

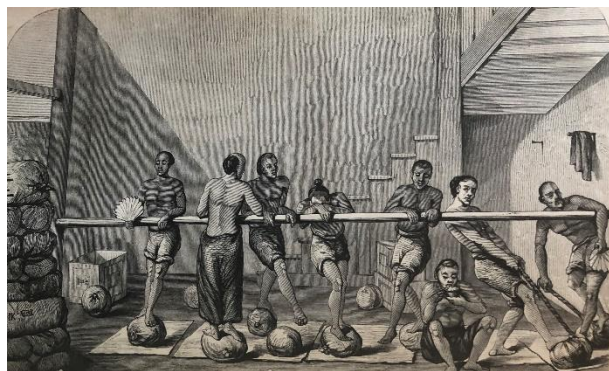
John Scarth on the Taiping rebellion: Our diplomacy has resulted in confusion worse confounded

Thousands killed, and so many executed that the baskets sent for the heads were not sufficient to carry the whole, so that the mandarins determined on sending to the Governor-General boxes containing only the right ears.

Its not uncommon to find that the most observant and reasoned accounts of a country are sometimes made by a writer independent of Government, church or the military. Apart from the curious traveller voyaging for their health or with a personal mission to infiltrate another culture, the category is that of the trader, merchant or businessman. Inevitably, at the height of the Empire and colonisation, it did mean taking some sides, but there is an advantage for reader and writer in not having to toe the official line.

We know little about John Scarth (1826-1909) outside of his years in China. A Scottish merchant trader, he arrived in China in 1847. We have records of him employed in Canton and Hong Kong with a colleague William Walkinshaw in the trading company Turner & Co.¹ He clearly maintained a business relationship with Walkinshaw after his return to Scotland in 1859, since they were part owners with Baring Brothers Bank² of a clipper, the *Black Prince*, built in Aberdeen in 1863 and undertaking trade with China. She traded cotton for tea, but was wrecked in August 1882 on the Arendo reef in the Java Sea, homeward bound from Manila.³ Another note on Scarth post-China recorded him as 'Scottish merchant in China, later clergyman'.⁴ Walkinshaw himself is worth a note. He was Belgian Consul in Canton in 1853, apparently claiming the role with a letter from the King of the Belgians in hand, but failing to carry through the diplomatic niceties required. The wary British forbade him to deal directly with the Chinese, a position eventually righted by the Belgian Government. It seems that there was no official diplomatic relationship until the Belgian Concession in Tianjin was taken up in 1902. In 1861 he was vice-chairman of the inaugural Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce.⁴

Scarth befriended another Scot who spent many of the same years in China. The plant collector Robert Fortune refers several times to his friend John Scarth in his books on his collecting travels in China from 1843 to 1861. He credits Scarth with sketches he used in his 1853 book, *'For the talented sketches which illustrate the work I am indebted to my friend Mr. Scarth.'*, and 1857 book⁵,



including a frontispiece of men making 'caper' tea, rolling the tea into balls with their feet: *'It is a most curious sight to a stranger who sees the mode of making this tea for the first time . A whole row of these men , nearly naked when the weather is warm , each with a large ball under his feet , which he is twisting and rolling with all his might , is so unexpected a sight in tea - making . The clever sketch (Frontispiece) by my friend Mr. Scarth gives a good idea of this curious process.'* Scarth illustrated his own book with his fine sketches.

While Scarth gets many a mention in contemporary and modern accounts of the Taiping rebellion in particular, what we know from his years in China comes from the book, published in Edinburgh in 1860 on his return to Scotland.

[Scarth, John] *Twelve Years in China, The People, The Rebels, and the Mandarins, by a British Resident. Edinburgh, Thomas Constable and Co, (1860.) xviii, 328pp. [4] (ads). Frontispiece and numerous illustrations, eleven chromolithograph plates. Large folding map. Original purple cloth, gilt illustrations on both covers, gilt to spine. 8vo. 1 edition. Cordier 89, Lowendahl 1252.*

The coloured lithographs have a rather posed aspect to them, and he's not too good on faces, but they are attractive, and include some of soldiers, such as carrying the wounded, that you don't often see amongst the depictions of life in China common in books of the time. Scarth says in his Introductory notes 'The sketches in the following pages are gathered from a host of drawings made in different excursions; their only recommendation is that they are tolerably faithful, though the costumes may often differ from pre-conceived notions of the Chinese.' The oval frontispiece is particularly strange, depicting some Chinese men and at least one child. The figures are a bit distorted, and the caption says 'Our enemies in China'. Is this being ironic? It certainly sends a message to this British readers.



Scarth says in his preface that '...it seems to me a duty, in the present crisis, to narrate my experience during a residence of twelve years in that country, and the opinions I was led to form. In the light in which events appeared to me, they assumed a very different colour from that in which they have been painted by others.' He quickly comes to the nub of the matter of the Taiping rebellion, which he was to so closely observe. 'During my residence in China, the empire has been disturbed by two distinct rebellions. Too little attention has been paid to these; the map which accompanies this volume will show how extensive they have been. One body of rebels proclaimed Christianity and the overthrow of idolatry, but as their doctrines were mingled with much error, and they pressed their religion by the power of the sword, it is natural that, however much Christian missionaries might hope for good to arise from the movement, they could not approve the acts of the insurgents. No attempt was made to remove their errors and to teach them truth; the Bible they republished has therefore been left unheeded among the mass of rubbish by which it was surrounded. Neutrality during the civil war was proclaimed by the British Government, but has not been adhered to.

A British plenipotentiary, it must be remembered, had to take into consideration, that anarchy might endanger the vast revenue derived from tea-duties; and that as the Insurgents at first punished opium-smoking by death, the large revenue derived from that source would have been lost had they gained the ascendancy.' Here up front is the muddled British position, wanting on the one hand to back the rebellion as a way of removing the Manchu court, supported by missionaries who saw the rebels as Christian proselytisers, but also recognising that there was potentially considerable economic loss with the a rebel success. 'Our diplomacy has resulted in confusion worse confounded; we shall have probably now to overthrow a Government which we have been endeavouring to support. The empire is too weak to bear the double evil of foreign invasion and civil strife.' He is writing after the treaties were signed in 1858, supposedly

ending the second opium war, and at the same time as the British and French troops entered Peking and in an act of great barbarism, destroyed Yuen-ming-Yuen in October 1860.

Scarth starts out from Shanghai to tour the silk districts of Che-Kiang (Zhejiang) province in the Spring of 1848, with a Singaporean Chinese interpreter, a cook and a barber. *'I adopted the Chinese dress, and after getting fairly under way, metamorphosed myself into a Chinaman, set the barber to work to make a clean sweep of my hair, and, attached to my cap, wore a thorough-bred tail of some son of Han, shaded the natural colour of my barbarian eyes by a huge pair of tea-stone spectacles, and marched forth without fear of recognition.'* This is exactly what his friend in China at the same time, Robert Fortune, did when he travelled into forbidden districts in the same province, in Fortune's case to collect tea, illegally. You do wonder whether this all necessary. He records a bit of a scuffle: *'It was fortunate the affair ended so well, for I was very roughly handled, at one time pinioned; but keeping quite cool, no harm was done, though I had a brace of loaded pistols under my dress all the time. Many foreigners have since made even more extended tours quite unarmed, and in their usual dress.'*



Silk reeling. Scarth, 1860. P. 11

Scarth ventures into the region around Hangzhou and the Grand Canal, recording in some detail mulberry cultivation, use of the silkworms, and preparation of silk.

We've seen that Robert Fortune mentions Scarth in passing, providing sketches for his books. Now we have Scarth meeting Fortune at the Tien Tung temple near Ningbo, where Fortune had established something of a base.⁶ *'Mr. Fortune has described the beautiful country around Ning-po, and given a graphic account of the Bhuddist Temple at T'heen-Tung, which is situated so picturesquely among the hills that cover the eastern part of the province of Che-Kiang. We had the good fortune to meet this celebrated traveller there. He had taken up his quarters in a pleasant part of the Temple, and was busy securing botanical specimens, watching the manufacture of tea in the neighbourhood, and picking up all kinds of insects for the collection he was making. It was most amusing to go through the villages with him, he was always so good-humoured, and had made lots of friends among the little brats that ran about the cottages.'*

We are used to reading about how Westerners were confined to Canton, but it is clear that there was considerable travel further afield, with luxuries, to be made for the determined (and if you were prepared to dress up): ...'the old one-eyed priest had retained possession of some beer and wine that I had left here eighteen months before. We had posted up some doggerel verses, directing the next visitor to appropriate the liquor; but it appears the priest had lost the verses, and not knowing what to

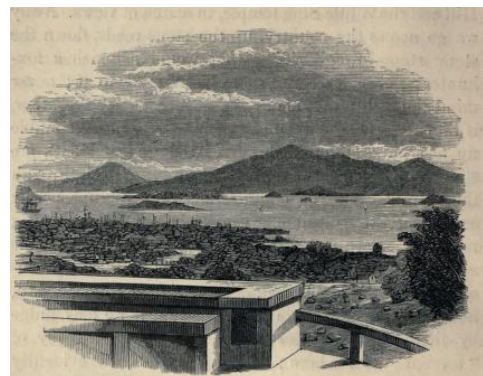


Sketches by Scarth used in Robert Fortune's books of 1853 and 1857.

do with the beer and wine, held firm hold of them, and would not give up a single bottle for any consideration. Mr. Fortune had discovered the store, but in the midst of plenty could not get a drop of the "Allsopp's Pale".⁷ The honest old priest was with difficulty persuaded even to give me back what was my own, as he did not recognise me until at last, when I pretended to sketch, to see if that would bring me to his recollection, he admitted my right at once, and faithfully handed over every bottle. This for a priest, one of a class that is the most degraded in China, was more than I expected.' Fortune is not mentioned again in Scarth's book.

Scarth is not only supplied with India Pale Ale, he seems to carry a crate of brandy as well. In a scuffle with pirates, while crossing Hangzhou bay from Ningbo to 'Chapoo'⁸, 'We were well armed, however, having, without revolvers, fourteen barrels between us; these were all carefully loaded before leaving the Ningpo river. We had an unusually large crew for such a vessel, also a cook and two servants. Another junk kept company with us, but we had the better of it in sailing: it had two swivels in the bow. At noon, as they said the wind was contrary, we came to an anchor off "Friendly Bluff", a high promontory on the south side of the bay. On inquiring what the other junk was, we were told that it had a mandarin on board going to Chapoo, and that he wished to keep near us for protection. We resolved to pay him a visit, as no time would be lost by it. I got out a bottle of brandy as a present, and we were just setting off, when one of the sailors whispered to me in Chinese, not to go. I asked, "Why?" "Because he is a pirate!" was the answer.' Scarth's lively description involves pistols and threats, and a compass sabotaged with a nail.

Scarth then goes south and visits Amoy (Xiamen), another of the new treaty ports now a centre of foreign activity and trade. 'We pass the foreign residences, giants to the pigmy Chinese houses around them. The clean-looking houses of the missionaries have a comfortable appearance, showing that home is not forgotten in this scene of their weary, almost unprofitable labours'. It is not an attractive place: 'A drizzling rain is falling; fit weather to view Amoy in. Why should sunshine visit such a forbidding-looking place? There is not much to be seen; let us name it over, and do it quickly.'



View of Amoy from the White Stag Temple. Scarth, 1860. p. 32

He visits the gun battery '*...which the "Cornwallis" peppered severely when Amoy was taken. Away we go over the dismantled guns, their trunnionless sides stamping clearly the signs of disgrace and defeat upon the powerful battery. Why do not the Chinese hide such signs of foreign victory?*'⁹

Scarth spends six weeks in the other Treaty Port, Foochow (Fuzhou), and quotes Gonzales de Mendoza from 1588 ¹⁰ in describing the city, it being about the only contact point that the first Spaniard missionaries could make from the Philippines in the 16th century. He always has his sketch book at hand. '*[I] found the people remarkably civil, especially in the villages at some distance from the city: making a point of always going into one of the public eating-houses in order to see as much of the people as possible, my sketch-book began to fill rapidly. It was amusing to see the conceit of some of the fellows as they set themselves in attitude, or stroked down their moustaches when they saw their faces appearing on paper. The women were by no means bashful, and their fine sturdy figures, prettily decked hair, and peculiar costume, made capital subjects.*'

After Fuzhou, there is Swatou (Shantou), and sugar making and the theatre, then more exploration of Kwang-tung (Guangdong province). He devotes a chapter (VIII) to religion, citing Huc and Meadows, and as does every visitor in the 19th C, has his theories on their beliefs and

susceptibility (small) to conversion. '*The whole number of Protestant missionaries in China probably exceeds the number of converts who are not actually in their pay. This I think is traceable to their way of introducing religion.*' And again like his predecessors, comments at length on the Chinese character. '*On my first arrival in China, thirteen years ago, the contrariety of the native modes of doing anything struck me as most amusing, and a long list of the "opposites" of the Chinese manner*



Tartars. Scarth, 1860. P. 41

and character to ours was soon made out; but on giving deeper study to the subject, there is less reason to be proud of the general superiority of the European means than to feel abashed at our ideas of vaunted perfection.....The Chinese character is the exact opposite to that of Europeans generally.' There have been few European writers over the centuries, who having stayed longer than a few months, have failed to come to admire Chinese people and their society, and particularly their laws and administration. European superiority was always tested, though, perhaps inevitably, prevailed when it came to a test of military and naval strength.

Trustworthiness is another character much written about. Scarth gives it a Chapter (XI), and neatly sums it up at the beginning. '*After many years' experience in the north and south of China, I may state with safety that the greatest contrariety to ourselves marks the Chinese in their ideas of honesty and cheating. They cheat honestly! It is a paradox solved. You engage a compradore as chief of the Chinese in the household. He is generally supposed to be accountable for the honesty of the other servants; he is thoroughly correct in all his transactions, — often has very large dealings himself. You know he came to you not worth a hundred dollars perhaps, yet he is soon worth thousands. The system is recognised: he gets a bonus some way or other on all payments, and in some transactions pays a percentage of it to all the other servants in the house.*' The story of the half-blind priest guarding the Allsop's Ale comes to mind. '*It has lately become a custom in*

Shanghai and Foochow, and to a small degree in Canton also, to intrust very large sums of money to Chinese for the purchase of tea and silk in the interior. The money is lost sight of for months in a country where a foreigner could not follow; yet, such is the honesty of the Chinese that the instances are rare in which the man intrusted with it has made off.'



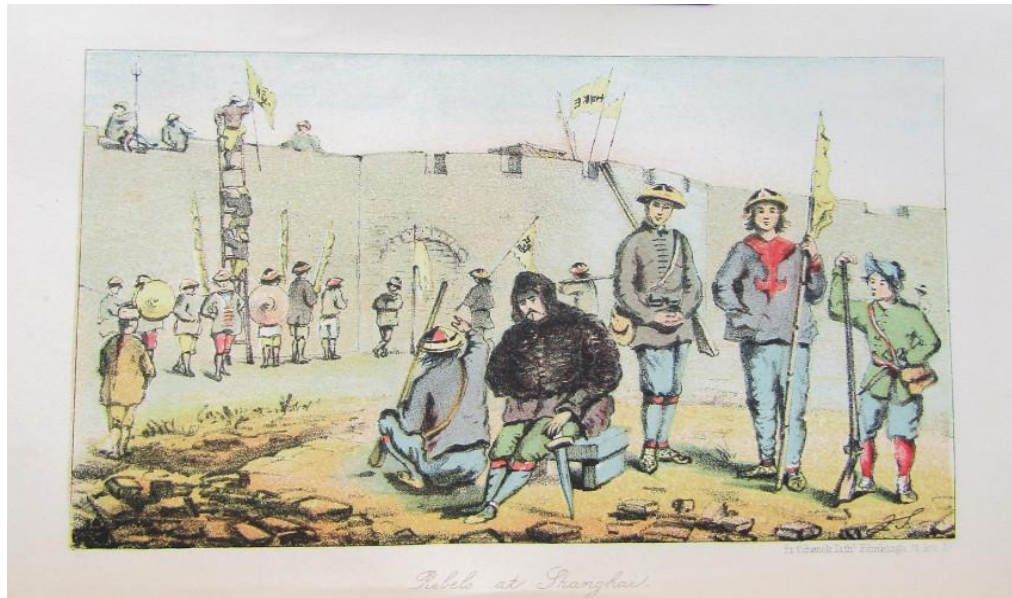
Scarth does tend to put the ordinary Chinese in their place. Train them well and look after them and they would be good doing jobs in the colonies. *'With a little looking after they make capital grooms, and will keep a horse in first-rate condition. It would be difficult to find better gardeners, when they have been well trained, and it would be well worth the attention of the colonists in Australia and New Zealand to get labourers of this kind from China.'* He then works his way through the Mandarins, and prisons and punishments, leading up to what he is most renowned for, his account and involvement in the Taiping rebellion.

The Taiping rebellion, also more recently called a civil war or social revolution¹¹, raged for some 14 years, breaking out in 1850 and ending with the fall of Nanjing in 1864. It was led by Hong Xiuquan, who proclaimed himself brother of Jesus, both sons of God, establishing a Heavenly Kingdom, aimed at the downfall of the Qing dynasty. It made Nanjing its capital in 1853, and at its height controlled large parts of southern China. It led to a confused and ambiguous position of the British, with missionaries and many British residents in China (including Scarth) supporting it for the Christian revolution it promised and downfall of a hated Manchu government, but the official British Government position was to support Peking and assist in countering it and bringing about its downfall. Much has been written on it.¹²

Scarth sets out his account in Chapter 15 with his colours already flying. *'...within the last few years, a poor scholar has struck a blow against the reigning dynasty that has made it totter on its throne; not only does he revolt against the government, but he has preached a crusade against idolatry — his followers carrying out his iconoclastic measures with the utmost rigour. Strangest of all, a species of Christianity was preached by them, as consistent in its form as that of some sects known in England. This phase of the revolution is so strange, that we find, especially in China, more foreigners disposed to question the possibility of the Chinese becoming Christians, than to rejoice in happy appearances justifying a contrary anticipation..... The blight of expediency grows like a parasite about our politicians, pressing down that power of doing right with might, which was once the Briton's boast. We have seen the rebellion struggle on in spite of all difficulties, and if it be eventually smothered, when shall we again see such an opportunity for doing good in China?'*

He scorns other accounts, such as that of Callery and Yvan¹³, and the reports and views of diplomats and emissaries, and tells us how he has put together his own account. *'To constant communications with many intelligent Chinese, merchants, tradesmen, and literary men, both in the north and at Canton; to the copious translations that have from time to time been made by intelligent Sinologues, and to many other sources on which dependence could be placed, I have had recourse before forming the following opinions on the rise of the Rebellion.'* He concentrates at the start much on religion. *'Time will show whether the strange mixture of good maxims and dangerous error introduced by the selftaught propagators of a religion they scarcely understand, will be the commencement of a new era in China. Will God's Word, which has been rudely opened and disseminated by this wonderful faction, lie fallow and uncultivated, till it be properly taught to those*

who as yet only ignorantly believe? The time is most propitious; the Chinese are well prepared for some eventful change occurring to relieve them from the troubles in which their country is enthralled. It is only now that their language is becoming properly understood by an intelligent staff of Protestant missionaries; and it remains for the English Government to lead the way, by insisting on the withdrawal of restrictions, to let foreign enterprise open up China both to our commerce and our religion.' He is admiring in what the rebels are doing, sees as a businessman what should be done, and relates a widespread view: it is the right religion, but wrongly done.



Rebels at Shanghai. Scarth. 1860. p 1887.

Scarth provides a chapter on the rise of the rebellion and its religion, amounting to an indignant apology. 'A belief in the heavenly Father, and Jesus Christ as the Saviour, as enjoined; and there is nothing whatever in the rebel publications or proclamations that can be cavilled at by any liberal-minded Christian, so far as the doctrine taught is concerned'. He is not much concerned about Hong's assumption in 'taking the rank in the universe next to the Saviour,..', after all 'other kings have titles conferred upon them, of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth sons of the most High...'. He even excuses the Tai-ping leader's harem: 'Were there no harems mentioned in the Old Testament as part of the house-hold of even the most righteous kings?. And so he ties himself in knots. He goes on to describe the march on Peking, the rebels in Amoy and Shanghai and the successful and bloody French assault on the latter, including a brilliantly coloured plate of the rebels at Shanghai looking remarkably docile.

It is in Shanghai that Scarth became mildly famous. According to Scarth's account, in December 1854, the aptly named French Admiral Laguerre fomented a fight with the rebels in the French part of the city, where the English and Americans were maintaining neutrality. Along with the French bombardment, the Imperial forces started to attack the rebels and the Shanghai citizens were caught in the fire from three directions: 'Knowing well what a quiet unwarlike people the Shanghai folks were, it appeared cruel to kill them in this way.' He decides to go closer to the activity and reaches the wall of the city behind which were the rebels and the 'unwarlike people' of Shanghai, shows himself as peaceful and while he sits behind a tree to avoid the shot, a young lad is lowered down the wall by a rope, with a stool for Scarth to sit on. Scarth tells them he is here to help and see if the rebel chiefs could write letters to the Foreign Consuls in an attempt to stop the fighting, putting the city into the hands of the

three treaty powers (not the Imperial forces). Amazingly, he is raised back up the wall on the rope, gets to see the chiefs and obtains letters from them to take back to the consuls. *'I was told semi-officially that the letters were written in too "bumptious" a strain, the chiefs writing as "generals in command of forces under Tai-ping wang" and was told that if any good was to be effected, the letters should be written as if from chiefs of the brotherhood in possession of Shanghai, and that one should be addressed to the French consul. Having entered into the affair, it was only right to carry it out. Though I had made arrangements for having answers to the former letters sent into the city, I had no notice of any having been sent. However, as no very strict blockade was kept up, I got into the city over the walls, and found everything comparatively quiet, and with great difficulty persuaded Chin-ah-Lin to drop his assumed titles, and have the letters written in the names of the chiefs of the brotherhood.'* He eventually got the rebels to agree to write letters to the three consuls asking them what could be done to settle the whole affair, though: *'[they] wanted to put the French name on a lower line than either the English or American, which would have been a direct insult; fortunately I noticed it, and got the letters all re-written.'*

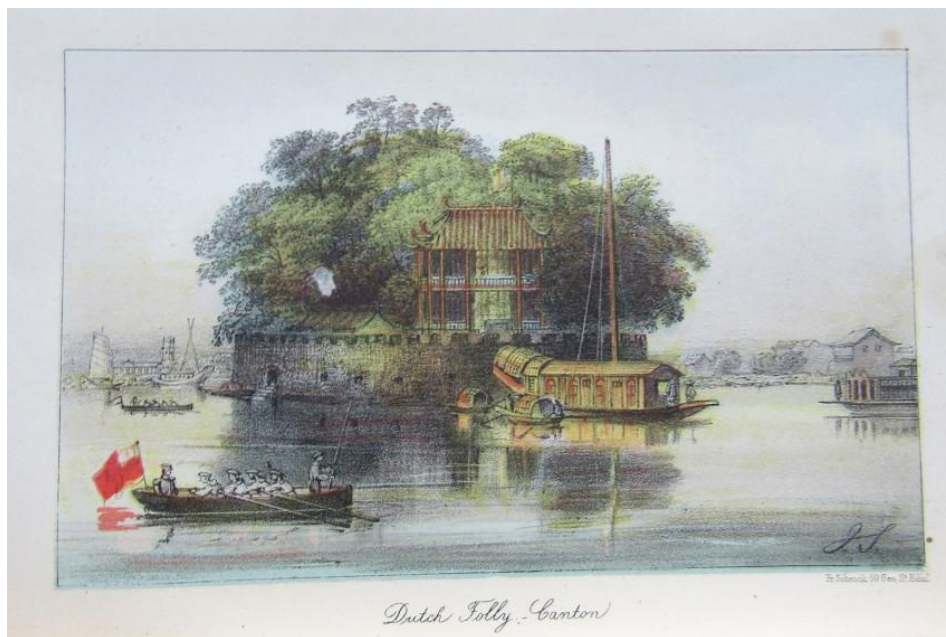
The French were not convinced, and after a day continued their bombardment. Scarth continued to mediate between the rebels and the Treaty powers, and the British Consul gently put the screws on Scarth: *'On leaving the city I told the British consul how affairs stood, but he seemed disinclined to interfere, and in the kindest manner recommended me to desist from interference also. Seeing no good could be done, I did not return any answer to the chiefs'*. Another familiar British name also appears, unfavourably, in this

account. *'the very inconsiderate zeal which characterized the conduct of Mr. Lay, the then acting viceconsul, and Mr. Wade, at that time one of the officials in the Chinese custom-house service, and the open manner in which these gentlemen lent their aid to the mandarins, was strongly commented on by nearly all the foreign community.'* The acting viceconsul was Horatio Nelson Lay, son of George Tradescant Lay who had written his book on all things Chinese in 1841.¹⁴ Scarth eventually did carry out more communications between the Treaty Powers and the rebels, and was responsible for saving a number of lives of the Shanghai residents, and moderating the behaviours of the three parties in the conflict – the Taiping, the imperialist forces and the Treaty Powers. The conclusions, recorded at the time, and held to this day¹² are that if the British had heeded Scarth more and supported him, many more lives could have been saved, with a better outcome for all concerned. An article in Tait's Edinburgh magazine (possibly written by Scarth himself?) for 1860 says it all: *'The British did not assist their allies in this attack, but they did not prevent the proceedings; yet, as they appeared to be connected with the French, it would not have been astonishing if the two parties had been associated in the mind of the rebel chiefs and their men. Still the latter received Mr. Scarth, a private gentleman, capable of conversing in their language, and probably known to some of them, with great respect. His advice was received and considered; and if he had been supported by the British authorities many lives would have been spared, and an intercourse might have been opened with the rebels under their great chief Tai-ping-wang.'*¹⁵



Carrying in the Wounded – Canton. Scarth, 1860, p. 224

Scarth's other detailed first-hand account begins in Canton. *'I resided in Canton when the city was besieged by the Triad rebels. There were horrible tales current of the slaughterby the impartial troops...Thousands killed, and so many executed that the baskets sent for the heads were not sufficient to carry the whole, so that the mandarins determined on sending to the Governor-General boxes containing only the right ears.'* He walks around the city: *'The pompous mandarins stalked about in all the glory of badger-tailed white-button caps, their long robes inelegantly tucked up behind, and their tails braced in by their yellow girdles. The variety of arms was a wonder...'* Scarth wanders into the parts of the city where there was fighting, viewing the rebel troops on the outskirts, and deciding not to carry arms, gets told to go back by the mandarin commanding the imperial troops. *'Our guardian mandarin marched us off in the midst of his soldiers as if we were prisoners; but as the men he commanded were a rascally-looking set, we told him to keep them back whilst we marched in the front.....we were at last surprised by a great shout beside us; the vagabonds drew their swords and rushed us with their infernal cry of Tah! Tah!...None however drew blood; for, without a moment's hesitation, when I heard the Tah! I levelled my umbrella to the charge, and went right through them until I reached the frightened mandarin...'* This is how the Empire was won.



Dutch Folly, Canton. Scarth, 1860, p 283

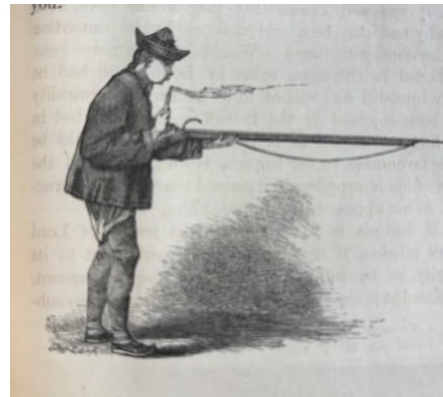
Scarth witnesses the fighting around Canton, down to Whampoa, and the eventual driving off of the rebels, with enormous casualties, executions and barbaric acts on all sides. The rebels, pushed to the coast by the imperial forces took to ships and piracy, and Hong Kong and Macao seemed to thrive: *'It is disgraceful to the Government of Hong-Kong and Macao that these places were allowed to be the marts for stolen articles.'* Scarth writes in detail on the fighting off the coast, including British and American warships, deaths and prisoners, and then, strangely switches to a chapter (XXIII) on Chinese emigration: *'The thousands of Chinese that have been attracted to the gold fields of California and Australia, and who return with some slight knowledge of foreign nations and customs, must eventually have some influence in changing the stereotyped ideas long prevalent in China regarding the might and power of other countries'*, ending with: *'Taking emigration as one of the sources from which the Chinese are to form a higher standard of the merits of foreigners, we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the results. Neither California nor the West Indies, Australia nor Peru, are good fields for them to learn a fair estimate of*

the "barbarian," nor should I wonder if their experience of foreigners had led the Chinese to think better of their own "celestial kingdom."

Scarth continues to record the insurrection through to Lord Elgin's mission and the signing of the, very unequal, treaty of Tien-tsin in June 1858. He says, with prescience, that *'It is difficult to point to any good results of Lord Elgin's mission, if the Treaty be not carried out in its integrity, or be suffered to remain a mere document, negotiated as it was — as the Imperial Commissioners subsequently declared to his Lordship at Shanghai — when there was a pressure of an armed force, — "Weapons of war were constraining; there was a state of crackling fire and rushing water." Lord Elgin left China without having brought any point to a definite conclusion.'* Scarth is writing before Elgin's destruction of Yuanmingyuan, the summer palace. In fact his preface is dated February 1860 and that supreme act of cultural barbarism was carried out in October of that year.

There is a very fine, and very large, folding map of the rebellion in the back of the book, and Scarth concludes with an Appendix on 'Teen-the', or Tai-ping-wang, the leader of the rebellion in the Canton region. For those who like these things, there is also an erratum slip on p. 312, noting that line 15 should read *'ships of war were not left'* for *'ships of war were left'*.

It is one of the livelier, discursive books written of the period, unencumbered by not having to represent a Government or religious view. You get the feeling that this Scots businessman was having a rather exciting time, and life in trade back in Edinburgh must have seemed a little dull.



In the early 1860s when writing the book, Scarth seems to have been living, or staying (writing), at Manderston, the country house in Duns, Berwickshire, of the Miller family. Manderston is currently the family seat of the Palmer family (and, by the way, houses the largest collection of Huntly and Palmer biscuit tins), but was owned at the time by the brother of the baronet Sir William Miller. Miller and his father made a fortune trading herring and hemp in Russia, and had been British Vice-Consul at St. Petersburg (1842–1854), later a Member of Parliament. While Scarth's *'Twelve years...'* is prefaced as from Edinburgh, 1860, he wrote three pamphlets on China, from Manderston, according to the addresses on the prefaces. He clearly felt strongly enough on his return to express the need for questioning and clarifying the British policies in China, the conflict still not over.

Scarth, John. *British Policy in China: Is Our War with the Tartars or the Chinese?* Edinburgh: Smith, Elder & Co., 1860. Cordier 2375

Preface addressed from Manderston, Berwickshire, October, 1860

Ends with a page of very favourable press opinions on his 'Twelve years...'. (both published by Smith Elder)

Scarth, John. *British Policy in China: Italy for the Italians and China for the Chinese. A letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with supplementary notes and appendix.* Edinburgh, Smith, Elder & Co., 1860.

Preface addressed from Manderston, Berwickshire, November 28th, 1860.

Note at the end:

The original letter was forwarded on the 8th November. As it has not been acknowledged in any way, nor any objections made to its publication, it is now published with supplementary notes.

Scarth, John. *British Policy in China: Neutral War and Warlike Peace!* Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861.

Preface is addressed from Manderston, Berwickshire, 1861.

¹ Penn, B., *A Young Englishman In Victorian Hong Kong The Diaries Of Chaloner Alabaster, 1855–1856.* Canberra, ANU Press, 2023.

² Baring Brothers had long been involved in China, in the 1860s helping finance the London and China Bank (later the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation).

³ <https://emuseum.aberdeencity.gov.uk/objects/100155/black-prince>

⁴ *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of Treaty Ports, 1842-1854, Volume I* [Reprint 2014 ed.] 9780674288041.

⁵ Fortune, Robert, *Two visits to the tea countries of China and the British tea plantations in the Himalaya: with a narrative of adventures, and a full description of the culture of the tea plant, the agriculture, horticulture, and botany of China.* London, John Murray 1853; *A residence among the Chinese: Inland, on the coast, and at sea. Being a narrative of scenes and adventures during a third visit to China, from 1853 to 1856. Including notices of many natural productions and works of art, the culture of silk, &c.; with suggestions on the present war.* London, John Murray, 1857.

⁶ <https://ianferg.nz/robert-fortune-collecting-the-plants-of-china/>

⁷ Allsop's beer was the best selling ale in the 1850s, with an Indian Pale Ale specially designed to last the voyage to Bombay. The brand still exists.

⁸ Now Zhapu, on the north side of the bay, and the site of a battle in 1842 in the first opium war.

⁹ Amoy was taken by the British in 1841 in the first opium war

¹⁰ Presumably the 1588 translation by Robert Parke: [González de Mendoza, Juan] *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, and the situation thereof: Together with the great riches, huge Citties, politike gouvernement, and rare inventions in the same.* Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke. London: Printed by I. Wolfe for Edward White, 1588.

¹¹ Osterhammel, J., *Unfabling the East. The Enlightenment's encounter with Asia.* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1918; Platt, Stephen. *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom. China, the West, and the epic story of the Taiping Civil War.* New York, Knopf, 2012.

¹² The most readable modern account is that of Stephen Platt: *Autumn in the heavenly Kingdom. China, the West, and the epic story of the Taiping Civil War.* New York, Knopf, 2012.

¹³ Callery JM and Yvan M *History of the insurrection in China; with notices of the Christianity, creed, and proclamations of the insurgents.* Translated from the French, with a supplementary chapter, narrating the most recent events, by John Oxenford. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853. Joseph-Marie Callery (1810-1862) was a French missionary and interpreter at the French Embassy, and Melchior Yvan (1803-1873) a physician.

¹⁴ Lay, George Tradescant. *The Chinese as they are: their moral, social, and literary character; a new analysis of the language; with succinct views of their principal arts and sciences.* London: W. Ball and Co., 1841. See <https://ianferg.nz/mr-tradescant-lay-the-naturalist/>.

¹⁵ *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, from January to December, 1860. Edinburgh, Sutherland and Knox. MDCCCLX. Pp 499-513.