MA JIANZHONG AND WU GUANGPEI'S VISIT TO INDIA AND THEIR DIARIES

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In modern times a Chinese envoy had been sent to India for a discussion with the British viceroy and other high-ranking officials on the issue of opium trade monopoly. He was none other than Ma Jianzhong, who was personally instructed to take up the mission in 1881 (the 7th year of Emperor Guangxu's reign). by Li Hongzhang, the Qing Government's Minister for the Affairs of Liaoning, Hebei and Shandong Provinces. He was accompanied by his friend Wu Guangpei, a well-known scholar without any official post. They set sail on the 24th day of the 6th month (in the lunar calendar, the same below) from Tienjin for Hong Kong, where they took another boat for a southward sailing. Passing through Saigon and Singapore, they reached Calcutta on the 5th day of the leap 7th month. After 25 days' sojourn in India, they sailed homeward from Bombay on the 1st day of the 8th month and arrived in Shanghai on the 26th day of the same month. Their experiences in the trip of three odd months were put down in their respective valuable records, Ma's A Record of My Southward Journey (Nan Xing Ji) and Wu's A Diary of My Southward Journey (Nan Xing Ri Ji). These travel notes about India, parallels of which were seldom, if ever, produced by other Chinese in modern times, have given an account not only of how the authors fulfilled their mission but also of their impressions, considerations and associated ideas.

The Opium War had offered no solution to Britain's problem of exporting opium to and selling it in China. But after the legalization of the trade of opium in China as a result of the Tianjin Protocol, the volume of opium import from India registered a sharp rise from 52, 925 boxes in 1850 to the annual average of about 70, 000 boxes during 1864—76 and 87, 747 boxes in 1880, which did not include the smuggled imports estimated at 20, 000 boxes per year during the late 1870s. Now the Qing Government concerned itself rather about its sources of revenue than about the harm of opium to the Chinese people, it having given opium such a dignified name as "foreign drug" and thus entitled the "drug" to importation. As stipulated in the Tianjin Protocol, for each box of the "drug" only 30 taels of silver could be collected as import duties, a rate too low to reach the conventional ratio of 10%. The Qing Government was naturally getting more and more worried about the financial loss. Moreover, the annual smug-

gling of 20, 000 boxes spelt loss of another 600, 000 taels. With an already empty exchequer, Li Hongzhang and company, who had to spend extravagantly in handling foreign affairs, strongly felt that the only way out of the financial dilemma was to resort to heavier taxation, including more duties on opium. The Sino-British Agreement of Chefoo of 1876 entitled China to levy a likin on opium imported from India. There was advocacy of increasing the likin to 150 taels per box, but this suggestion was ignored for years, partly because "some foreigners are afraid that it will be hardly possible to put the policy of heavy taxation into practice,"[1] that is to say, foreigners took exception to it; and partly because there was the fear that "a sudden tax increase would invoke more and more dodging, and it would not pay to gain on the one hand and lose on the other."[2] At this juncture a very wealthy merchant from Guangdong, He Xianchi by name, took the lead and suggested mobilization of a capital of 20, 000, 000 yuan for setting up a "foreign drug" firm in Hong Kong to assume overall responsibility for the importation of opium from India and the sale of it at Chinese ports. They also suggested application to the government for approval. Their concrete plan was: To conclude a contract with India, fixing on a yearly basis the number and prices of the boxes to be transported to Hong Kong and entailing a whole purchase, and the resale to China, on the proposed firm. Indian opium was not to be transported to any other place or sold to any other person. If the market demand was not met, the firm was required to write to India for additional cargo. And a likin of 100 taels of silver was to be levied on each box. This plan was submitted to Li Hongzhang through Peng Yu, commander in charge of the military district of Qiongzhou, and Zhong Dexiang, official historian in the Imperial Academy. Li thought highly of this kill-two-birds-with-one-stone plan, which, in his opinion, could not only bring about an increase in tax but also stop tax dodging. He felt that benefits could be reaped easily, only if "explicit understandings are signed, strict rules formulated and high officials dispatched to supervise the collection of the likin"[3] to be paid by the firm. On the 16th day of the 6th month Li reported the suggestion to Emperor Guangxu and put forward his view that, since the matter involved the British authorities in Hong Kong and India and "the right (of decision) does not rest solely with us,"[4] efforts had to be made to reach an understanding with them. Since Li Hongzhang was then a mere minister in charge of regional affairs, such matter should have been the responsibility of an official in charge of commercial affairs in the Prime Minister's Office. But, relying on his own unusual power and influence, Li bypassed the Prime Minister's Office and handled the matter himself. At that time, Mr. Samuel, an official of the British India Office, was instructed to visit China to look into the opium affairs. When he passed Tianjin, Li took up the matter with him and Samuel

promised to report on it when he returned home. But, pending his reply, Li decided to send a special envoy to Hong Kong and India to solicit approval from the British authorities there by having a face-to-face talk with them. And Ma Jianzhong was the special envoy he chose.

Ma Jianzhong (1844—90), also called by the courtesy name of Meishu, was a native of Dantu, Jiangsu Province. He served as an aide to Li hongzhang, and, having a good command of both English and French, he had been sent to Europe to study Western policies, etc., and several times recommended for the post of daoyuan (Intendant of Circuit, administrator ranking below the provincial governor). Originally he belonged to the political clique that initiated the Westernization Movement, but, from the end of the 1870s onwards, he gradually modified his thinking, though still unable to get out of the stereotype of the clique. In the course of discussing and planning the movement he came out with certain reformist bourgeois demands of a preliminary nature and became one of the forerunners of bourgeois reformism in modern China. At the time he accepted his mission to India, his attitude towards the opium trade was embodied in these words of his: "In view of public opinion seething both at home and abroad in condemnation of the pernicious effects of opium, attention must not be focused on taxation; prohibition by means of taxation must be kept in mind."[5] His ultimate aim was prohibition. He differed from Li Hongzhang in that he wanted to find out proper ways and means to effect prohibition through taxation.

Ma Jianzhong invited Wu Guangpei to accompany him not only because Wu had a liking for traveling and sightseeing abroad but because they had like minds. Wu was a native of Jing County, Anhui Province, and was born with a sharp mind and literary talent. Although he had studied Western things under Xu Jinzhai, he did not content himself with the Westernization work but advocated bourgeois reformism. That was why he had no wish to enter officialdom but preferred to tour, write and occasionally comment on current affairs. He and his contemporary Wang Tao, another forerunner of bourgeois reformism, were bosom friends congenial to each other, and both were celebrated scholars without an official post. He had toured Japan for two years. He was completely disgusted at the British forcing the opium trade on China and strongly indignant over the fact that the trade "does untold harm and, moreover, causes great waste of money" and "millions of taels of gold are daily flowing into India and the unfavorable balance of trade knows no end."[6]

According to plan, when Ma Jianzhong arrived in Hong Kong, he immediately called on Sir John Pope Hennessy, the British governor there. After presenting Li Hongzhang's letter, he had a long talk with the governor, putting forward a proposal to

the effect that a private firm approved by the government be set up in Hong Kong for a contracted trade in opium, and meanwhile expressing his hope for British support to the proposal. He explained that the proposal aimed at a good way by which "to ensure an increase in tax on opium and a complete stopping of tax dodging and to vest the state instead of private traders with the right to opium trading so that it would diminish year by year and its stoppage could be expected."[7] The governor expressed his readiness to help and pointed out that "the opium transported from Hong Kong to Chinese ports involves a yearly tax evasion of about 1, 000, 000 taels."[8] However, he came out against any taxation in Hong Kong by the Chinese Government through a private firm on a contract basis; he did not think this was in keeping with the practice in Hong Kong. He favored state control and advocated storage in Hong Kong before transport to Chinese ports.

Whether it was contracted sale or state trading, it entailed conclusion of an agreement with the British authorities, in other words, it was necessary to obtain India's consent to exclusive trade either with the firm appointed by the Chinese Government or with a Chinese state trading organization. Ma Jianzhong told

Hennessy he was going to India "to make visits according to circumstances and hold appropriate consultations," and therefore he requested the governor to write to the Governor of India by way of an introduction.

Three kinds of opium were produced in India: Patna opium, which grew in East India and was processed in Patna; Benares opium, which grew in North India and was processed in Benares; and Malwa opium, which grew and was processed in Malwa of West India. The Government of British India monopolized the sale of the first two, auctioning them off to private merchants in Calcutta, who, in turn, transported them to Hong Kong for resale to Chinese ports. The third one was exported from Bombay. Since it was produced in some of the Native States, the British authorities had to share the profits with the rajas of the states concerned. After the taxation and marketing measures had undergone a lot of revision, it was finally decided that, barring other rights, the British authorities could set up taxation posts, along the highway leading to Bombay, to levy transit duties, which amounted to 700 rupees per box at the highest. Income from opium made up a considerable portion of the revenue of British India; the annual earnings during the period between the 1870s and the early 1880s reached approximately 800—900 pounds sterling, the highest amount being one sixth of the revenue. Large quantities of Chinese silver flowed into India and, in the form of colonial tributes and taxes, into the hands of the British to make up Britain's deficit in its trade with China. This was the notorious Triangle Trade continuing up to the mid-19th century, in which the British bourgeoisie alone was benefited. The transaction was not only vehe-

mently opposed by the Chinese people but also condemned by world opinion in the late 19th century. It was even challenged by some in Britain itself, because it was increasingly hindering the development of free trade based on industrial capital. Nevertheless, the British colonial authorities clung to it and tried hard to drag it out for as long as possible, grudging giving up this rare open sesame to financial resources.

After reaching Calcutta, Ma Jianzhong called on the provincial governor Sir Ashley Eden and met Mr. Forbes who was in charge of the opium affairs. He asked the latter about the government measures for the sale of opium. He was informed that those who wanted to grow the opium poppy had to apply to the government. The government would measure the land and give the seeds. After harvest, it would take in all the crop, deduct the cost, levy the taxes and give the rest to the growers. Then, the poppy would be sent to the government-run factories to be made into opium, which would be transported to the place of auction. Forbes took Ma Jianzhong to the auction and showed him round it and gave him three volumes of regulations concerning the trade.

On the 13th day of the leap 7th month Ma Jianzhong and his party went to Simla and presented his official letter and the letter of introduction by the Governor of Hong Kong. Next day he called on the Viceroy Lord Ripon to make clear the purpose of his visit. And on the 15th day he talked about specific issues with Mr. Bayley, who was in charge of domestic affairs as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Ma Jianzhong said: "Everybody knows the harmfulness of opium. There is the Opium Prohibition Society in your capital. Its members in the parliament have spoken forcefully against opium selling. But opium smokers are too many and the evil influence of opium smoking is too deep-rooted to effect complete prohibition in a day. It needs quiet and imperceptible effort and a rather extended time limit of 20 to 30 years, that is to say, plans must be made in such a way as to allow of an implicit and appropriate way of prohibition during this period of time. I think, therefore, that although opium accounts for the lion's share of the Indian Government's revenue, a good financier, after all, should not rely on it as a normal source. Moreover, since the parliament has been seething with criticism, I guess this measure will have to be stopped in the end. Nevertheless, since taxes on opium amounts to 8, 000, 000—9, 000, 000 pounds sterling a year and it is necessary to take 20—30 years to find out other slow measures to make up for the loss, it is difficult to rush to the stoppage of the present practice. Hence, it is better to take slow rather than hasty actions to effect complete prohibition in our case and to stop the trade in your case. The same reason holds true for the two different cases." Then, Ma Jianzhong put forward his plan: An agreement should be reached by both sides that the opium shipped to China from India was to be sold exclu-

sively either to the Chinese Government or to the contractor firm approved by the Chinese Government, which would take overall control of the transaction without making any reselling arrangement; and that an export quota was to be fixed in terms of box and subject to a prohibitive arrangement by which, during a period of about 20—30 years, the quota would diminish every year until it came to zero, which would mean natural prohibition. He said: "In this way the right of opium trading will rest with our two governments. China will not be worrying about tax evasion by profiteers in opium import and your country will be getting a fixed sum of income every year in opium export. And in several decades ahead there will be no need for us to depend on the whims of the merchants. Moreover, your challengers of opium trading will be silenced when seeing there is a way to reduce the transaction. Nothing is better than this policy I am suggesting."[9]

Here Ma Jianzhong was advertising in the name of "the interests of both sides," trying his best to show that his proposal was beneficial to Britain as well.

Bayley said in principle that "this is not a bad policy" and further expressed the view that government responsibility was even better than contracts with merchants. However, he immediately came out with a series of questions and said that "there may not be any cut-and-dried solution" to these questions "if they are not discussed in detail."[10]

He raised these points: Since Malwa opium was produced in the Native States, it was not easy for the Government of British India to institute monopolized sale which presupposed monopolized purchase, and therefore the matter needed further thought and discussion; if a monopoly system was instituted by both countries, then what quota should be set, a high-level one or a low-level one or one on a few years' average, was also a problem to be carefully considered; since the income from opium had a bearing on financing, if it was reduced once a year, it would be difficult to find out any other source to make up for the loss in so short a period, and therefore it would be better to make a reduction once every five years; and, since the income from opium amounted to as much as 9, 000, 000 pounds sterling and, moreover, there were opium factories and administrative offices with huge investment and staff, "complete stoppage within 20—30 years is rather too hasty, and therefore the time limit had better be extended to 50 years."[11]

Ma Jianzhong insisted on the contract system, which he said was on a license basis and not fundamentally different from governmental monopoly. As for other points raised by Bayley, he answered: The Government of India could solve the problem of monopolized sale by extending the system to cover all the three kinds of opium; the

trade volume of opium should be kept at a low level so that the income from this commodity would not affect India's normal financing; and, judging from the fact that India's income from its increasing exports of tea and cotton in the past few years was enough to make up its decreasing subsidy to the railways, an annual decrease in the opium trade could not become a problem and it was unnecessary to make the reduction once every five years. But Ma Jianzhong did not refute Bayley's suggestion of a 50-year time limit.

In his answer Bayley persisted in opposing any contract with merchants, on the grounds that any transaction with a Chinese firm could only admit of participation by a handful of merchants to the exclusion of other merchants and traders, who would then have to go out of business. And "just in case the firm should incur a loss halfway and is thus unable to buy, while other merchants having changed to new trades do not buy, either, then the huge benefits from opium would be up in the air. Under such circumstances, what could your country do for us?"[12] Concerning the other points, he put forth the following arguments: The problem of Malwa opium should be handled carefully and skillfully and not in an overhasty way; the volume of opium trade should not be at a low level, for the income from this source could be used to meet other deficits and it was by no means unessential; and, as for tea and cotton, they were newly added export items, which, with uncertain gains and losses, could not be relied upon for income, and, if the export duties failed to be above quota while the levies on opium had lowered down, then wouldn't that mean financial deficit? He persisted in believing that an every-five-year progressive reduction was the better approach. Finally, he pointed out their differences permitting of no immediate decision on the matter and suggested further discussion for a solution by envoys of both sides at a later date. To this Ma Jianzhong had no alternative but to express consent. Ripon, the Viceroy of India, wrote a reply to Li Hongzhang, which was brought to China by Ma Jianzhong.

On his way back to China, Ma Jianzhong went to Poona to call on Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay Province. Then, in Bombay, he met Mr. Bahakel, an official in charge of opium affairs in that presidency. To his inquiry about the production and marketing of Malwa opium, Bahakel replied that the people were free to grow opium poppy but the growers had to pay taxes to the princes of the Native States. The traders purchased the poppy and processed it into opium. Those who wanted to transport it to Bombay for export had to submit the waybill to the British authorities beforehand and pay a toll of Rs. 700 per box and then transport the goods to Bombay by railway. To Ma Jianzhong's question why the Government of India did not monopolize the purchase, the answer was that it would cause rampant smuggling and, moreover, the Na-

tive States princes "had complaints against it."[13]

Now Ma Jianzhong's negotiations came to an end without any concrete result, in other words, his mission ended in failure. Seemingly, the British rulers in India, in principle, did not refuse monopolized sale of opium, but they dished out a heap of excuses, counterproposals and the suggestion for further discussions. Actually, they were giving a flat refusal to Ma Jianzhong's proposals. They could never accept them, because:

Firstly, they did not have the slightest intention of lessening their income from opium, and this was their starting point of consideration. Their adamancy in opposing any sale contract with Chinese merchants was born of their fear that "the firm should incur a loss halfway" and then "the huge benefits from opium would be up in the air." As for their proposal for state-to-state monopolized sale, it was but high-sounding lip service, their real clear-cut calculation being that an agreed quota and price could never bring them more profit than auction sales could do. Under the open auction system, more production meant more selling and less production meant higher prices, but a predefined quota and price would mean self-imprisonment, let alone a promise of a yearly reduction of quota! They were all the more against complete prohibition within a time limit; their suggestion for extending the time limit of 20—30 years to 50 years was but a speakable delaying tactics.

Secondly, the British regime in India, the greatest opium dealer on earth, had never showed up when selling opium to China but controlled the business behind the scenes so as to evade its responsibility for the criminal doing. This having been the case even in the past, now, in the late 19th century when public opinion in favor of liquidation of opium trade was raising high, how could it be possible for the regime to really approve of a government-to-government transaction in a monopolized form, which would have otherwise revealed its true colors it had been trying to cover up?

Thirdly, to the British regime in India, the sale of opium by auction was a matter not only of economic gains but of other advantages. In addition to enabling the British merchants to share the profits in order to clear away their jealousy and backbiting, it could serve as economic sops and baits for Indian merchants to attract and use their capital for the benefit of the regime and, what was more, to enlarge the social base of the colonial government by winning political support from the upper sections of the Indian commercial community. Had it been monopolization, all these would have proved to be castles in the air and the regime itself, as the monopolizer of the gains, would have become the common target of attack by all the vested interests who could have otherwise shared the benefits.

Ma Jianzhong's mission was doomed to failure. And why not, when he was asking the greedy colonialists to give up their own interests. Just as a Chinese proverb says, he was "asking the tiger for its hide" ! However Ma Jianzhong was not to blame; to accomplish the mission Li Hongzhang and company had thrown on him, he had done his best and said what he ought to say. His failure must be referred to the kowtow diplomacy and fantastic ideas of Li Hongzhang and company. It was due to these people that the opium trade, which had been forced on China and had caused calamitous consequences to the country and the people, should have been treated as a mere financial issue, and diplomacy of strength should have been allowed to give way to petition and persuasion to make the poison dealers show mercy. Was this not a typical case of begging diplomacy on the part of the feudal and decadent forces of the Qing Dynasty?

Ever sinister and cunning, the British colonialist rulers this time resorted to their familiar maneuvers once again. They received Ma Jianzhong with generous hospitality and attentive care and, in particular, kept showering complimentary and friendly words on Li Hongzhang—they had an axe to grind, of course. There was nothing bad, anyhow, to show friendliness to Li Hongzhang who held really great power in the affairs of the Great Qing Empire but danced attendance on foreigners.

Ma Jianzhong's failure in his mission to India had not made his trip with Wu Guangpei less significant. He was the first Chinese official sent to India on mission in modern times. He and Wu Guangpei were the first batch of Chinese in modern times who made a tour of India and diarized it. And their diaries were the only valuable eyewitness account of the 19th-century India by Chinese visitors.

Ma Jianzhong's A Record of My Southward Journey in 30, 000 words and Wu Guangpei's A Diary of My Southward Journey in 30, 000-odd words were their daily itineraries. According to Wu Guangpei, he sometimes "touched up" Ma Jianzhong's diary because of the latter's busy social contacts.

Owing to the official work, their sight-seeing was limited to the cities and scenic spots lying on their way. Although they stopped over for a tour in Hong Kong, Saigon, Singapore, Pinang and Ceylon, they could only snatch a sight-seeing in India during stop-overs, mainly in Calcutta, Simla, Bombay and Poona, and while changing trains. Their itinerary was: Boarding the train in Calcutta which ran westward through the Ganges Plain, passing Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Agra, and then turned north, passing Delhi to Ambala; and then, changing into horse-drawn carriage at Ambala to spire uphill to Simla. The returning route was: Travailing by train from Ambala to Delhi; changing into another train going southwest through Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Surat to Bombay and Poona; and then, leaving India from Bombay

by ship. Thus, they traveled from east to west and from north to south, covering half of India.

From their records we can see what impressed them most was the life of extravagance and pleasure of the British rulers. In the 7th month of the year, neither the Viceroy and his high-ranking colleagues nor the Governor of Bombay was in their offices; they were all in summer resorts, and the Governor of Bengal had just returned from such a place. The Viceroy's summer bungalow was in Simla, over 2,000 li (1 li equaling to 500 meters) from Calcutta, the seat of his official residence. It was a journey "of about two days and two nights by train followed by a climbing of 800-odd zhang (1 zhang equaling to 3.333 meters) by sedan."[14] The Viceroy used to come here in early spring every year for handling official business, stay here for the hot summer and return to Calcutta in late autumn. Many British VIPs and well-to-do businessmen also had their own villas here, which could be dimly seen all over the mountain slopes with floating clouds around. The weather here is as cool and pleasant as late autumn even during the dog days. The Governor of Bengal chose Darjeeling as his summer resort, with his villa built on a terrace as high as 400-odd zhang at the foot of the Himalayas, a day's journey by train from Calcutta. The Governor of Bombay's summer villa was in Poona, and in the villa there was a garden in which "exotic blooming flowers are so planted as to appear in designs of words, and old trees are so tall as to allow of no sunlight."[15] According to Wu Guangpei, these summer resorts were just like fairylands poles apart from the outside world.

From these two Chinese visitors' notes we also get a rough idea of the life of the grass-roots Indians. Wu Guangpei wrote that, in Calcutta, "houses are low and narrow and intolerably filthy. Unkempt-haired and bare-footed folks spread small mats on the ground selling sundries."[16] In Bombay, Beyond the high-rise buildings and busy streets, "I came by a place where houses flanking the lanes were low and narrow" and "there were numberless local prostitutes."[17] But, as an official or a scholar, neither Ma Jianzhong nor Wu Guangpei paid much attention to the lower strata of the people; they had merely made some casual jottings about the objective realities.

Before going to India, both Ma and Wu had equipped themselves with some knowledge of Indian history and geography through books on that country by British writers and, in particular, through the World History and Geography by Wei Yuan (1794—1885), a well-known Chinese thinker, historian and literary writer. They always carried Wei's book with them as a ready guide; wherever they went, they consulted the book about the historical facts of the place and compared them with the actual condition of the day so as to find out the changes. (Their accounts of India, though lim-

ited to personal experiences, can make us feel as if we are participating.) They got into all sorts of feelings when seeing in Calcutta that "such a former tiny piece of land has now become a metropolis,"[18] and this led them to the history of British conquest of India, the fact which they were aware though not without misconceptions of—for example, under the sway of the erroneous statements in some previous Chinese and foreign history books, they termed the Mughal Dynasty as the Mongolian Dynasty. Wu Guangpei pointed out that British conquest of India had been made possible by the conquerors' successful maneuvers—occupation of strongholds, strengthened military training and construction of fortresses in the coastal areas at the initial stage and, later on, piecemeal encroachment and wholesale annexation. France and the Netherlands "also wanted to do what the British were doing, but they failed.[19] Meanwhile, he attributed India's fall to the fact that the Indians were "ignorant, without sophisticated machinery ... inhabiting a vast wilderness of land separated from the outside world," so that once the sea route was opened and aliens came, Buddhism perished at once and [the nation] sank to slavery," and that "the jungle law was the order of the day."[20] He also felt sorry for India having put up no resistance with one mind, saying deploringly that the nation had been subjugated, "and yet everybody bears it with equanimity as if nothing has happened. What a pity! What a shame!"[21] He associated the Indian situation with China on which the great powers had been keeping a greedy eye like tigers glaring at their prey. "Covetous as they are, they have failed to annex China only because it is protected by the sea. How vicious their concealed intentions are has been shown further by their recent attempt to bypass Burma and build a railway in between Sikkim and Bhutan, two tiny states to the north of India, so that it runs direct to Yunnan Province of China."[22] He came to the conclusion that China should draw lessons from India. "An overturned cart in front serves as a warning for those behind. Wise people of the day cannot be too careful to avoid voluble talk about humanity and justice and not to neglect promoting our cause and rendering our service."[23] And he added: "Today, therefore, those who are in power can maintain what should never be changed only by updating our government decrees, brushing away from them what is outmoded and changing everything that may be changed."[24] These statements were an expression of his patriotic ideas and his urge for reform to make China strong.

In Calcutta there was a residence for an ex-prince of the Native State of Oudh, an imposing, splendent, storeyed mansion. After Oudh's annexation its prince was brought here to live an easy life. Wu Guangpei took great exception to this. He wrote sneeringly: "I wonder if the pleasure-seekers have ever shed tears in shame for submissively surrendering thousands of li of territory and 200 million people to the British, act-

ing on the pleasure of the masters and dragging out an ignoble existence, only in exchange for a pay to maintain their own clansmen."[25] He spat on such "pleasure-seekers," indeed. But in Allahabad when he came across some Indians "wearing long, white cotton cloths and carrying swords in black sheaths" and was told that they came from "a small country in the north not under British jurisdiction" (they were probably the Pathans), he lavished his praises. He wrote: "What a strange thing! While a vast country fell asunder before the invaders, the people of a land of a few scores of square li were so stubborn and refused to give in. They are indeed giants among pygmies," "the so-called die-hards in the British libel or the righteous patriots in the Indian compliment."[26] The writer's inclination is quite clear to us when we read these contrastive comments on the two entirely different categories of people.

While stopping over in Delhi, the center of the Uprising of 1857 as well as the capital of the Mughals, Ma Jianzhong and Wu Guangpei witnessed the magnificent Red Fort, which reminded them of the uprising. The former wrote: "During the 8th year of Emperor Xianfeng's reign, the sepoys revolted and occupied this place for a year until they were suppressed by the British troops."[27] The latter also gave his historical account of the event: "Initially, the British ruled India not through government servants, so that the merchants of the [British East India] Company, making light of the overall situation and their long-term interests, were bent on exploiting and oppressing the people. The burning anger accumulated in more than 100 years, coupled with the instigation by the descendants of the Mongolian Muslims, led up to the murder of a British soldier and triggered off the mutiny. Eastern, northern and central India responded. All the Englishmen were killed and their children buried. A British bigwig Canning was the Governor-General of India at that time. He mustered troops to put down the rebellion and it took him two years to carry out the task." "But, after this episode, the British deeply regretted having depended on the merchants and switched over to direct governance and relief to the indigenous people, which led eventually to peace in India."[28] These accounts, though with erroneous facts and viewpoints, more or less reflected the actual state of affairs. It is noteworthy that the writers stood by the side of the Indian people, and it is commendable that they ascribed the uprising to the British East India Company "being bent on exploiting and oppressing the people." It seems that the only deficiency was their overestimation of the policy changes following the British King's taking over of India.

While traveling in Rajastan, they found that hill-tops were dotted with old castles, strongly-built but all in dilapidation now. On inquiry they were told that these were places where the States princes had resisted the British army. To this Wu Guang-

pei reacted with an emotional sigh: "Defense of the territory and repulse of the enemy depend rather on good government than on mere bravery on the battlefields, but military impotence, cowardice and fawning on the enemy will eventually lead to utter defeat."[29] Here the writer was summing up the Indian lessons and pondering on China's way out, the statement once again showing clearly his noble aspirations for political reform in China to make her strong. The most salient feature of his Diary was the observations on India and the association with China. According to him, he had talked with Ma Jianzhong about these ideas and Ma shared his views.

Both the Record and the Diary have recorded India's social conditions and customs as well. About Calcutta they say that "with jamming vehicles and pedestrians, it has the true appearance of a big city";[30] that the streets are "smooth and broad and very pleasing to the eye and the mind";[31] and that Chinese nationals residing here are less than 300 in number, because the local population is large and labor too cheap. They also refer to the Indians here: "The men wear beards around the neck, bind the head with a red or white piece of cloth, surround the lower part of the body with a thin piece of sarong instead of wearing pants, and put on a shirt or keep naked on the upper part, and all are bare-footed. The women also use a piece of sarong and, besides, cover the head with another piece of cloth hanging down to the feet"; "the four limbs are full of bracelets," "even the foot toes adorned with silver threads"; "they are always carrying things on the head without harming the neck, even with a 100-jin (1 jin equaling to 16 taels in former times) load."[32] The description of Bombay is: "High-rise buildings and huge mansions stand in rows upon rows. The government buildings, built with rocks and sky-high, are even more magnificent. The streets are almost as broad as those of Britain's London."[33] "In so far as the convergence of vehicles, the assemblage of merchandise and the height and neatness of houses, it is a cut above Calcutta."[34] It is stated that, apart from the Hindus, Muslims and Zoroastrians are seen everywhere; that perhaps "most" of the Muslims are engaged in trade," while the Zoroastrians are "good at business and rich in wealth"; that the Chinese living here numbered only a few hundred and "almost all of them work as tanners and shoe-makers and none was a big merchant";[35] that the weaving factories here were owned by the Indians and very few by the Englishmen; and that merchant ships came here from all countries and plied to and fro without intermission.

In Calcutta, Bombay and other places the writers had paid visits to parks, zoos, museums, law courts, banks, English opera-houses and shipyards and written down in their diaries whatever they saw in these places. The diaries also refer to the train passing through both the Ganges bridge of about two li long and the Tapti River bridge of

about six li long, the longest one in India at that time; to their admiration for these projects of engineering feats; to the "cremating flames lighting up the sky in the distance," which they saw when the train was passing through northern India; and to the towers built by the Zoroastrians for abandoning dead bodies—they caught sight of the towers when traveling on the coast of Bombay.

Wei Yuan in his work mistook the Indus and the Ganges as one and the same river bifurcating in its course and flowing into the sea separately, and he referred to the Ganges as the Eastern Ganges and the Indus as the Western Ganges. But, in the light of his personal observation on the spot and his perusal of Indian maps, Wu Guangpei discovered the mistake. He pointed out that the two rivers "have nothing to do with each other" and the-same- river theory was based on conjecture. He expressed his feelings thus: "Relying on obsolete books without making personal investigations is no easy access to such actualities."[36] It may be said that this was one of his most satisfactory gains obtained during this tour.

Wu Guangpei who made the journey for the purpose of sight- seeing took, naturally, a particularly keen interest in seeing the wonders of Mother Nature. His unusual literary endowments enabled him to take down, in widely- loved verses, whatever charming view that struck the eye. He was most deeply impressed by the beauty of Simla. On his way to the depths of the mountains, he was put in a poetic mood by the extremely dangerous and difficult paths spiraling upwards and by the numerous peaks rising up towards the sky one above another. One of his extempore poems reads (in part):

It's the first range running from
the Kunlun Mountains,
Now up now down are its ladders to heaven
and its plank ways on cliffs.
A precipice of 100 zhang
appears in front of us all,
Reminding us of the Buddha
meditating before a wall.
Like thunders roaring in a valley
of wonderful watergates and cliffs,
A thousand waterfalls pour down
the mountain recesses.
Black earth is being carried out
by the fountains from the caves,

I wonder if it's the original ashes
of the forming Universe.
While the weary birds and the worried monkeys
know not what to do,
We have to swing from abrupt precipices
to sharp slopes too.[37]

While staying at the Simla guest house, whenever Ma Jianzhong was out for official business, Wu Guangpei made a point of going to higher places to enjoy the scenic beauty or leaning on a railing to enjoy a distant view. He recorded what he had seen in these words: "The thick and widespread clouds and mists looked like white cotton smoothed out to cover a vast expanse of the sky, and this might be called a Sea of Clouds. But, in a moment, the wind blew away the clouds and the morning sun cast its rays through the gaps of trees to allow of a glimpse of the resplendent villas scattered here and there in the midst of green trees on green peaks, a scene making one feel as if heavenly palaces were just close to the human world, or as if there was a changing mirage before one's eyes. Facing such myriads of changes in the twinkling of an eye, I was at a loss where I really was. What a spectacular sight!"[38]

With the Himalayas at the back of Simla, the mountain-tops here are often shrouded in the sea of clouds, and the appearance of snow-capped peaks after the melting of clouds becomes one of the most exciting wonders of this place. One day, when Ma Jianzhong returned from outside with the information that he, together with a foreign friend, had just been to a mountain-top where they had seen such a wonderful view, Wu Guangpei rejoiced, stopped writing at once and requested his company to snatch a feast for their eyes. They went, but, by noon, the clouds gathered all of a sudden and sealed up the distant mountains again, and so they had to come away in disappointment. Next day, the soupy weather cleared up unexpectedly, so that the mountain heights seemed touching the sky. They were overjoyed and rushed uphill by sedan. As expected, "the snow and the sun vying with each other in flaunting their own glory, (the mountains) looked as if covered with silver, or crystal, or glaze, or white silk."[39] To register this view in his memory, Wu Guangpei improvised the following poem (in part):

Oh! What a wonderful view!
My eyes follow the mountain ranges
to the southwestern border:
Peaks upon peaks and valleys upon valleys
are running one after another.

I climb up every summit,
    saying to myself:
Each of them is but
    a tiny mound by itself.
All of a moment, the wind
    having swept the clouds away,
The ranges like dragons from heaven
    are snaking their way.
It's said dragons gliding down from heaven
    are two thousand zhang in length,
Supporting the Universe
    that still has an embryo to carry with. [40]

Both Ma Jianzhong and Wu Guangpei were satisfied with their India visit. The latter wrote not without legitimate pride: "Of all the Chinese travelers to India Fa Xian (c. 337—c. 422 AD) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317—420) was the earliest and Xuan Zang (602—64) of the Tang Dynasty (618—907) the most famous. . . . It is really a pleasure for me to have also been able to cross the Ganges safely, though I am merely a mediocre man living more than a thousand years after them!" [41] He poetized this mood of his:

I'd heard of a strange land
    lying beyond our Tibet;
On it, but for the snow-capped mountains,
    my foot would have set.
Now a wave-braving ship and a heavenly wind
    have done me right,
And so I've sailed westward
    across the sea overnight. [42]
My journey is worthy indeed;
    I've seen the wonders of the world.
A traveled man,
    though mediocre and unwise,
I dare challenge those
    who boast of their far-seeing eyes. [43]

The Record and the Diary were published separately, the former being included in the Travel Notes by the Shi Ke Study (Shi Ke Zhai Ji Xing) published in 1896, and the latter being published in 1890 with a preface by Wang Tao. Again, both were com-

piled into the Geography Series by the Xiao Fang Hu Study (Xiao Fang Hu Yu Di Cong Chao), which does not include the poems of the Diary. Later on, the Diary was again included in the Ancient and Modern Books Series (Gu Jin Shuo Bu Cong Chao), which includes its poems. Wang Tao wrote in his preface to the Diary: "After his return Qin Qizi (i. e., Wu Guangpei) showed me his diary about his journey to the southern countries. I bumped the desk and exclaimed in admiration before going it through."[44] He paid a high tribute to the India visit, saying: "It was enough to be proud of having personal experiences in that country."[45] He pointed out in particular: "The successful tracing of the source of the Ganges can be a correction of Wei Yuan's World History and Geography ... and contributive to scholarship."[46] This shows that the Record and the Diary were helpful to the understanding of India by the Chinese of those days. In addition to these two travels, such previous and later writings as the Introduction of Western Knowledge to the East (Xi Xüe Dong Jian Ji) by Rong Hong, the Voyage Notes (Cheng Cha Bi Ji) by Bin Chun, the Wonders in Sea-faring (Hang Hai Shu Qi) by Zhang Deyi, An Account of the First Official Mission to the West (Chu Shi Tai Xi Ji) by Zhi Gang, and the Jottings in Wanderings (Man You Sui Lu) and Travel Notes on Japan (Fu Sang You Ji) by Wang Tao were all precious on-the-spot records by the intellectuals of modern China who went abroad to get the feel of the outside world. Some of these writings portrayed what was happening in Europe, America and Japan and advocated China modeling itself on these countries and instituting reforms. The Record and the Diary, on the other hand, reflected the state of affairs in India under colonial domination, highlighting from a different side the necessity both of strengthening China by way of political reform and of resisting foreign aggression. The publication and circulation of all these writings widened people's horizon, fostered the reformist trend of ideology that had started to prevail among Chinese intellectuals of that time, and thus paved the ideological ground for the bourgeois reformist movement of later days.

NOTES

[1]Record (short for A Record of My Southward Journey, same below), p. 4 in Geography Series (short for the Geography Series by the Xiao Fang Hu Study, 2nd supplementary edition, case 10, same below).

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

[3]Ibid., p. 1.

[4]Ibid., p. 4.

[5]"Biographies," Draft History of Qing (Qing Shi Gao), p. 233.

[6]Diary (short for A Diary of My Southward Journey), p. 4 in the Books Series (short for the Ancient and Modern Books Series, Vol. 9, Shanghai Book Company, 1913, same below).

[7] Record, p. 3 in Geography Series.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Diary, p. 10 in Geography Series.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Record, p. 10 in Geography Series.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., p. 14.
[14] Ibid., p. 7.
[15] Ibid., p. 13.
[16] Diary, p. 17 in Book Series.
[17] Ibid., p. 28.
[18] Ibid., p. 17.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid. p. 15.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid. p. 17.
[23] Ibid. p. 16.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid. p. 14.
[26] Ibid. p. 19.
[27] Record, p. 9 in Geography Series.
[28] Diary, p. 20 in Book Series.
[29] Ibid. p. 26.
[30] Record, p. 8 in Geography Series.
[31] Diary, p. 15 in Book Series.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Record, p. 18.
[34] Diary, p. 28 in Book Series.
[35] Record, p. 18 in Geography Series.
[36] Diary, p. 24 in Book Series.
[37] Ibid., p. 21.
[38] Ibid., p. 22.
[39] Ibid., p. 25.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 14.
[42] Ibid., pp. 25—6.
[43] Ibid., p. 21.
[44] "Preface to Diary," p. 1.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid

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