kong in the Age of Imperialism* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

7. Shiona Airlie, *Thistle and Bamboo: The Life and Times of Sir James Stewart Lockhart* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989; reprinted by Hong Kong University Press, 2010).
8. Johnston to Loveday, 28 October 1899, LFP. Information about many of the people who sat on these committees can be found in May Holdsworth and Christopher Munn (ed.), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).
9. Johnston to Loveday, 28 October 1899, LFP.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Clementi to Loveday, 6 September 1899, LFP.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Johnston to Loveday, 28 October 1899, LFP.
18. Ibid.
19. Johnston to Clementi, undated, LFP.
20. Johnston to Clementi, undated, LFP.
21. Telegram No. 23018, 18 July 1900, CO129/300.
22. Clementi to Loveday, 6 October 1900, LFP.
23. Despatch No. 519, 28 December 1900, CO129/301.
24. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 July 1906, Vol. 1, SLPNLS. Mrs Dunn was a Christian Scientist.
25. R. F. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay: A Journey from North China to Burma through Tibetan Ssuch'uan and Yunnan* (London: John Murray, 1908), p. 6.
26. *The Scotsman*, Obituary of Robert Fleming Johnston, 14 July 1902, p. 6.
27. H. K. Shiells, Statement in a Respondent's Proof, Production Book No. 9, CS318/50/175.
28. Production Book No. 9, CS318/50/175.
29. *The Scotsman*, 19 March 1903.
30. Vol. 1, p. 49, CS318/50/175.
31. Johnston to R. A. Robertson, 25 September 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR.
32. Interviews with family friend Mrs Bell and with other people who knew Johnston in the 1930s bear this out.
33. In the dedication to David Playfair Heatley, in *From Peking to Mandalay*, Johnston describes himself as a 'Banished friend'.
34. Clementi to Loveday, 13 November 1902, LFP.
35. St Baldred's Report by the Vestry and Abstract Accounts for the Year 1903, p. 9.
36. Charles Johnston to R. A. Robertson, 29 August 1916, File 1, Box 16, JRAR; Sparshott to E. B. Robertson, 14 April 1939, File 3, Box 39, JRAR; and World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918.
37. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 328.
38. Clementi to Loveday, 13 November 1902, LFP.
39. Ibid.
40. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 25.

Chapter 3 The District Officer (1904–1906)

1. Minute from Johnson to Lucas, 27 November 1903, on Despatch No. 61, CO521/5.
2. Despatch No. 169, 21 April 1904, CO129/322; Despatch No. 30, 9, CO521/6; the Commissioner's Visitors' Book, Stewart Lockhart Papers, May 1904, SLPNLS.
3. Enclosure in No. 9, 25 January 1919, CO521/20.
4. Johnston to Loveday, 13 June 1904, LFP.
5. Johnston R. F. (as Theodoric), *The Last Days of Theodoric the Ostrogoth and Other Verses* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1904), p. 40.
6. Despatch No. 62, 15 August 1904, CO521/6.
7. R. F. Johnston, *Account of a Journey in Shantung from Weihaiwei to the Tomb of Confucius* (Weihaiwei, 1904), p. 5.
8. Ibid., p. 6.
9. Ibid., p. 7.
10. Despatch No. 65, 27 August 1904, CO521/6.
11. Johnston, Account of a Journey in Shantung, p. 9.
12. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 September 1904, CO873/136.
13. Johnston, *Account of a Journey in Shantung*, p. 3.
14. Ibid., p. 16.
15. Ibid., p. 17.
16. Ibid., p. 18.
17. Ibid., p. 19.
18. Ibid., p. 19.
19. Ibid., p. 27.
20. Kong Demao and Ke Lan, *The House of Confucius* (London: Corgi Books, 1989), introduction by Frances Wood, p. 4.
21. Ibid., p. 8.
22. Johnston, *Account of a Journey in Shantung*, p. 28.
23. Ibid., p. 29. The author is also grateful to Jeni Hung and her son James Kong for providing an invaluable insight into the responsibilities of the head of the Kong clan, during a conversation in 2008.
24. Johnston, *Account of a Journey to Shantung*, p. 29.
25. Kong, *The House of Confucius*, p. 10.
26. Johnston, *Account of a Journey to Shantung*, p. 20.
27. Ibid., p. 26.
28. Ibid., p. 31.
29. Ibid., p. 33.
30. Ibid., p. 33.
31. Ibid., p. 35.
32. Ibid., p. 34.
33. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 September 1904, CO873/136.
34. Confidential Print, R. F. Johnston, *Remarks on the Province of Shantung* (Hong Kong: Noronha and Company, 1904), p. 13.
35. Ibid., p. 6.
36. The series of meetings with the governor are related in full in Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 September 1904, CO873/136.

37. Nathan to Lucas, 7 April 1905, CO521/8. A copy of the report can be found in Vol. 63, SLPNLS.
38. Carol G.S. Tan, *British Rule in China: Law and Justice in Weihaiwei, 1898–1930* (London: Wildy, Simmonds & Hill Publishing, 2008) provides a comprehensive account of the legal system in the territory.
39. Report of Secretary to Government, p. 1, in Despatch No. 20, Annual Report for 1904, CO521/8.
40. Report of Secretary to Government, p. 13, in Despatch No. 20, Annual Report for 1904, CO521/8. Tingzhais were official messengers.
41. No. 75, 14 November 1904, CO521/7.
42. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
43. CO5714, Confidential, 11 January 1905, CO521/8.
44. Nathan to Lucas, 7 April 1905, CO521/8.
45. Ibid.
46. Minute from Fiddes to Lucas, 6 June 1905, on Telegram of 5 June 1905, CO521/8.
47. Cox to Lucas, 22 May 1905, Minute on No. 20 of 15 April 1905, CO521/8.
48. No. 20, 15 April 1905, p. 17, CO521/8 and Annual Report for 1904.
49. Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 1 January 1905. The letters can be read in SLPNLS and Weihai Municipal Archives (henceforth cited as WMA).
50. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 8.
51. Commissioner's Visitors' Book, 4 April 1905, SLPNLS.
52. Instances are cited throughout CO873/145.
53. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
54. Despatch No. 15, 13 February 1906, CO521/9.
55. Minute from Fiddes to Lucas on Despatch No. 24, 14 February 1906, CO521/9.
56. Elgin to Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1906, Telegram, CO521/9.
57. Various minutes on Despatch No. 16, 14 February 1906, CO521/9.
58. Minutes from Fiddes to Lucas, 14 and 16 February 1906, on Telegram of 14 February 1906, CO521/9.

Chapter 4 Lessons Learned (1906–1907)

1. The verse is still quoted today. In 1997, the author even found it in a diary entry in the London newspaper, the *Evening Standard*. Londoner's Diary, *Evening Standard*, 11 July 1997.
2. Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 10 February 1906, SLPNLS & WMA.
3. Ibid.
4. Isabella Bird, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond: An Account of Journeys in China, chiefly in the Province of SzeChuan and Among the Man-tze of the Somo Territory* (London: John Murray, 1899; repr. Virago Press, 1985), p. 191.
5. Many of these travellers published a record of their journeys. The reader will find full references to these books in the bibliography under Baber, Bird, Gill, Little, and Morrison.

6. E. C. Baber, *Travels and Researches in Western China*, Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers, Vol. 1, Part 1 (London: John Murray, 1882).
7. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 6 January 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
8. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 January 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
9. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 22 January 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
10. Ibid.
11. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
12. Ibid.
13. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 5 March 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
14. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 February 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
15. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 5 March 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
16. Ibid.
17. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 April 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 147.
24. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 April 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
25. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 156.
26. P. Fleming, *Travels in Tartary* (London: The Reprint Society, 1941), p. 344.
27. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 194.
31. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
32. Ibid.
33. Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 320.
34. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 June 1906, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 24 August 1906, Vol. 1, SLPNLS.
38. Ibid.
39. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 July 1906, Vol. 1, SLPNLS.
40. Ibid.
41. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 24 August 1906, Vol. 1, SLPNLS.
42. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 14 September 1906, Vol. 1, SLPNLS. The original of his poem, 'Tender-heartedness', can be found in Harry Graham, *More Ruthless Rhymes For Heartless Homes* (London: Edward Arnold, 1930).
43. Despatch No. 14, 14 May 1907, CO521/10.
44. Despatch No. 32, 25 September 1907, CO521/8.
45. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, Thursday [n.d.; c.1907], Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
46. Johnston to Loveday, 17 February 1907, LFP.
47. Johnston to Loveday, 6 December 1910, LFP. Every woman the author has interviewed who knew Johnston reported him to be quite irresistible to most women.
48. Stewart Lockhart to Mary Stewart Lockhart, 4 May 1907, SLPNLS & WMA.

Chapter 5 Sacred Sites (1907–1909)

1. The case extends through file CO873/238 of 1907.
2. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 20 November 1907, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
3. Ibid.
4. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
5. The complaints began in 1907 and continue to appear in the files most years thereafter in CO873 Series.
6. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 June 1909, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
7. Ibid.
8. Minute from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 26 March 1907, CO873/243.
9. Minute from Stewart Lockhart to Johnston, 27 March 1907, CO873/243.
10. Minute from Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 August 1907, CO873/252.
11. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 20 November 1907, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
12. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 31 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
13. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 June 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
14. Ibid.
15. Sir F. Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 381.
16. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 11 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
17. Ibid.
18. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 May 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
19. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 June 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
20. Ibid.
21. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 June 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
22. Ibid.
23. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 June 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
24. Johnston, *Buddhist China* (London: John Murray, 1913), p. 142.
25. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 July 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, p. 382.
29. Stewart Lockhart sent his daughter Mary information and comments about Johnston's travels throughout 1908. See SLPNLS & WMA.
30. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 July 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 3 August 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
34. Ibid.
35. The rubbings in the Stewart Lockhart Collection are deposited in the Royal Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh.
36. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 August 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
37. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, Friday [1908], Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
38. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 29 September 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 October 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
42. Ibid.
43. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, Friday [1908], Vol. 9, SLPNLS.

44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 November 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
47. Ibid.
48. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 January 1909, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
49. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 November 1908, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
50. Legation to Foreign Office, Telegram 181, 14 November 1908, and Legation to Foreign Office, Telegram 183, 15 November 1908, FO228/2243.
51. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 January 1909, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 January 1909, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
55. Ibid.
56. Johnston to Loveday, 17 February 1907, LFP.
57. Confidential Despatch CO19802, 3 May 1909, CO521/11.
58. Ibid.
59. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 21 May 1909, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
60. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, Monday [1910], Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
61. R. F. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 2.

Chapter 6 The Daily Grind (1910–1912)

1. Johnston to Walter, 12 August 1909, File CO873/288.
2. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 September 1910, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
3. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, undated [1910], Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
4. Minute from Stubbs to Collins, 25 April 1912, in No. 14, CO521/13.
5. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 August 1910, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
6. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 April 1910, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
7. Johnston to Warren, 21 May 1923, reprinted, *Magdalen College Record*, 1988, p. 49.
8. Beer to Stewart Lockhart, 6 May 1911, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
9. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, Friday [1910], Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
10. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 16 December 1910, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
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27. Despatch No. 11, 5 March 1912, CO521/13.
28. No. 1, 25 August 1915, FO228/2397.
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3. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 28 September 1912, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
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5. Stewart Lockhart to Johnston, 29 September 1912, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
6. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 30 September 1912, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
7. Johnston to Robertson, 1 May 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR.
8. Ibid.
9. Constance Fleming to Robertson, 4 November 1915, File 1, Box 16, JRAR.
10. Robertson to Johnston, 23 July 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR.
11. Johnston to Robertson, 25 September 1912, File 2, Box 16, JRAR.
12. Robinson to Collins, 24 April 1912, on Despatch No. 14 of 4 April 1912, CO521/13.
13. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 11 March 1913, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
14. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 5 April 1913, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
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27. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 April 1920, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
28. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 22 February 1913, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
29. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 May 1913, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.

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31. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 2 June 1913, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
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34. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 7 August 1913, Vol. 9, SLPNLS.
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51. Ibid., p. 6.
52. Ibid., p. 261.
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57. Ibid.
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3. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 10 May 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
4. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 8 June 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
5. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 July 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
6. Ibid. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 July 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 8 September 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
11. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 22 September 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
12. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 1 July 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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14. Ibid.
15. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 25 October 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
16. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 16 November 1915, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
17. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 17 January 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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23. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 16 March 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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25. Johnston to Robertson, 21 August 1916, File 1, Box 16, JRAR.
26. Teddy Johnston to Robertson, 29 August 1916, File 1, Box 16, JRAR.
27. Johnston to Robertson, 24 September 1916, File 1, Box 16, JRAR.
28. Noney Johnston to Robertson, 4 November 1916, File 1, Box 16, JRAR.
29. Robertson to Irving, 4 October 1917, File 1, Box 16, JRAR.
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39. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 13 September 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
40. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 9 September 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
41. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 12 July 1916, Vol.10, SLPNLS.
42. The cases are documented in letters to Stewart Lockhart during 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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44. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 29 November 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
45. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 17 August 1916, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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55. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 19 November 1917, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
56. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 27 December 1917, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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60. 'HB' to Fiddes, 10 September 1918, on CO35727, CO521/19.
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72. Johnston to Stewart Lockhart, 13 October 1918, Vol. 10, SLPNLS.
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