

A DOCUMENTARY CHRONICLE  
OF  
SINO-WESTERN RELATIONS  
(1644-1820)

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Compiled, Translated, and Annotated  
by  
LO-SHU FU



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These are my works, these works my soul display,  
Behold my works when I have passed away!

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## FOREWORD

Only a professional historian would ordinarily undertake a chronicle of documents so numerous, so aged, and so complex as those comprising this volume. Consequently an explanation is in order.

Throughout the ages, historians generally have been divided into two categories: The first consists of the fortunate ones who chronicle events of their own country under the auspices of their own government and on their own soil. These individuals write as a matter of course; their duties requiring them to present reports from time to time. Their works therefore are not necessarily the outcome of intensive research. The second category consists of those historians--unfortunate aliens--who write in a foreign land but dedicate their histories to their fatherland. They are relatively fewer in number and as in the case of the great Greeks, Thucydides and Polybius, their works have usually the qualities of authenticity and originality. It is the historians of the second category whom I humbly aspire to follow.

Not unlike the ancient Lacedaemonians, who by their laws and customs were prohibited from travelling outside their own country, the Celestials were lovers of their native soil, for their ancestors instructed them that a good man ought not to go abroad to navigate dangerous seas, nor to scale lofty peaks, if his parents were alive. Nay, even within his own country he was not supposed to travel to a remote region so that he would not be able to attend his parents. Therefore, banishment to the frontiers became one of the five major penalties, second only to capital punishment. However, a good Chinese born after the Opium War has, sometimes, to reside in a foreign land for the best interests of his own country. A book on intercontinental relations must be prepared outside China since the writer has to consult the documents preserved in the archives of foreign countries. This volume, therefore, has been prepared on foreign soil by one in whom both love for the homeland and cosmopolitanism have been increased by expatriation.

Preparation of a work of this breadth requires the cooperation of a group of experts in various fields. Without the generosity of the following scholars and institutions, this book could not possibly have been brought to a conclusion.

My thanks are particularly due to the New York Public Library and Columbia University in New York because I have lived in this great metropolis longer than elsewhere; the Library of Congress and the National Archives of the United States in Washington, D. C.; the Gest Library in

Princeton, New Jersey; the Newberry Library and the Museum of Natural History in Chicago, Illinois; the Library of Cornell University in Ithaca, New York--all in the United States of America. In England and Europe the following institutions have been of great assistance: The British Museum, the Public Record Office, and Matheson and Co., Ltd., London; the University Library of Cambridge; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; the Vatican, Archivum Sacrae Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, Rome; the Algemeen Rijksarchief, the Hague; the Riksarkivet and the National Museum, Stockholm; the Rigisarkivet, Copenhagen; the Real Academia de la Historia and Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid--all were extremely kind in allowing me to use treasured documents, rare books and manuscripts, and in giving most courteous service.

To the late Professor Arthur P. Scott and Professor Emeritus J. A. O. Larsen, of the University of Chicago, I am grateful for special kindness during my residence in the United States. To Dr. David Thompson, Dr. Victor Purcell and the University of Cambridge, I owe my thanks for hospitality during a stay in the United Kingdom. To Professor Charles R. Boxer of King's College, the University of London, and Professor Walther Heissig of the University of Bonn, I owe gratitude for scholarly assistance. To Professor M. H. van der Valk of the University of Leiden, Dr. P. H. Pott of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Professor E. G. Pulleyblank of the University of Cambridge, Professor Herbert Franke of the University of München, Dr. Axel Axelson Liljencrantz of the University of Uppsala, and Dr. N. C. Sainsbury of Bodleian Library, Oxford--I must express my appreciation for advice on the location of materials. I am indebted to Professor Paul Demieville of the Collège de France, Doctor Arthur Waley of London, Professor Lucy Driscoll of Chicago, and Reverend A. Mostaert of Arlington, Virginia, who all made constructive suggestions, and, finally, to His Excellency Ambassador S. K. Sie and His Excellency Ambassador Gunnar Jarring for contributing microfilms of unpublished documents and valuable rare books.

Lo-shu Fu

## CONTENTS

Writer's Rules ( <i>Fan-Li</i> )	xi
PART I—Translated Texts	
I Shun-chih, 1644–1661	3
II K'ang-hsi, 1662–1722	31
III Yung-cheng, 1723–1735	138
IV Ch'ien-lung, 1736–1795	169
V Chia-ch'ing, 1796–1820	338
PART II—Documentation and Reference	
Notes to the Chapters	421
Glossary	627
Chinese Bibliography	683
Western Bibliography	714
Index	771

Homeless Khalkhas Submit to China27:9 (Oct., 1688) The Khalkhas'Voluntary Submission Accepted

Rulers of the Khalkhas led their homeless subjects to enter Chinese territory and apply for submission. Their petition was approved. (137, 3b-4b)

Why the Khalkhas Submit to China instead of to Russia

The four tribes of Khalkha had eighty chiefs (*Cha-sa-k'o*) and their population had increased to more than 100,000 families. All worshipped the Yellow sect<sup>268</sup> (Buddhism) and respected Cheptsun Dampa. Earlier the Eleuths of Dzungaria were the strong tribe, and they fought ceaselessly against the Khalkhas. In the twenty-seventh year of *K'ang-hsi* the Khalkhas were very weak and could no longer resist their enemies, so they discussed the advisability of submitting to nearby Russia. Thereupon, they petitioned Cheptsun Dampa to make the final decision.

He said: "Our people have received kindness from the Celestial Emperor. Now, because we wish to escape the Eleuth soldiers, we wish to submit to the Russians. The Russians, however, have never worshipped Buddha. Their customs are different from ours. They regard us as a people who speak a strange language and wear a foreign costume. Therefore, to submit to Russia could not be a permanent policy. We had better bring our whole tribe together and migrate into the Interior, and submit to the Great Emperor of China. Then we can share His blessing for ten thousand years."<sup>269</sup>

They kowtowed happily before him. Then *T'u-hsien-t'u* Khan asked the *H'u-t'u-k'o-t'u* to lead the people into the Interior where they received the Emperor's grace and were settled at *Ta-lan Chao-er*, near *To-lun Chao-er* outside of *Kalgan*. (SFCL 13b)

27:2:20 (Mar. 21, 1688) The French Jesuits Allowed to Reside in the Capital and in the Provinces

The Board of Rites memorialized: "Now the governor of the said province (*Chekiang*) has sent *Hung Jo*, *Li Ming* (*Le Comte*),<sup>270</sup> *Liu Ying* (*Claude de Visdelou*),<sup>271</sup> *Pai Chin* (*Joachim Bouvet*),<sup>272</sup> *Chang Ch'eng* (*Jean-François Gerbillon*)<sup>273</sup> to Peking with their belongings, which include two celestial spheres with two stands; two quadrant instruments; three double-set quadrant instruments; two astronomical telescopes; two optical tubes to measure the planets; three bronze spheres to measure accurate astronomical time; one astronomical instrument and five awls to measure astronomical time; six chests of astronomical textbooks; five European maps; one small chest of magnets; in all some thirty large, medium, and small chests.

"After his report reached the Board, *Hung Jo* and the others should be turned over to the Imperial Board of Astronomy for questioning as to

whether or not they really do understand astronomy and the method of calendar-making. For this the Board asks for an edict of instruction."

On the same day the Board received the edict: "Let them keep their articles. They will be given an audience, guided by *Hsü Jih-sheng* (*Thomas Pereira*).<sup>274</sup> If they are qualified astronomers, they will be hired; if they are not, let them reside in the Interior as the previous edict instructed."

On the twenty-second day (March 23) they were given an audience at the *Ch'ien-ch'ing* Palace. His Majesty's gracious inquiry was answered by *Hsü Jih-sheng*. His Majesty was very pleased and bestowed on them tea and fifty *liang* of silver. Then he sent the Imperial Bodyguard, *Chao*,<sup>275</sup> to escort them on their return to the Catholic church. A later edict read: "*P'ai Chin* and *Chang Ch'eng* are ordered to live in Peking." (HCTA)

27:2:27 (Mar. 28, 1688) VerbiestGiven Posthumous Honor

The late director of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, who was also the administrator of calendar-making, and honorary junior president of the Board of Works, *Nan Huai-jen* (*Verbiest*) was given a sacrifice and a state funeral. He was canonized as *Ch'in-Mien* (*Diligent and Clever*).<sup>276</sup> (133, 31a)

KH 28 (1689)The Conference at Nerchinsk Concluded28:4:26 (June 13, 1689) The Emperor ConsidersGiving up Ni-pu-ch'ao to Russia

Russia sent Ambassador *Fei-yao-to-lo* (*Feodor Alexievitch Golovin*) and his suite to *Ni-pu-ch'ao* and asked us to hold a conference on the delimitation of boundaries. The Emperor again sent the chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguards, *So-e-t'u*, and other officials to *Ni-pu-ch'ao* to participate in the conference. *So-e-t'u* reported: "Since *Ni-pu-ch'ao* and *Ya-k'o-sa* both originally belonged to us, Your servants request that we use *Ni-pu-ch'ao* as our boundary according to the previous deliberation. From this side of *Ni-pu-ch'ao*, all the territory should be returned to our Empire."

The Emperor said: "Now if we use *Ni-pu-ch'ao* as our boundary, the Russian commercial envoys will have no place to live, and then they cannot communicate with us. Therefore, in the preliminary conferences we should still propose to use *Ni-pu-ch'ao* as our boundary, but if their envoys entreat us, then we can use the *O-er-ku-na* River as our boundary. Also we shall conscript 1,500 soldiers from *Hei-lung-chiang* to join your company."<sup>277</sup> (140, 30a)

28:12:14 (Jan. 23, 1690) *So-e-t'u Reports the Peace Negotiation and the Treaty of Nerchinsk*

Earlier the chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguards, *So-e-t'u*, had reported: "Your servants arrived at the city of *Ni-pu-ch'ao* and held a conference with the Russian ambassador, *Feodor Alexievitch [Golovin]*. At first the Russian envoys still regarded *Ni-pu-ch'ao* and *Ya-k'o-sa* as their territory by colonization, and argued obstinately. Your servants regarded [the valley of the] *O-nun*<sup>278</sup> River and the [*Ni-pu-ch'ao*] River<sup>279</sup> as the old sites of our subjects, the *Mao-ming-an* tribe and other tribes. *Ya-k'o-sa* was an early residence of our hunters, *A-er-pa-hsi* and others.<sup>280</sup> Later the Russians had stealthily occupied these places. [Your servants] explained to them the original ownership in detail and openly charged them with illegal occupation. Then Your servants again proclaimed the benevolence of Your Majesty in preserving the lives of their (Russian) people. Thereupon, *Feodor* and his Russian followers hailed us unanimously and consented in good faith. They showed us their map and consulted with us as to how to define the boundary. Both sides swore an oath to be friends and live in concord and harmony forever."

The memorial was handed to the Emperor, who ordered the princes and ministers in state-council to deliberate about it. They replied: "For over thirty years the *Lo-ch'as* secretly occupied [our] *Ya-k'o-sa* and other territory and disturbed our hunters. Your Majesty sympathized with their ignorance and was not so cruel as to dispatch an army to suppress them. Your Majesty only dispatched a government army to garrison at *Hei-lung-chiang* and hoped that the Russians might repent of their crimes. Because they stubbornly showed no repentance, Your Majesty ordered the grand army to attack and take *Ya-k'o-sa*. Yet Your Majesty graciously set all the Russian prisoners of war free. However, before long the *Lo-ch'as* came again to *Ya-k'o-sa* and rebuilt the city and occupied it. Once more Your Majesty ordered the government army to besiege the city. When their strength was exhausted, their master (the *Tzar*) sent envoys to beg us for peace. Your Majesty immediately granted their request and raised the siege. Also Your Majesty ordered the ministers to proclaim justice and reason. The people of Russia finally know how to appreciate the great grace which covers them as does the Heaven above and bears them up as does the Earth beneath. This time their hearts turn sincerely toward our civilization. They have obeyed all the instructions of our ambassadors at the peace-conference and have defined the limits of the frontier. All this is the result of Your Majesty's profound wisdom and the prestige of Your Majesty's widespread grace and valor.

"We should erect monuments at the *Ko-er-pi-ch'i* River (the *Ker-bechi*) and at the other demarcation lines set up by the peace treaty to indicate the boundary forever. On these monuments we should inscribe the text of the treaty not only in the Manchu and Chinese languages, but also in the Russian, Latin and Mongolian languages as well.<sup>281</sup>

"Although we have made peace with Russia and our frontiers are to be marked, every province has its government garrison and we should follow the previous decision to establish government troops in defence of *Mo-le-ken* and *Hei-lung-chiang*."

Officers were sent out to erect the boundary markers (or "Pyramids," in Russian) on which the text of the treaty was to be inscribed. The ministers of the *Ta-ch'ing* and the ministers of Russia agreed that the monuments were to be called the Demarcation Monuments.

[The following is a summary of the Treaty of Nerchinsk:]

(1) Let the *Kerbechi* River near the *Shorna* River (*Cho-er-na*), i. e., the *Urwin* River (*Wu-lung-mu*) which flows northward into the *Hei-lung-chiang*, serve as the natural demarcation line. Along the upper tributary of this said river in the desert region, let the *Hsing-an* Mountains (*Shih-ta Hsing-an*), which extend toward the sea, also serve as natural boundaries. South of the *Hsing-an* Mountains, the rivers and brooks flowing into the *Hei-lung-chiang* belong to China; north of the mountains the rivers and brooks belong to Russia.

(2) Let the *Ergone* River (*E-er-ku-na*), which flows into the *Hei-lung-chiang*, serve as another natural demarcation line. The south bank of this river belongs to China and the north bank belongs to Russia. At the mouth of the *Meriken* River (*Mei-le-er-k'o*) all Russian houses must be moved to the north bank.

(3) All of the cities (ostrogs) which Russia built in the area of *Ya-k'o-sa* shall be destroyed. The Russian people who dwell at *Ya-k'o-sa* should withdraw with all their belongings into the territory of the *Ch'a-han Khan*.

(4) Hunters and subjects of these two empires are absolutely forbidden to cross the boundary. If they disobey, they should be seized immediately and sent to the local administrators who control them directly. They should be punished according to the degree of their crimes. If incidents occur where ten or fifteen armed persons gather to hunt, to kill or to plunder, they must be reported to the Throne. The violators must be executed. However, small accidents cannot hinder great affairs. Russia will still be friendly with China and will cause no conflict so that strife will be forgotten. All Russian subjects in China and all Chinese subjects in Russia shall remain where they are and do not need to be repatriated.

(5) From now on [the two empires] will be permanent friends; therefore, all travellers are allowed to trade, provided they have passports.

(6) After peace is made and an oath is sworn neither empire will be allowed to harbor fugitives. All fugitives should be repatriated immediately.<sup>282</sup> (143, 14b-17a)

#### A Detailed Account of the Nerchinsk Conference

On the tenth day of the sixth month (July 28, 1689) the mission going from Hei-lung-chiang to Ni-pu-ch'ou by water-route arrived at Ni-pu-ch'ou. On the opposite bank of the river, our embassy arriving both by land and by water united and encamped there. We sent three persons, Colonel Pai-mo-to and two others, to enter the city and to inquire whether or not their ambassador had already arrived. The Russians replied: "No, it is necessary to wait for a few days." On the sixteenth day, before their ambassadors, Feodor (Golovin) and Kornitski (Ni-li-k'o-hsi-yeh), who were coming, arrived, the Russians sent a subordinate, Wahsi-li-yeh (Vasiliev?) to our camp to inquire after the health of our mission and to explain that en route their embassy had encountered a flood and would reach Ni-pu-ch'ao later than scheduled. They asked us about a date and place where they might meet us. Lang-t'an discussed these matters with So-o-t'u, T'ung Kuo-kang, Pan-ta-li-sha, and others and sent the messenger back.

On the fourth day of the seventh month (August 18) the Russian ambassador, Feodor, arrived at Ni-pu-ch'ou and invited us to meet him. We agreed that on the eighth day we should discuss the delimitation of the boundary at a spot five li from our camp and about the same distance from their city, where a tent was especially set up for the meeting.

On that day (August 22) our high officials all wore ceremonial dresses, while their embassy wore brocaded clothes and their swords.

After we met them we told their ambassadors: "The Lena (Li-ya-na) River was originally our territory; can we establish the natural boundary there?" Ambassador Feodor would not agree to this. Next day we negotiated again, but without results. On the third day Lang-t'an realized that Feodor spoke disobediently, and he secretly told the other high officials: "Before I left [the Hei-lung-chiang] a secret edict authorized us to act as we saw fit. Now I observe that the Russians must be frightened by our power. Tonight I shall command the strong army of Eight Banners and of Ninguta to cross the river and conceal soldiers in the neighboring forests and valleys of their city. At dawn your excellences will go to negotiate with them as before. If they obey us, we shall not molest them. If they do not obey, we shall terrify them by our force. This may help the negotiation."

Late at night our soldiers crossed the river and hid in the forests. Early in the morning the high officials again went to the tent and negotiated until noon. Still the Russians did not agree with our terms. Lang-t'an gave the streamer (tuq) with the design of eight dragons, which His Majesty had bestowed upon him, to the officers of the Eight Banners and Guards' Divisions to be unfurled. He personally supervised the soldiers in their display of banners and flags in the surrounding forests and valleys, and in their pretended gestures of aggressive action. The Russians became frightened and they agreed with our terms. Thereupon, our embassy and Ambassador Feodor swore to conclude the treaty concerning

the boundaries below their city. From the mouth of the E-li-ku-na River, thence to the Hsing-an Mountains and the sea, all the delimited boundaries of the two empires were settled. Then we returned home with our troops. (PCTCCC, 153, 23b-24a)

#### 28:12:17 (Jan. 26, 1690) The Deserving Officers in the Lo-ch'a Campaign are Rewarded

The services of those who participated in the Lo-ch'a campaign were rewarded: Ya-er-t'ai, a colonel of the Bordered Red Banner was awarded the hereditary title of Pai-t'a-la-pu-le-ha-fan,<sup>283</sup> O-lo-shun, a lieutenant-colonel of the Plain Blue Banner, was awarded the hereditary title, T'o-sha-la-ha-fan.<sup>284</sup> The remaining 131 men were all reported for future promotion according to their merits. (143, 19a)

[The following passage reveals that China had sent only 2,000 soldiers as escorts for the Chinese mission to Selenginsk. This event occurred in KH 27 (1688) and should be recorded in the Chronicle for that year, following the account of Ch'u-sai Chi-lüeh. However, it is recorded in KH 28 (1689) since it throws light on the diplomatic relations between China and the Eleuths after the Khalkhas submitted to China.]

#### 28:10:22 (Dec. 3, 1689) Only 2,000 Soldiers Escort the Chinese Embassy to Russia

When the president of the Li-fan Yüan, A-la-ni, returned from the land of the Eleuths, he memorialized: "Your servant reached the land of Galdan (Ka-er-tan),<sup>285</sup> [the Khan of] the Eleuths, on the seventh day of the eighth month. After the Imperial edict was proclaimed and gifts bestowed upon him, Your servant and Galdan performed the rite of embracing for the interview. Then, after being seated, Galdan asked Your servant: 'Are you the chairman who presided over the Seven Banners of the Khalkhas?' Your servant replied, 'Yes.' Again he asked: 'I heard that last year you went to Selenginsk (Se-leng-shih). On what sort of errand did you go, and did you bring soldiers with you?' Your servant replied: 'The Ch'a-han Khans of Russia had petitioned us to hold a conference concerning their eastern frontier. Our August Emperor accordingly sent us forth to negotiate with them. We brought only 2,000 soldiers<sup>286</sup> with us. Halfway on the journey we found ourselves cut off by the outbreak of war between you, the Eleuths, and the Khalkhas. Our August Emperor heard of the war and wished to remain neutral. He feared that if our army passed through that territory, either you or the Khalkhas might suspect that we were allies of the other. Therefore, he recalled us to guard our own frontiers. This year we again sent an embassy [to Russia] for the conference.

"After the conversation, he gave Your servant a banquet." (142, 24a-b)



same time the same system was adopted in Kwangtung in dealing with the European merchants at Canton.]

Li Wei,<sup>73</sup> the viceroy of Chekiang, heard that the Japanese had invited certain people of the Interior, experts in ship-building and arms manufacturing, physicians and various technicians to come to Japan. In addition they smuggled in contraband goods. Therefore he petitioned the throne that the government select from the substantial merchants some who could trade with the Japanese. Eight superior merchants were accordingly selected with Li Chun-tse as their head. (YCCPYC 41, 59a-61a; 41a-83b)

#### A Russian School for Language Students Established in Peking

The kingdom of Russia sent government students, Lu-k'o-fo (Lucas Vojejkov), To-te (Theodosius Tretjakov), I-wan (Ivan Pukhov) and K'a-la-hsi-mu (Gerasime Chulgen)<sup>74</sup> for [language] education. We set up a school within the old Hui-t'ung-kuan and selected two instructors of the Manchu and Chinese languages from the assistants [of the Imperial College].<sup>75</sup> We gave [the Russian pupils] silver and rice for their monthly allowance. After they finished their education they returned home and new pupils continually replaced them.<sup>76</sup> (CTHCWHTK Ch. 86 and Ch. 300)

#### YC 7 (1729)

#### Kiakhta Established as the Market of Mutual Trade

The Emperor decreed that a market of mutual trade should be set up at Kiakhta. One official of the Li-fan Yüan was appointed to be stationed there and to supervise trade during a three-year term.<sup>77</sup>

Kiakhta was the center of the K'a-luns of the four tribes of Khalka. East of Kiakhta there were twenty-eight K'a-luns, belonging to the tribe of T'u-hsieh-t'u Khan. West of Kiakhta there were nineteen K'a-luns belonging to the tribes of Cha-sa-k'o-t'u and Sa-yin No-yen. Kiakhta was situated in a valley among high mountains, surrounded by forests. Therefore the merchants could easily build a strong city of wooden houses.<sup>78</sup>

At Kiakhta the merchants were chiefly natives of Shansi province who bought tobacco, tea, satin, clothes and miscellaneous things at Kalgan to exchange them for various sorts of fur and blankets.<sup>79</sup> The Russians liked to buy rhubarb. The best dealers in rhubarb were the Mohammedans from the region of Ch'ing-hai.<sup>80</sup> (SFCL 46, 4b-5a)

#### The First Chinese Ambassador Sent to Russia

[During the reign of Yung-cheng, China had sent an ambassador to Russia to congratulate Peter II, Czar of Russia, on his accession in 1729. However, when the embassy staff arrived they found that Peter II had died and that a new Empress, Anna Johnovina, was seated on the throne.<sup>81</sup> So a second embassy was sent to Russia to congratulate the new Empress

on her accession. These were the earliest Chinese ambassadors to visit a European court. The mission was not merely a courtesy to reciprocate for the Russian embassy of Sava Vladislavitch, but was also intended to gain a free hand for China in dealing with the Eleuths and the Burgut, subjects of Khalkhas who had fled into Russian territory. The life of Ambassador T'o-shih is briefly reported in Chinese sources, and the Russian document (No. 23) in the old Palace Museum throws light on the real errand of this mission. We have, however, no record available in Chinese sources of the second embassy to Russia.]

#### Life of Ambassador T'o-Shih

T'o-shih was a member of the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner and of the T'ung-chia Clan. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng he was awarded a title of vice-president [of a board], as ambassador to Russia. He returned from his mission in the tenth year of Yung-cheng.<sup>82</sup> (KCCHLC 72, 38a-40b)

#### The Mission of To-shih

[The following is a part of the letter from the Russian senate to the Li-fan Yüan in 1757, when the Chinese army entered Dzungaria. It mentions earlier events.]

"On investigation we (the Russians) found that the Dzungar tribe had never been subjugated by any country but is still ruled by native princes. This is a fact that everybody knows. Therefore in 1731 your Emperor dispatched to the Court of Russia Ambassador T'o-shih and his suite. Because China was then at war with the Dzungars, the ambassador and his suite, obeying the edict of your August Emperor, proposed to us that when China attacked the Dzungars, common people of the said tribe escaping to various tribes belonging to Russia, should be harbored, but their princes and nobles must be extradited to China. Those Dzungars allowed to stay in Russia should be strictly under control so that they would not bring lawlessness and crime beyond the border. The said ambassador also declared to the Russian authority that when Chinese troops occupied Dzungaria, China might consent to give a necessary portion of Dzungarian territory to Russia.

Our late Empress, Anna Johnovina, answered in an edict, saying: "If this be the case, then we may consider a friendly discussion in the future about the extradition of the princes and nobles of the Dzungars." (KKOWSL No. 23)

#### The First Document on the Prohibition of Opium

[In this year the first edict prohibiting opium was enacted. From that time on the sale of opium and the opening of opium smoking divans became a crime.]

Part I: The Vice of Opium-smoking is Known

[Lan Ting-yüan, an advocate of prohibiting opium, gives us the earliest account of the development of opium-smoking in China as follows:]

"Where opium-tobacco<sup>83</sup> came from and when it was first used are unknown. It was prepared by boiling in a brass pot. The opium pipe was in the shape of a short rod. Wicked, worthless young men assembled to drink (smoke) opium together at night. The owners of opium divans entertained the beginners with ten or more dishes of candy, honey, cookies, refreshment and fresh fruits as bait. When one went to opium divans for the first time to drink, he was not requested to pay. In the long run he could not stop, but must go there daily even at the risk of bankruptcy.

"To begin with, opium can stimulate people by keeping them alert throughout the night, augmenting their sexual desire. Later its victims become incurable addicts. If they cease to drink it for only a day, the skin on their faces will suddenly shrink and their lips and teeth loosen and drop off. So exhausted are they that they seem to be dying. Only after they resume drinking it, can they temporarily recover. Nevertheless those who drink it constantly can survive no more than three years.

"It was said that the cunning, insular barbarians invented this means of extorting money from the Chinese people. The ignorant people who did not understand this trick introduced it into China. Now it has been prevalent more than ten years. The victims of opium smoking are rather numerous in Amoy and are particularly numerous in T'ai-wan.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, it is a great pity." (LCCC, 2, 16a-b)

Part II: Penalties on the Sale of Opium Enacted

[The following memorial demonstrates clearly that an Imperial edict prohibiting the sale of opium has been enacted. This memorial shows how thoughtless Governor Liu was. It also shows that opium was not common in China at that time.]

7:7:26 (Aug. 20, 1729) Opium is not Opium-Tobacco

Liu Shih-ming,<sup>85</sup> the governor of Fukien, memorialized:

"Opium tobacco (Ya-p'ien-yen), a manufactured item, imported from foreign countries is the most poisonous thing corrupting the public mind and greatly harming the people. Your Majesty has ordered the Board [of Punishment] to deliberate on how to prohibit it. Regulations concerning the prohibition of opium-tobacco have been legislated and published everywhere throughout the Empire.

"According to the report of the prefect of Chang-chou fu, Li Chih-kuo, he stated:

We received an order to prohibit strictly the poisonous opium tobacco. However, if we wish to stop the effects [of an evil] we must search out its source. [I, Your Excellency's

humble subordinate, the Prefect] had secretly sent out Wen T'ao to detect [the origin of this evil]. On the twenty-second day of the second month (Mar. 21, 1729) the said detective begged Su Hsiao to buy one chin of opium (Ya-p'ien) from Ch'en Yüan of the Ch'en-shih-hong. Thereupon your subordinate, the prefect, dispatched police to Ch'en Yüan's. We captured thirty-three chin [of opium].

"Li reported in detail to Your servant. Your servant thereupon endorsed the order for the provincial judge to examine the case carefully and to pronounce sentence.

"Afterwards Li Chih-kuo inquired about this case and reported the testimony of Ch'en Yüan as follows:

Last year I (Ch'en Yüan) went to Kwangtung to sell [dry] orange cakes. At the same time I wished to buy some other commodities. However, I could not find a customer in Kwangtung until I met an unknown merchant who wanted to exchange his opium (ya-p'ien) and putchuck (mu-hsiang) for my [dry] orange cakes. Thereupon I brought the opium and putchuck back to Fukien.

"Therefore, according to the regulation for punishment for selling opium tobacco,<sup>86</sup> Ch'en Yüan was sentenced to wear a cangue with his offence written thereon for one month. Afterwards he would be banished to the military posts on the frontier to serve as a military laborer.

"Ch'en Yüan was turned over to the provincial court. When the provincial judge reviewed this case, he gave the same testimony as before. Accordingly, the provincial judge approved the sentence of the said prefect and delivered him (Ch'en Yüan) to the governor's office.

"Your servant thereupon inquired of Ch'en Yüan in person. Ch'en Yüan shouted loudly about 'injustices,' insisting that opium is a necessary drug unlike the opium tobacco which is a manufactured thing. After a very simple experiment [of qualitative analysis] opium can be at once distinguished from opium tobacco. Your servant thus ordered the original contraband to be presented and ordered Ch'en Shu-p'ei, the owner of the drug store, T'ai-ho T'ang, to identify it. According to him (Ch'en Shu-p'ei),

This is the opium (ya-p'ien) which is cooked to be used for plaster (one kind of drug); it also can be used to make opium pills, which are a remedy for dysentery. This is opium without being mixed with tobacco.<sup>87</sup>

"If opium is a necessary medical drug and is only contraband when it is mixed with tobacco, how could Li Chih-kuo use subterfuge to discover the opium which Ch'en Yüan had stored in his own home and sentence Ch'en Yüan to wear a cangue [on which his crime is written] and to be banished to the frontier and to serve as a military laborer? He acted

wrongly. His sentence is improper! Li should be impeached according to the law concerning a mandarin who wrongly inflicts punishment on innocent people. However, Your servant thinks that the mind of the people on the seacoast is very stupid. If once a magistrate who enforces the prohibition [of opium tobacco] is impeached, they will believe that the prohibition of opium tobacco is relaxed. This is not improbable. We cannot prevent such a development. Therefore Your servant delivered Ch'en Yüan to the provincial court to be released under bond. His thirty-three chin of opium was ordered stored in the provincial treasury...."

The Emperor endorsed his memorial: "In this case Li Chih-kuo's lack of clear examination is a result of his over-enthusiasm to perform his duty. This situation is excusable. It is correct that he should not be impeached in this case. However, if the more than thirty chin of opium is indeed contraband, then [Ch'en Yüan] should not be graciously pardoned. If it is not a contraband, then why have you stored it in the provincial treasury? This is the hard-earned capital of the common people. How can you deal with an error by committing another error and thus deprive him of his livelihood? If you wish to keep some of it as a sample for further investigation, then several chin or several pieces of the opium will be quite enough. There is no reason why you should keep all his opium in the treasury. This is a trifling matter, yet it greatly influences public opinion. You people who shoulder the heavy duty of administration of the frontier provinces should never neglect these things simply because of their insignificance. The ignorant people can determine whether or not you share their grievances by such petty points. Remember this!" (YCCPYC 14, 22b-23b)

## YC 8 (1730)

8:5:22 (July 6, 1730) One Catholic Church at Hangchow  
Converted into a Temple of the Goddess of Seamen

Li Wei, the viceroy of Chekiang, memorialized:

"Previously one Westerner, Te-ma-no (Romain Hinderer)<sup>88</sup> was ill and aged in Chekiang so he petitioned to be allowed to delay his departure for Peking. This had been reported to the Board.... Now Your servant appoints an official to escort him to Macao (Kwangtung).

"Because the Catholic church in the north part of the city of Hangchow became vacant, the local magistrates petitioned Your servant to send government servants to care for it. Your servant has inspected the condition and structure of this building and found that it is not suitable for a Buddhist temple. Your servant humbly thinks that only the Goddess of Seamen (Celestial Empress)<sup>89</sup> displays divine manifestation over the ocean. Everywhere along the seacoast there are great temples devoted to her worship. However, Hangchow has not yet established such a special temple. In Your servant's opinion, we ought to convert this church into a shrine of the Goddess of Seamen." (YCCPYC 42, 63a-b)

## YC 9 (1731)

9:9:8 (Oct. 8, 1731) A Russian Caravan  
Given Ten Thousand Liang of Silver

The Emperor decreed to the Li-fan Yüan: "According to the report of the frontier regions, Lange<sup>90</sup> of Russia is coming hither. Recently the Russians have been very well behaved and obedient to Us. As soon as their caravan reached Selenginsk, they reported to Us. However, the frontier local authorities acted so slowly that they had to wait a long time on the frontier, which was expensive. Now it is winter. Their horses and animals will inevitably suffer. Therefore We especially bestow upon the Russians Our extraordinary grace. We order the Li-fan Yüan to appoint an official who shall withdraw ten thousand liang of silver from the Board of Revenue and proceed to [Selenginsk] and there distribute the money to the Russians. This money will cover the expense of horses and livestock, which will substitute for those which were exhausted and died en route. It is a gesture of friendship.<sup>91</sup> At the same time, however, the Russian caravan was also ordered to be guarded during this year." (110, 9b)

## China Enacts New Regulations to Control Russian Caravan

The following memorial has been approved: "Whenever Russian merchants come to China, the T'u-hsieh-t'u Khan<sup>92</sup> of Khalkha and other officials should report to the Li-fan Yüan immediately. The Board should ask for an Imperial edict to appoint an official to go to Kiakhta as an escort to care for the Russians en route. Their merchants, according to the original treaty, were not given government aid and they themselves provided all the expenses of their men and horses. While they travel or when they stop at the hotels, from Kalgan to Peking, they are escorted and guarded by official soldiers. After they arrive at Peking and enter the Russian House, the Board of War then requests the throne to appoint a deputy lieutenant-general who would command official soldiers to watch and guard them. Whenever their merchants go outside of the Russian House, they are escorted by guards. (TCHTSL 746, 5b-6a)

## YC 10 (1732)

10:12:7 (Jan. 22, 1733) Russia  
Refuses to Receive the Bargut

The Emperor decreed to the ministers in the council of state: "... We hear that the Bargut<sup>93</sup> under the banners of Yen-ch'u-pu To-er-chi,<sup>94</sup> Prince of the Fourth Order [of the Ch'e-ch'en Khan tribe of the Khalkhas] and Sha-k'o-tu-er Cha-pu,<sup>95</sup> a chief and a noble, have secretly escaped into Russia. That place did not allow them (the Bargut) to enter its territory. Therefore they are living outside of the K'a-luns and are engaging in robbing the Khalkhas.