

same time we were convinced that the repugnance of the Chinese Government to execute fully the Treaty, and to grant us the reception we were instructed to demand, could only be overcome by a sense of their inability to resist us. The preparations made since last year had given them confidence; and that feeling would have been increased had we, on coming in presence of them, receded from the demands we had made. Under such circumstances, to have accepted the proposal of the Governor-General of Chili would have been to enter on a path which must have ended in disgrace and failure; and nothing, in my opinion, would have justified us in consenting to it, unless the only competent authority to pronounce a judgment on such a question had expressed doubts as to the result of an attempt to force the passage of the river. But I can state positively, that if Admiral Hope had expressed doubts on the subject, they would not have been shared by the squadron, nor by those who have had most experience of warfare in China; and, if it be decided that the means at our command were insufficient to justify us in pursuing so bold a line of policy, it is but right that I should share that responsibility with him.

The Intendant of this place has received official notice of these events from Peking, with orders, as he states, not to molest the English. But the effect of this check must be prejudicial to our interests, as in this, more than in almost any country, we are respected and considered in proportion as we are feared, and whatever may be the ultimate decision of this Government with reference to the Treaty of Tien-tsin, I do not think that its provisions can be carried out until we recover our superiority in the eyes of the Chinese.

Mr Wade has drawn up a full and explicit Memorandum on the proceedings of the Chinese Government within the last year, to which I beg to call your Lordship's attention.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

Translation of a Paper forwarded to the Earl of Elgin in Mr Parke's Despatch of January 15, 1859.

[MEMORANDUM.—Two Chinese Clerks, perfectly unknown to each other, have suggested, the moment they read this paper, that it was the composition of a small official sent by Hwang-taung-han to Shanghai, to watch the progress of affairs. The writer speaks of himself, throughout, as an official of much lower rank than the person he addresses, but I do not think that this is Hwang. The words "Governor-General" (of the Two Kwang) prefixed to Hwang's name, must have been elevated had the letter been written to him direct.

It must have been sent to Canton after Lord Elgin's departure for Hankow, and before his return to Shanghai.—T. W.]

The Administrators-in-Chief of barbarian business in the capital are the three Princes Hwui, Kung, and Ching (1).

When the four Imperial Commissioners (2) had their audience to take leave, His Majesty very positively signified to them that it was his pleasure not to allow peace to be made in this sort of way (3), and that the whole fifty-six articles of the Treaty of Tien-tsin must be cancelled. Ho, Governor-General of the Two Kwang, received

them at Chang-chow in the 8th moon (August, September), and stoutly maintained that there must be no mention whatever of change. They were consequently at issue until their arrival at Shanghai, when, owing to the strong support given by the Treasurer Wang to the representations of Ho, the Commissioners began to incline to a compromise. Several memorials were addressed to the Throne in the joint names of the whole five, in reply to which they continued to receive, in every case, His Majesty's peremptory injunctions (to persist in the course prescribed); until, in his last Decree, His Majesty declared his pleasure to be, that if peace were made with the barbarians, four conditions must be insisted on.

Firstly, he would on no account allow trade from Hankow to Nankin.

(Secondly, this condition is omitted, most likely by mistake, as the text below shows the question to have been the residence of a Minister at Peking.)

Thirdly, he would not allow (foreigners) to circulate in the different provinces.

Fourthly, he would have the provincial city of Canton evacuated at an early date.

On receipt of His Majesty's commands as above, the Commissioners had several consultations with the barbarians. They, alas! would give in on one point only, to wit, the evacuation of Canton; in the other three they held out for what had been proposed at Tien-tsin.

The Commissioners, and the Governor-General Ho, accordingly made up (4) another Memorial to the effect that the barbarians had promised to evacuate Canton; that, as regarded admission into Peking, they would not be allowed to go and come in large bodies, nor to build churches there, but that the admission of four or five on any future occasion, when they might have business of importance to transact, need not be prohibited; that as to circulation in the provinces, no one was to travel save with a passport to be issued under the seals of the local Authorities and the Consuls of the barbarians, no one would take on himself to go without one; so that, as it would still rest with the local authorities, when the time came, (5) to give or withhold a passport, this point might, in their opinion, also be conceded. There thus remained no question but that of the navigation of the river up to Hankow, whether it would really be difficult to prevent barbarians from proceeding.

To this representation they received for answer from the Emperor, "Try again with all your might, and you will succeed again."

The Commissioners and Ho, after receiving this, again put their seals to the Treaties, and exchanged copies of them as concluded; and it was agreed that in the third moon (April, May) the barbarians should go into the capital again to exchange National letters (letters between the Governments). Ho, the Governor-General, returned the same day to Soochow; the Treasurer Wang also returned on the 5th. The English leader, Elgin, had started up the Great River on the 3d, with five steamers for Hankow. Just before his departure, he said, "Provided that the provincial authorities behave well to me, I shall not insist on ready money (or immediate payment) (6) at Shanghai, and I will write to Canton and have the city evacuated at once; but if there is any more fighting (on my journey), I must postpone action (on these points)." The Commissioners answered, "We will write to prevent any one giving you matter of offence; at the same time there are several positions along your road in the hands of the rebels, and we are not responsible for any trouble these may occasion you; nor will it be our affair if your vessels come to harm by