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赫德日記及書信：一個中國老手的隨筆手札

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中文摘要： 以下的中文摘要為起初申請時所寫，英文摘要已經更新。

羅伯特赫德爵士 (Sir Robert Hart) 於 1865 年至 1911 年期間是服務於中國海關的稽察總長。誠如強納森史賓塞 (Jonathan Spence) 在他的《改變中國：在中國的西方顧問 1620-1960》一書中指出，赫氏是數十年間在中國最有權勢的西方人 (128)；畢克斯 (Robert Bickers) 也在最近的評論中讚譽赫氏的歷史地位堪稱是 1863 年後支配中國與海外勢力之大權者。然而，儘管十九世紀以來，赫氏的獨特歷史重要性如此顯赫，但仍未有完整赫氏傳記及私人日記得以問世流芳。其日記高達 77 冊，現今存放在貝爾法斯特之 Queen's University 圖書館，其中僅 1854 年至 1863 年及 1863 年至 1866 年的日記由哈佛大學學者 Fairbank 等人編集，其餘 1867 年至 1908 年共 69 冊則位被編撰。中央研究院歷史與哲學研究院 (簡稱 IHP) 擁有 1867 年至 1869 年的第 9 冊至第 12 冊，計畫將著手編撰這批日記。同時，IHP 目前也正積極與 Queen's University 洽談編集其餘由 1870 年至 1908 年日記一事。

IHP 得以一窺赫氏其他資料如私人信件等文件，以及與赫氏同時期布蘭德 (J. O. P. Bland)，法蘭斯艾格蘭 (Francis Aglen) 以及其他海關人員等人之日記、信件，還有其他當時海關人員關於赫氏評價記載的文札。這些豐富珍貴的資料不只提供深入了解赫氏的機會，也堪稱手札類作品的稀世真品。赫氏這位道道地地的愛爾蘭鄉紳，五十餘年耳濡目染於中國風土民情，由這樣一個老外下筆見證中國風俗、奇事見聞、歷史演變，其可信度及重要性皆不容置疑。他堆積如山的手札、筆記，造就他成為一個當代中國民俗通，稱他為大師中的大師也當之無愧！

欲鑑賞赫氏手札的價值性，可先由赫氏原生文化背景著手。手札一直是幾世紀以來英國傳統文學的必要元素。Lord Chesterfield, John Evelyn, Samuel Johnson, Fanny Burney 等人之信件，日記、自傳、回憶錄，都紮根並散發出濃厚英國民族性、道地的本土性、及自我色彩。對於赫氏的作品，不難令人聯想到究竟從赫氏、甚至其他這些由老外眼中看到的以及筆下所記載的異國人文風俗，是否多少夾雜著這些西方作者本身種族、性別、階級、自我意識、英國或愛爾蘭特性、宗教背景、道德觀念等等的成分？另一個評估赫氏作品價值性的方式就是將赫氏手札及當代其他西方「中國老手」的作品互為辨證。隨著科技傳媒的發達，手札記事類的寫作風氣也蔚為時尚，相較於傳統的書信、自傳、日記等書寫印刷體裁，時下與日俱增的電訊產物如 e-mail, online photo albums, podcast, iWitness reports 等等先進傳播媒體更不惶多讓，蓬勃的學術研討會及發表反映出自傳、手札、日記已邁入高科技新紀元。以 MLA 為例，MLA 總裁席尼史密斯 (Sidonie Smith) 選擇 Narrating Lives 做為 2011 年洛杉磯 MLA 大會的研討會主題，相較於時下先進的電訊傳媒，豈是赫氏以及當時那些旅居海外的「中國老手」所能想像的呢，更別說把赫氏和臉書 (Facebook) 放在一起了！

此研究計劃將產生至少一篇主要研究論文以及多篇研討會報告。但毫無疑問的，此研究計畫因其豐富的資料，定會激發出未來更多的研究成果。此外，這份研究是跨領域之作。承蒙服務於中央研究院歷史與哲學研究院 (IHP) 的張志雲博士鼎力支持並提供寶貴的學識。張博士對赫氏本人以及當年中國海關歷史的透徹了解完美的調和了本次的手札研究。這份研究將是文學學者與歷史學者的合作發掘更多知識，透過文學與歷史兩者互補又多元的背景組合，定能呈現出非單由文學

學者或是歷史學者的單一角度所能拓展的深度研究。本跨領域研究能加強我們對

羅伯特赫德爵士，十九世紀中國歷史，東西方的接觸，殖民主義裡的東西方接觸

與手札寫作之腳色等議題之充分理解並完整呈現給世人。

中文關鍵詞： 羅伯特赫德、傳記 手札、東西文化交流、殖民主義/帝國主義

英文摘要： Sir Robert Hart, was, as Jonathan Spence notes in his classic study *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960*, 'the most powerful Westerner in China for decades' (128) and Robert Bickers, in a more recent appraisal, states that Hart's place in history is such that he has 'dominated the picture of the Chinese state's engagement with the overseas powers after 1863.' (3) Yet, in spite of the manifest importance of Robert Hart in the 19th cent. Sino-western encounter, his private diary, which is preserved in seventy-seven volumes deposited in the library of Queen's University Belfast, has so far only been edited partially by a team assembled by John King Fairbank at Harvard University. This team only edited the diaries of 1854-1863 and 1863-1866 and there are still 69 volumes covering the years 1867 to 1908 which have never been edited and remain largely unexamined.

This research project endeavored to examine this insufficiently studied material and took the form of an interdisciplinary effort in which the project investigator collaborated with Dr. Chih-yun Chang, a historian and postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica. Together they examined the complex transmission and reception history of Hart's diary and studied his life writing within the context of the English literary tradition. Hart was a classically educated Briton of Irish extraction who spent over 50 years of his life in what could arguably be defined as one of the greatest historical encounters of modern times and his remarkable archive of life writing materials reveals that he was not

only an important historical agent but also a significant writer. The busy writing he engaged in seems to have been both a tool for the administration of his Customs empire (the ' empire within the empire' as it was sometimes called) and a space for writing his self, being a witness, narrating lives, negotiating meaning, interpreting China. In addition to continuing their work on a scholarly transcription of volumes 9 to 12 of the diary, the projector investigators presented papers at three conferences (two domestic and one overseas) and published one critical article in an AHCI-level journal. As such, this research has added substantially to our understanding of Robert Hart, the 19th cent. East-West intercultural encounter and the role of life writing in the age of empire

英文關鍵詞： Robert Hart, life writing, the East-West intercultural encounter, imperialism.

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Robert Hart's Diaries and Letters: Life Writing by an Old China Hand

赫德日記及書信：一個中國老手的隨筆手札

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1. Abstract: Robert Hart's Diaries and Letters: Life Writing by an Old China Hand

Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service from 1865-1911 was, as Jonathan Spence notes in his classic study *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960*, “the most powerful Westerner in China for decades” (128) and Robert Bickers, in a more recent appraisal, states that Hart’s place in history is such that he has “dominated the picture of the Chinese state’s engagement with the overseas powers after 1863.” (3) Yet, in spite of the manifest importance of Robert Hart in the 19th cent. Sino-western encounter, his private diary, which is preserved in seventy-seven volumes deposited in the library of Queen’s University Belfast, has so far only been edited partially by a team assembled by John King Fairbank at Harvard University. This team only edited the diaries of 1854-1863 and 1863-1866 and there are still 69 volumes covering the years 1867 to 1908 which have never been edited and remain largely unexamined.

This research project endeavored to examine this insufficiently studied material and took the form of an interdisciplinary effort in which the project investigator collaborated with Dr. Chih-yun Chang, a historian and postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica. Together they examined the complex transmission and reception history of Hart’s diary and studied his life writing within the context of the English literary tradition. Hart was a classically educated Briton of Irish extraction who spent over 50 years of his life in what could arguably be defined as one of the greatest historical encounters of modern times and his remarkable archive of life writing materials reveals that he was not only an important historical agent but also a significant writer. The busy writing he engaged in seems to have been both a tool for the administration of his Customs empire (the “empire within the empire” as it was sometimes called) and a space for writing his self, being a witness, narrating lives, negotiating meaning, interpreting China. In addition to continuing their work on a scholarly transcription of volumes 9 to 12 of the diary, the projector investigators presented papers at three conferences (two domestic and one overseas) and published one critical article in an AHCI-level journal. As such, this research has

added substantially to our understanding of Robert Hart, the 19th cent. East-West intercultural encounter and the role of life writing in the age of empire

Key words: Robert Hart, life writing, the East-West intercultural encounter, imperialism.

2. Research Rationale and Relevance of the Project

When I first started researching Robert Hart and other expatriate residents of China affiliated with the CMCS, I soon found myself doing something which Robert Hart does quite a bit in his journals, viz. taking stock. In this case, taking stock involves coming to terms with the fact that, while Robert Hart and the Chinese Maritime Customs Service which he managed for over four decades have been a major subject of inquiry for historians for about 100 years beginning with H. B. Morse and other Customs Service historians in the first decades of the 20th cent. to the Harvard historians in the seventies and eighties and the Asian and European historians working on this material today, I am not a historian, but rather a literature professor. So the question soon arose: what is the rationale for this research project? Is there a valid reason for a literary expert to devote valuable research time to a textual corpus which has been pretty well staked out by historians? Why should I or any other literature professor be interested in Robert Hart and his 77—mostly unpublished and largely illegible—journal volumes? The prospect may not have seemed very attractive at first and, yet, after having worked on these materials for well over a year, I am more convinced than ever that there is an undeniable literary angle to this dossier. In what follows, I would like to enumerate five specific elements to support my position; these elements should be viewed not so much as final research findings but rather useful lines of inquiry which create valuable approaches to Hart's life writing archive. The size of this archive and the fact that the unpublished diary volumes are only being made available in limited sets of several volumes at a time indeed complicate the task of formulating final answers.

2.1 The Hart Life Writing Narrative

The first aspect which makes Robert Hart's life relevant to literary specialists is that it is a great story and, while Robert Hart's journals remain largely unexamined and there is no complete modern biography of the I.-G., his life story is potentially an excellent read. There is, indeed, something epic and grandiose about the journey he undertook—as if it is modern reenactment of an ancient pattern, the odyssey of a man who traveled far and saw many things, but this time the traveler is a typical modern exile, viz. an Irishman, rather than a Greek. When he first arrived in China in 1854, Robert Hart was a nineteen year old student interpreter in the British consular service and was assigned to Ningpo, a commercial town in Chekiang with a foreign community of about 25 consular officials, merchants and missionaries. When he departed fifty-four years later at the age of seventy-three, he was the Inspector-General of the IMCS and was seen off at the station in Peking by Chinese government officials, diplomatic representatives from many nations, journalists, photographers and Chinese, British, American, Italian, Dutch, and Japanese honor guards. His own brass band, with its Chinese musicians and Portuguese bandmaster, was also there and, as he stepped aboard his train and began his journey into the distant beyond, they performed one last piece for their employer, viz. that old sentimental classic, “Auld Lang Syne”, which over time would become the song played in newly independent British colonies whenever colonial governors would leave their post and sail into the sunset. These are some spectacular scenes and, while Robert Hart's niece Juliet Bredon and other authors fill us in regarding some of the key events, other parts of the story have not yet been brought to light and this inevitably redirects our gaze towards the I.-G.'s life writing archive. Any effort to study his diaries and make more original materials available about Hart's life story will not only benefit historians, but also biographers and other life writers. Lloyd Lofthouse's two historical novels regarding Hart's life in China (quoted

below) are a prime example of the fascination of the figure of Robert Hart in terms of its raw narrative power.

2.2 Hart and Nineteenth Century Literary Culture

The second reason why a literary study of the Hart corpus is valuable is that Robert Hart was a lifelong devotee of the written word and as such represents an eminent example of Victorian literary culture. He was a university-educated student of the Greek and Latin classics and a lifelong reader of contemporary literature, including Charles Dickens and other eminent Victorian authors, as well as travel writings, theological works and other written materials. He also became a published author in 1901 when he published "*These from the Land of Sinim*": *Essays on the Chinese Question*, a much-discussed collection of five essays in which he recorded his reflections regarding the Boxer Uprising. Then of course there was his personal diary, a prized possession which captured half a century of lived experience and was shipped overseas upon his departure. Hart, moreover, existed at the center of a web of interconnected textual archives consisting of, firstly, the official IMCS archive of memos, financial reports, semi-official circulars, statistics, medical reports, and telegrams; secondly, the many volumes of his journals, private correspondence and other writings; and thirdly, the vast library of books, essays, scientific papers, memoirs, diaries and other writings by other CMCS employees he had hired such as H. B. Morse, J. O. P. Bland, Paul King, Augustine Henry, and many others. It is noteworthy, moreover, that during the last years of Robert Hart's career, on the other side of the world, Max Weber, one of the founders of modern social science studies, was among the earliest theorists to focus on the role played by documents, the office, and bureaucracy in the creation and maintenance of governance. (Smith, 116) Robert Hart's life seems very much in line with the emergence of the sort of documentary society described by Weber. One may wonder in this respect if his diary does not reflect the sort of comprehensive system building projects which he pursued as I.-G.; as he doggedly pursued efforts to mark China's coastline with a series of lighthouses, we can see a similar project to shine a light upon the stations of his own life in the pages of his diary.

3. Life Writing and the English Literary Tradition

A third reason that Robert Hart's diary is of interest to a literature scholar is the importance of diaries and other life-writing genres in the English literary tradition. The extent of Hart's life writing archive is such that he can be ranked among some of the most assiduous and productive life writers in English history. Hart maintained his diary from 1854 to 1908 for a period of 54 years and he can therefore be compared with champions in the genre such as John Evelyn, who began his diary in 1641 when he was 21 and continued it for 64 years till 1707. John Evelyn's personal friend Samuel Pepys, meanwhile, started his diary in Jan. 1660 and only continued it for nine years; yet, his diary became perhaps the most famous in English literature when published more than 100 years following his death. Life writing, moreover, has long been recognized as integral to the history of literature and society in the English tradition and it is noteworthy that the "Britain in Pictures" series of 126 books, which was published between 1941 and 1950 and sponsored by the Foreign Office as a form of war-time propaganda; included two books on the genre in a subject group entitled "Literature and Belles Lettres", viz. *English Diaries and Journals* (by Kate O'Brien) and *English Letter Writers* (by C. E. Vuilliamy). The inclusion of these volumes in a national propaganda project, which also included work by George Orwell, Graham Greene, John Betjeman, and other prominent authors, indicates to what an extent life writing was viewed as contributing to the creation of an essentialist value system deeply rooted in and supportive of notions of Englishness, domesticity and self.

Turning once more to the Robert Hart corpus, it becomes clear that these writings, produced over such a very long time by one of the most prominent and influential Britons in the East, are a

fascinating site for investigating and questioning the essentialist ideology present in much English life writing. Private diaries, as the example of Pepys and so many others reveal, are written at the end of the day or at other times when one is away from one's official duties and the prying eyes of family, colleagues, supervisors, rivals, and the general public and thus permit an escape or immersion in the self. I.-G. Hart, similarly, when he retired from his official duties in the CMC headquarters and the offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing, envisioned a more intimate self in the pages of his diary and reflected his true sentiments regarding both the Chinese and Western interlocutors he engaged with, his workplace frustrations, his nostalgic feelings for his native land and distant family and other more private and hidden dimensions of his self.

4. Cross-cultural Rhetoric

This leads to a fourth point of interest. Having worked on travel literature and Orientalism for many years, I also conclude that the Hart diaries are an interesting window on the 19th cent. cross-cultural dynamic. The significance of the Hart diary obviously not only lies in his narrative description of his own day to day actions, thoughts, and emotions, but also in his comments on the Chinese governmental institutions, the officials he worked with and the many aspects of Chinese culture and customs he came into contact with. One interesting example is recorded in vol. 9 in the entry for 17 January 1867 when Hart was invited by the important official Wen Hsiang (文祥; 1818-1876) to the Zongli Yamen (The General Office of Foreign Affairs; 總理各國事務衙門), and they discussed, among other things, the building of railways in China. In this conversation, Wen Hsiang addressed the oft repeated criticism of Chinese conservatism and backwardness and in sharing his true feeling regarding this key issue, this high-ranking official is also making an effort to take a critical look at his own society and, indeed, see it as the foreigners see it much of the time. At the same time, he is also envisioning a different China and calling upon his foreign interlocutor to displace himself for a moment and contemplate a time when his sense of cultural superiority may no longer be relevant. Any moment of honest cultural contact like this when the two parties can let down their guard and engage in a genuine exchange of ideas is precious and Hart's diaries and letters offer more examples of such insightful cross-cultural rhetoric..

5. Diaries as Cultural Capital

Finally, the Hart diaries are also an example of what the French critic Pierre Bourdieu calls cultural capital. As we know, Hart's diary was almost consumed in the flames which destroyed his house when it was set on fire during the Boxer rebellion and was only saved in the nick of time. Yet, though this valuable set of historical materials had been secured for posterity, Robert Hart was reluctant to make it available to scholars and he set in motion a chain of events that led to his life writing archive being locked away for some 60 years following his death. In a letter to his London Secretary and close confidant Campbell dated 6 April 1902, Hart reported that, now being seventy, his health was declining and the question of what might happen to the diary following his death troubled him. There had been press coverage in 1900 regarding the burning of his house and the rescue of the diary and the I.-G. contemplated the possibility that this "'precious' thing", as the newspapers had called it, would end up in the hands of strangers. His diary had been outed as it were and, in talking to Campbell, he wondered if it would not have been better if it had been swallowed by the flames after all. In this passage from *The IG in Peking* (volume II, 1236), which I quote and discuss in detail in the critical article reproduced below, Robert Hart lists the reasons as to why the diary should remain private which he would repeat over the course of the decade every time the question of making it public was raised: it contains matter which he would prefer to keep secret; it is far from as valuable or informative as people seem to believe; there are things which people will not understand or--worse--misuse; and his handwriting is difficult to read. Hart further instructs Campbell that in case of his death he would want his diary to be made over to his son Bruce to be kept "*as a family curio*—and not to be either published or lent to writers of any kind". (*The IG in Peking*, volume II, 1236).

The I.-G., must have been aware, however, that, whatever intentions of actually burning or otherwise disposing of the diary he may have harbored at one time, its baptism by fire in Peking ironically made it impossible for him to ever consign it to the flames. What he could do, however, was to belittle it as a curiosity and keep it locked away for the time being. Which is what happened as the diary would remain off limits for the next 60 years. Even the former ICMS Statistician, Hosea Ballou Morse, who covered Hart's career extensively in the second and third volumes of his three-volume *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* published from 1910-1918, was not granted access as Hart, while approving of Morse's initiative, disparaged the value of his journals as documentary sources. Thus, the diary volumes were among the literary effects inherited by his widow and son after he passed away and they remained the private property of the Hart heirs for the next 60 years. At which point they were donated to Queens University Belfast, which in turn would result in another fascinating chapter in the management of this valuable cultural capital as they then gradually became accessible to Fairbank and other scholars.

3. Research Accomplishments

Under the tenure of the NSC grant I have presented three papers at peer-reviewed conferences (two domestic and one overseas), gave one invited presentation in a symposium and published one critical article in an AHCI-level scholarly journal.

3.1 Conference Paper: Domestic

With Chih-yun Chang, "Robert Hart's Diaries: Life Writing by an Old China Hand," ("The Journey and Its Portrayals: Explorers, Sailors, (Im)migrants"; International Conference of the Center for the Humanities; National Sun Yat Sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan; Nov. 25-26, 2011)

Dr. Chang and I both attended the conference and co-presented.

3.2 Conference Paper: International

"A 'fly on the wheel' of evolution: Robert Hart's (Self)-Representations" (*Framing Lives: 8th Biennial International Auto/Biography Association [IABA] Conference*: Australian National University; Canberra, Australia; 17-20 July 2012;).

The IABA (International Auto/Biography Association) is a global association dedicated to the study of life writing in its many forms and brings together scholars from the Americas, Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia/New Zealand. The paper selection process was very competitive as Dr. Paul Arthur of ANU at Canberra reported that only about half of the submitted abstracts had been accepted for presentation. I was able to travel to Canberra with funding from the NSC and presented the paper in a panel which was chaired by Professor Margaretta Jolly, one of the key scholars in the field and editor of the *Encyclopedia of Life Writing* (2001).

3.3 Conference Paper: Domestic

With Chih-yun Chang. "Touring China: Robert Hart's Travels and Spatial Imagination" ("*Landscape, Seascape, and the Spatial Imagination*"; the 2012 International Conference of the Center for the Humanities; National Sun Yat Sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan; Nov. 2-3, 2012).

Dr. Chang and I both attended the conference and co-presented. While the date of presentation technically falls past the project implementation deadline, it is clearly the result of our ongoing research on this project.

2.4 Symposium Presentation

“The Life-Writing Project of Sir Robert Hart” (Symposium: Modern China and the Imperial Maritime Customs; Center for Geographic Information Science; Research Center for Humanities and Social Science; Academia Sinica; Taipei; April 9-10, 2012)

I include a copy of the program of this symposium to indicate the range of distinguished international (British, Japanese, Taiwanese) scholars working on Robert Hart and the CMCS heritage.

Symposium: Modern China and the Imperial Maritime Customs

Center for Geographic Information Science
 Research Center for Humanities and Social Science
 Academia Sinica
 9-10 April 2012

<i>9 April 2012</i>		
1130-1200	Visit Professor Wang Fan-sen, Vice-President of Academia Sinica	
1200-1330	Lunch with Wang Fan-sen	
1400-1515	Room 701, IHP	Symposium I: Fan I-chun, Hamashita Takeshi, Robert Bickers, and Chihyun Chang 1) The cooperation between BICC, the GIS Center and the Sun Yat-sen University. 2) The establishment of the research group “Modern China and the Imperial Maritime Customs”
1515-1600	Coffee Break	
1600-1715	Room 701, IHP	Symposium II: Fan I-chun, Hamashita Takeshi, Robert Bickers 1) The conference for the CMCS history. 2) The exchange scheme between BICC, the GIS Center and the Sun Yat-sen University
1715-1815	Rest	
1815	Dinner	

<i>10 April 2012</i>			
1030-1130	Room 701, IHP	Hsien-I Chien	The Transcriptions of the Robert Hart Diaries, vols. 9-12.
		Yen-Po Hou	The Annotations of the Robert Hart Diaries, vols. 9-12.
1130-1330	Lunch		
1330-1430	Room 701, IHP	Chihyun Chang	The Establishment of the Digital Library

		Yen-po Hou	The Digitisation of the Materials in the Directorate General of Customs, Taipei.
1430-1500	Tea Break		
1500-1600	Room 701, IHP	Henk Vynckier	The Life-Writing Project of Sir Robert Hart
		Ming-li Hsiao	The Comparison between the Returns of Trade of the CMCS and the Wartime Maritime Materials of the Ministry of Communications of Japan
1600-1700	Concluding Discussions		

2.5 Critical Article

With Chang Chih-yun. "The Life-Writing of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, 1863-1908," in *CLC Web: Comparative Literature and Culture*, Dec. 2012.

CLC Web: Comparative Literature and Culture is, as is stated on its homepage, a "peer-reviewed, full-text, and open-access online learned journal in the humanities and social sciences" which "publishes new scholarship following tenets of the discipline of comparative literature and the field of cultural studies designated as 'comparative cultural studies.'" Publications in *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* are indexed in the Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature (Chadwyck-Healey), the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (Thomson Reuters ISI-AHCI), the Humanities Index (Wilson), Humanities International Complete (EBSCO), the International Bibliography of the Modern Language Association of America, and Scopus (Elsevier). (See: <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/>),

The date of publication of the article is Dec. 2012, but the editor has indicated that the issue will not be uploaded and made available for public viewing till early March 2013. The text that follows, while being the final version presented and accepted for publication, is therefore not official. Interested readers are asked to refer to and quote from the official *CLC Web* text at <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/>

"The Life Writing of Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service"

CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture 14.5 (2012)
Special issue New Work about the Journey and Its Portrayals
Ed. I-Chun Wang
<<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol14/iss5/>>

Abstract: In their article "The Life Writing of Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service" Henk Vynckier and Chihyun Chang analyze the life and writing of Sir Robert Hart (1835-1911). Hart arrived in China in 1854 and served as Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service 1863-1911. Although Hart disparaged his own role, Jonathan Spence views him as a key adviser to the Qing government. Despite of the historical importance of Hart's texts, of his seventy-seven volume diary only eight of the volumes have been published and the remaining volumes remain largely unexamined. Vynckier's and Chang's article examines the complex transmission and reception history of the diary and confirms its importance to our understanding of the intercultural dynamic between nineteenth-century China and the British empire.

Henk VYNCKIER and Chihyun CHANG

The Life Writing of Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service

When he first arrived in China in 1854, Robert Hart (1835-1911) was a nineteen-year-old student interpreter in the British Consular Service and was assigned to Ningpo, a commercial town in Chekiang with a foreign community of about twenty-five consular officials, merchants, and missionaries. When he departed fifty-four years later at the age of seventy-three, he was the Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service (IMCS) and was seen off at the Peking train station by Chinese government officials, diplomatic representatives from many nations, and Chinese, British, US-American, Italian, Dutch, and Japanese honor guards. Jonathan Spence accords to Hart as to how the student interpreter of 1854 became the Inspector-General of 1908 and "the most powerful Westerner in China" (93) has attracted considerable attention over the past one hundred years. The first to write about Hart's life story was his niece Juliet Bredon, who had lived near her uncle in Peking and knew him well. In her *Sir Robert Hart: The Romance of a Great Career* (1909) Bredon lionizes Hart as a great Victorian and, as the title suggests, highlights his devotion to duty, work, and ambition. She also narrates in some detail the episode at the train station and in doing so offers valuable clues regarding the extraordinary standing of Hart in China. In describing the scene, Bredon turned to personification and observed: "the little railway station must have been startled half out of its wits by all the people flocking in. Such a thing in all its history had never happened before" (117). She reports that the Inspector-General, while moved by the honor bestowed upon him, remained modest and calmly walked down the platform past the dignitaries, honor guards, journalists, and photographers. Yet, while he may not have said much that day, Hart had been a man of many words, many interests, and many friends throughout his career. Not only had he administered a vast civil service, but he was also a lifelong devotee of the written word and literary culture. Among the personal effects which he shipped overseas upon his departure were his diaries.

Despite the existence of voluminous textual and photographic archives documenting Hart's life in China, there still is no serious biography of Hart and only eight of the seventy-seven diary volumes have been published. Hart, moreover, existed at the center of three interconnected textual archives and that makes the lack of a reliable and complete biography even more noteworthy. In addition to his personal life writing archive of diaries and letters, there is the vast archive of memos, trade reports, semi-official circulars, statistics, medical reports, telegrams, maps, and other administrative materials of the civil service which Hart directed and, secondly, the library of memoirs, essays, scientific papers, historical studies, novels, diaries, and other writings of individual customs employees.

The first circle in this web of texts is the official archive of IMCS administration. The IMCS was a tax collection agency of the Chinese government, but played the role of a nerve center of expert knowledge frequently substituting for other agencies of the Chinese state in carrying out a wide range of tasks. As such, it made significant contributions to the Chinese government in the fields of diplomacy, finance, infrastructure building, state-craft, the military, the policing the waterways and harbors, map-making, weather reporting, the development of a postal system, education, etc. Much of the official correspondence, semi-official circulars, statistical records, telegrams, and other documents of the IMCS over its close to hundred years of history have been preserved in archives in Nanjing, Taipei, London, and elsewhere and contain a wealth of information about the above subjects. It is noteworthy that during the last years of Hart's career Max Weber, one of the founders of modern social science studies, was among the earliest theorists to focus on the role played by documents, the office, and bureaucracy in the creation and maintenance of governance (see Smith and Schryer 116). Hart's work seems in line with the emergence of the sort of documentary society described by Weber: his attention to detail and longevity at the helm of the Service resulted in the IMCS being referred to as "the empire within the empire" by some of its own European employees and there was never any doubt as to who was the emperor lording it over this realm. Paul King, for example, a longtime IMCS commissioner who included a twelve-page "pen-portrait of Sir Robert Hart the great I.-G. [Inspector-General]" in his

memoir *In the Chinese Customs Service* (1924), described Hart as a Napoleon, but then a Napoleon who never undertook Moscow or faced Waterloo (241).

Another remarkable aspect of the IMCS legacy is that not only Hart, but also many other employees of the Service pursued active research and wrote agendas in a variety of fields. The Service employed many hundreds of expatriates, a majority of whom were British, but also US-Americans, Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Austrians, Dutch, Danes, Norwegians, Japanese, Koreans, and others and a few of these foreign residents of China were, as King observes in his memoir, "men who loved books" (19). Hart himself, for example, was a university-educated student of Greek and Latin classics and a keen reader of contemporary literature who was familiar with Charles Dickens and other Victorian authors, as well as travel literature, theological works, and other texts. He also became a published author in 1901 with the publication of *These from the Land of Sinim*: Essays on the Chinese Question, a collection of five essays which had a decisive influence on shaping the international public opinion regarding the Boxer Uprising and preventing an even more rabid response by the international powers. Other agents of the Service published historical studies, scientific papers, novels, journalistic reports, and memoirs. The US-American Hosea Ballou Morse, for example, did pioneering work as a historian following his long career as Statistical Secretary in the Customs Service and published a three-volume monograph entitled *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (1910-18), in which he gives ample attention to Hart. Augustine Henry, an Irishman who had been encouraged to enter the Customs Service by Hart contributed many thousands of plant specimens from China to the collection at Kew Gardens in London and became an internationally recognized botanist. The Englishman J.O.P. Bland published poetry, fiction, journalistic texts, and memoirs of his years in China and so did Bertram Lenox Simpson, another British Customs agent, who published a large body of writings under the pen-name Putnam Weale. King also co-authored novels and other books about China with his wife Veronica following his retirement. Other names associated with the IMCS include Fredrik Schjøth, a Norwegian currency collector and historian who published *The Currency of the Far East* in English with the University of Oslo in 1929; Sir Patrick Manson, the Scottish medical pioneer and founder of the field of tropical medicine; and Willard Dickerman Straight, a US-American reporter, diplomat, banker, and philanthropist. Taken together, the work of all these men of letters and scientists constitutes an impressive library and documents the intellectual horizons and fields of action of the Inspector-General and the milieu of foreigners in China.

In addition to the primary historical materials of the IMCS archives and the library of literary, historical, journalistic, and scientific works authored by Service employees, there is also Hart's own life writing archive. Hart was not the only one among the Customs men who had a habit of keeping a journal, but his was sustained the longest and has the greatest historical significance owing to his prominence. Hart commenced writing his diary on 27 August 1854 shortly following his arrival in Hong Kong and continued until the end of his residence in China in 1908. The diaries traveled with him from Hong Kong to Ningpo and on to Canton, Shanghai, and Peking and was almost lost in 1900 when his house in Peking was destroyed during the Boxer Rebellion, but was saved together with his correspondence with his secretary James Duncan Campbell of the London Office of the IMCS. The extent of Hart's diary is such that he can be ranked among some of the most assiduous and productive life writers in English history. He maintained his diary for fifty-four years and can therefore be compared with champions in the genre such as John Evelyn, who begun his diary in 1641 when he was twenty-one and continued it for sixty-four years until 1707. Life writing has long been recognized as integral to the history of literature and society in the English tradition (see, e.g., Jolly) and it is noteworthy that the "Britain in Pictures" series of 126 books (see Carney) published between 1941 and 1950 and sponsored by the Foreign Office as a form of war-time propaganda, included two books on the genre in a subject group entitled "Literature and Belles Lettres," namely, *English Diaries and Journals* (by Kate O'Brien) and *English Letter Writers* (by C. E. Vuilliamy). The inclusion of these volumes in a propaganda project — which also included work on the English people, theater, villages, and many other subjects by George Orwell, Graham Greene, the poet laureate John Betjeman and other prominent authors — indicates to what an extent life writing was viewed as contributing to the creation of a national value system rooted in and supportive of notions of "Englishness," domesticity, and self.

Retiring from his IMCS office and his many visits to the Zongli Yamen — the Qing government's General Office of Foreign Affairs — Hart wrote down his thoughts and emotions and reflected on the public and private events of the day. A question which clamors for attention and

will become even more relevant as additional diary volumes are examined is why Hart kept a diary for over half a century? That a busy bureaucrat like Hart would regularly devote time to a different, more free and unrestrained sort of writing is intriguing. Several images of Hart in his office, both artist's sketches and photographs, show him at his desk surrounded by books, papers, and writing implements and confirm the view of a man immersed in an ocean of paper. Yet, at the end of many of his days he still withdrew into a private writing corner to cast some of the more personal and random aspects of his life onto the pages of his diary.

As a genre, the diary is a mixed bag and this is reflected in the fanciful title which Hart wrote at the top of the first page of his journal as a nineteen-year old student interpreter: "My Journal Narrative, descriptive, conjectural; semi-opinionative and critical" (see Bruner, Fairbank, Smith 12). A study of the limited sample of eight volumes published so far suggests that the diary was all that and more and offered Hart a space for writing his self, being a witness, narrating lives, negotiating meaning, interpreting China. It is possible that Hart began his diary with a view to documenting his encounter with China in case he should break off his appointment with the Consular Service and return to Ireland as he did give the latter option serious consideration during his time in Ningpo. As time went on, however, and he rose to the position of Inspector-General and became a settled and increasingly prominent in China, the diaries would become more of a mirror of his career ambitions and day-to-day work experience. The reportage on culture and panoramic vision of the earlier years gave way to a more restricted perspective focusing mainly on visits to the Zongli Yamen, the ill-fated undertakings of his predecessor Horatio Lay Nelson, the direction of Chinese government, diplomatic negotiations, and other public matters. Thus, the significance of Hart's diaries not only lies in his narrative description of his own day-to-day affairs, but also in his comments on the Chinese governmental institutions and the officials he worked with.

One interesting example is recorded in the entry for 17 January 1867 when Hart was invited by the important official Wen-hsiang (文祥, 1818-1876) to the Zongli Yamen and they discussed, among other things, the building of railways in China. British, US-American, French, and other international diplomatic and commercial interests had been maintaining for decades that China was stagnant and should move more quickly to introduce Western technology and industry. Wen Hsiang addressed this criticism and told Hart: "We are adopting a great many Western contrivances, s[ai]d he, as you well know, but you must give us time; you must not expect us to take to everything at once. Few of us know anything about these matters, & the few that do so have among them men that are afraid to offer their opinions ... Mark my words, in fifty years' time — I'll not live to see it — you foreigners will be as anxious to stop our learning as you now are to hurry us into it!" (Queen's University Belfast [QUB] Vol. 9, 17 January 1867). Information of this nature is rare in any contemporary Chinese materials as most Qing officials refrained from recording their personal observations and comments, especially on their colleagues, in their diaries. In sharing his true feeling regarding this Western perception of Chinese conservatism Hart is making an effort to take a critical look at his own society. At the same time, he is also envisioning a different China and calling upon his foreign interlocutor to displace himself for a moment and contemplate a time when his sense of "cultural superiority" may no longer be relevant. Such moments of honest intercultural contact recorded by Hart make his diaries a valuable source for historians and other scholars of the nineteenth century Sino-British encounter. In the long run, of course, Hart's own life in Peking would illustrate what would be the benefit to people like himself of all these conversations about Chinese investment in the building of railways. Every time he traveled in and out of Peking during the early stages of his career, he did so by means of the uncomfortable ox-carts or pony-carts which foreign visitors had to make do with during these pioneering days of foreign presence in Peking. Forty-two years following his conversation with Wen-hsiang at the Yamen, however, Hart made his celebrated departure from Peking pleasantly seated aboard a railway carriage.

In spite of the historical significance of the diary, however, Hart was reluctant to make it available to scholars and he set in motion a chain of events that led to his life writing archive being locked away for some sixty years following his death. In fact, in the eyes of many of his colleagues in the Service, Hart's later years were not as distinguished as his earlier and within the IMCS there was, according to King, "a common conceit to describe Mr Hart as a benevolent despot" (21). However, Hart was not overly concerned about these criticisms regarding his management of the IMCS and seemed more worried about his diary falling into the wrong hands. In the following passage from a letter to his London secretary and close confidant Campbell dated 6 April 1902, for example, he reported that, now being seventy his health was declining and the question of what

might happen to the diaries following his death troubled him. There had been press coverage in 1900 regarding the burning of his house and the rescue of the diary and Hart contemplated the possibility that this "'precious' thing," as the newspapers had called it, would end up in the hands of strangers. His diary had been outed as it were and, in talking to Campbell, he wondered if it would not have been better if it had been swallowed by the flames after all:

The only thing that gives me any worry — unfinished work and family griefs apart — is the existence of so many volumes of my Journal: I now wish it had gone to the flames with my other belongings, for, first of all, it may get into the wrong hands and possibly its pages contain some things that would be better let fall into oblivion, and, in the second place, after the way the newspapers etc. have referred to the "precious" thing, I fear that not only would examination find it worthless, but indiscreet people might make a wrong use of what they could understand of its content, while even the discreet would fail to fully comprehend its brief references to various affairs, or, worse, would fail to make out or even misread my hastily written hieroglyphics. (Fairbank, Bruner, MacLeod Matheson Vol. 2, 1236).

Hart lists the reasons as to why the diary should remain private which he would repeat over the course of the decade every time the question of making it public was raised: it contains matter which he would prefer to keep secret; it is far from as valuable or informative as people seem to believe; there are things which people will not understand or — worse — misuse; and his handwriting is difficult to read. Further, Hart instructs Campbell that in case of his death he would want his diary to be made over to his son Bruce to be kept "as a family curio — and not to be either published or lent to writers of any kind" (Fairbank, Bruner, MacLeod Matheson Vol. 2, 1236). Hart must have been aware that depending on their antiquity, rarity, and value, family curios which are passed on from one generation to the next may end up becoming some form of cultural capital and be collected by either private collectors or public institutions. The diaries had, indeed, already been called "precious" in newspapers and the possibility of it becoming more valuable with the passage of time and entering the public domain must have been obvious to Hart. The conclusion seems inevitable that, whatever intentions of actually burning or otherwise disposing of the diary he may have harbored at one time, its baptism by fire in Peking ironically made it impossible for him to ever consign it to the flames. What he could do, however, was to belittle it as a curiosity and keep it locked away for the time being.

In any event, Hart was certainly correct about several points, including the difficulty of reading his hieroglyphic handwriting and the fact that "writers of any kind" would not have access to his diary for decades, although many would try both before and after his death. The former ICMS statistician, Morse, for example, covered Hart's career extensively in the second and third volumes of his three-volume *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire (1910-1918)* and wrote Hart for approval and support (vi-vii). Morse's main idea was to approach Qing international history by studying the "central figure" of Hart as the "connecting thread" between China and the international powers. In his response, Hart encouraged the initiative and praised Morse as being the right man for the task, but also expressed some reservations regarding his own contribution to the history of China:

I know that I have been in touch with the launching and introduction of almost everything done the last four dozen years, and the long retention of the same man, myself, in the same position, Inspector General, has not only made for continuity, but has also given me a sort of causative appearance, while, as a matter of fact, I have been for the most part but a "fly on the wheel" of evolution. Therefore it would be unwise to make too much of me, while, at the same time, my name and career might perhaps be as appropriate [a] centre as you could find for logical, chronological, and artistic grouping of China's doings and movements during the last half century of her national life, and advance from seclusion and exclusion towards what later historians will recognise both as world power and world influence. (Vol. 2, vi-vii.)

It is likely that Hart's image of "a fly on the wheel" refers to the first line of Francis Bacon's essay "Of Vain-glory": "It was prettily devised of Aesop: The fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel, and said, What a dust do I raise!" (Bacon 54). Of course, much dust had been raised in China following decades of struggles with the so-called treaty powers, the Taiping Rebels, various tribal minorities, the newly confident Japanese republican revolutionaries, and others, but Hart appears as a much more modest fly than Aesop's and questions his own "causative" influence on Chinese history

While Hart approved of Morse's ambitious project, at the same time refused to permit use of his diaries and disparaged their potential value to researchers: "As to my journals, it is curious that they, being things which I wished to be burnt on my death, should have been preserved in the 1900

troubles when all else was lost: but that escape does not give them any special value, and I fear they would be not only difficult to read, but would also hardly repay the trouble of plodding through them: I think I am at the 70th volume now, & for even myself to read them again & strike out what is not to be used would probably require five or six years and there is not the slightest chance of my living so long" (Letter, Hart to Morse, 20 December 1906 [Hart qtd. in Bruner, Fairbank, Smith 150]). This passage again provides an interesting glimpse of Hart reading Hart and indicates his complicated feelings about his diaries. As in his letter to Campbell, Hart insists that the diaries are difficult to read, have limited historical value, and contain matter he wishes to keep private. At the same time, the use of the past tense in the phrase "things which I wished to be burnt on my death" suggests that he no longer had this intention and the diary volumes were, indeed, among the literary effects inherited by his widow and son after he passed away.

Also others coveted Hart's private materials for research purposes in the decades following his death, but they did not fare any better than Morse. For example, a file of letters in the Maze Papers at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) is as follows: "'Hart's Life': Proposals in Re (Letters from Aglen & Bland, in re)" contains a letter from 1923 from Sir Francis Arthur Aglen — who succeeded Hart as Inspector-General and served from 1911 to 1928 — to Sir Frederick Maze, Hart's nephew who would be Inspector-General from 1928 to 1943, and three letters from 1923 and 1924 from J.O.P. Bland, who had worked in the Customs Service from 1883 to 1896, also to Maze. The letters discuss plans for Aglen and Bland to work together on a biography of Hart and the importance of the diaries for any such endeavor. However, the diaries remained off limits and any plans by Aglen and Bland to write a biography were shelved. Several Customs Service in-house historians, nevertheless, published about Hart's life without access to the famous seventy-seven volumes. Bredon published *Sir Robert Hart: The Romance of a Great Career* in 1909 just one year following Hart's return to Britain and following Hart's death in 1911 his secretary Edward Drew published the first scholarly article on Hart entitled "Robert Hart and His Life Work in China" in the *Journal of Race Development* in 1913. A later study was contributed by Customs Commissioner Stanley F. Wright who published *Hart and the Chinese Customs* (1950), which is, by far, the closest work to a serious biography. In the opinion of Robert Bickers, all such work by in-house historians indicates an effort to "memorialise Hart" by members of the Service which he had shaped and especially Hart's nephew and successor Maze devoted himself to this effort (13).

An important new development took place, finally, in 1970 when Hart's great grandson passed away without issue and left the diaries to the library of Hart's alma mater, Queen's University Belfast: they form the core of a Robert Hart research collection consisting of the diaries, letters, photographs, and other materials (see Hart, *Sir Robert Hart Collection*). It was there, after more than six decades, that Edward LeFevour became the first scholar to examine the complete set of diary volumes and reported on his findings in *The Journal of Asian Studies* in 1974. LeFevour discovered that two volumes were missing and that Hart had torn out pages and crossed out entire sentences and paragraphs from other volumes following his return to Britain (437). This may be viewed as offering further proof that Hart was aware that his diary would be preserved and might possibly enter the public domain at some point. Anyone who plans to destroy a text in order to keep prying eyes at bay need not bother with editorial interventions. It is also possible that by means of a mixed strategy of talking down the value of the diaries, removing two volumes, editing the text here and there, and keeping it inaccessible for a long time Hart endeavored to construct a more complex narrative of confession. Destroying the entire set of the diaries was no longer possible because of public knowledge, whereas presenting the original text as it was might have resulted in the revelation of earlier incarnations of the author, including the fact that as a junior consular official he kept a concubine. To intervene in the text and lock it away sine die, however, leaves later generations with a more comforting image of an older man who looks back and stands in judgment over his weak younger self.

Even before QUB received the diary and without access to the diaries, a modern academic Hart industry — which would continue the work of the "memorializing" IMCS historians — was already coming into existence. The term "Hart Industry" was coined by Elizabeth Bruner and referred to the work of Fairbank and his research team at Harvard University. According to Bruner, who was a member of this team, the Harvard Hart Industry started in 1968 when Fairbank was informed by Lester Knox Little, the last foreign Inspector-General of the Customs Service (1943-1950), of the existence of a copy of the correspondence between Hart and his secretary Campbell in the SOAS Library (Bruner, Fairbank, Smith 228-29). Fairbank thereupon initiated a project to edit the

correspondence and after years of assiduous work his team published *The I.G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart, Chinese Maritime Customs, 1868-1907* in 2 volumes in 1975. Meanwhile, as the Hart diaries had once again appeared into view following the death of Hart's great grandson, Fairbank's team then decided to edit volumes 1-8 of the diaries. They worked hard on the journals for over a decade and transcribed and annotated the eight volumes, publishing *Entering China's Service: Robert Hart's Journals, 1854-1863* in 1986 (Bruner, Fairbank, Smith) and *Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization: His Journals, 1863-1866* in 1991 (Smith, Fairbank, Bruner). Following the publication of the second volume in 1991 Fairbank's death in 1991, however, the Harvard research team discontinued its work and volumes nine to seventy-seven remain unpublished and largely unstudied.

It is likely that the "hieroglyphic" nature of Hart's diaries is not the only reason as to why the rest of the diaries remained largely unstudied over the past two decades. The sheer complexity of the task of bringing to light the intensely private discourse of a man who was drawing together the many complex strands of his life from Ireland to China certainly also played a role. As Rachel Cottam observes in her entry on "Diaries and Journals" in the *Encyclopedia of Life Writing*, "the diary resides on the border between life and its representation, supplementing both ... it may be classified as art, or as document. On the one hand, it is continuous with the lived life: it is source material, used to explain the diarist's other writing (including other life writing). It is an artless presentation of the self, a text that can be looked through, to catch a glimpse of undistorted life. On the other hand, it is an unfinished art form that engenders (but is subordinated to) the polished work of art" (268). Source material is of course what Hart's diaries contain in abundance and historians from Morse to Fairbank have tried to use the diary as "a text that can be looked through" to see the "undistorted life" of late imperial China in its relations with the Western powers. Yet, the episodic nature of the text and the immediacy of its mimetic representation is such that the raw historical process captured by Hart seems discontinuous, incomplete, and not easy to look through at all. Hart understood this himself as he observed in the letter to Campbell that even those kindly disposed towards him "would fail to fully comprehend its brief references to various affairs" (Fairbank, Bruner, MacLeod Matheson Vol. 2, 1236).

The Harvard team responded to this challenge by not only providing thoroughly researched annotations, but also a detailed narrative and interpretive framework which is prominently advertised on the title pages of the two published volumes. These narratives are placed between the various sections of the diary and serve to demarcate the stages in the development of Hart's character and career. Volume 1, for example, covering the period from 1854 to 1863, begins with a narrative chapter on "Hart's Origins" followed in Chapter 2 by the earliest diary entries from Hart's sojourn in Hong Kong. Chapter 3 is entitled "Hart's Induction into the Chinese Scene" and precedes the Ningpo diary entries in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 "Ningpo to Canton 1855-1858: Hart Grows with the Times" is another narrative chapter and introduces the diary entries from the time when Robert Hart resided in Canton in Chapter 6. As for Chapter 7, "Hart and the New Anglo-Chinese Order of the 1860," it narrates the fall of the first Customs Inspector-General Nelson and Hart's appointment as his replacement and is followed by the diary entries from 6 June to 29 November 1863 when Hart resided in Peking and Shanghai. Words like "Origins," "Induction" "Hart Grows with the Times," and "New Order" evoke the language of the novel of education and apprenticeship and suggest that the editors adopted this generic model to create a more linear and intelligible narrative from the "artless" raw materials of the 1854-1866 diaries. A similar arrangement with narrative introductions and interludes was made for Volume 2.

The narratives provided by the published volumes' editors help to shape a more coherent and intelligible life history from the diary entries and this made it possible for others to explore Hart's life and pursue further readings. Yet, it can also be argued that the interspersed narratives in the two published volumes — while reflecting the admirable historical expertise of the editors — are both over interpreted and under interpreted. Over interpreted in that they tell the reader what to expect before he/she even engages with the text and get in the way of a straightforward, unmediated reading experience. Over interpreted also in the sense that the detailed narrative chapters between the various sections impose a certain generic grid on the material which is historically dated, namely, that of the novel of apprenticeship. At the same time, the narratives sometimes seem under interpreted in that they focus too narrowly on Hart. Anyone wishing to see things in a larger context will do well to read the work of Spence or Bickers or other contemporary historians of the Sino-British encounter to get a sense of the sweep of history and the wide range of historical figures,

political forces, and cultural factors which contribute to the story. In sum, serious students of Hart and the IMCS might have been better served by a good continuous text edition of the Hart diaries with a proper introduction and a thorough scholarly apparatus but without interspersed narratives. The Janus-faced published volumes, meanwhile, read as a historical monograph wrapped around a text edition and it is doubtful that this approach can serve as a proper model for further editorial work on the Hart corpus.

The attention generated by the modern Hart Industry, nevertheless, also created interest among non-academics and the US-American novelist Lloyd Lofthouse, for example, garnered useful nuggets of information regarding Hart's early years from the published volumes and wrote two historical novels about Hart: *My Splendid Concubine* (2008) and a sequel entitled *Our Hart: Elegy for a Concubine* (2010), both of which feature Hart's relationship with his concubine. Hart, it is to be noted, confessed moral failings and sexual temptation in his diaries. In the opening pages, for example, he alludes several times to youthful peccadilloes from his Irish student days and later, in the Ningpo section, there are frank acknowledgements of sexual temptation and thoughts of either marrying a missionary daughter or taking a Chinese concubine. His erasures indicate an attempt to remove evidence of his relationship with his concubine following his return to Britain, but he was not systematic enough and sufficient traces remain for historians to be able to spell out the tale in some detail. Lofthouse, however, takes it one step further and creates a potent mix from the more salacious aspects of Hart's life story, the horrors of the Taiping rebellion, foreign soldiers of fortune, piracy on the China coast, the eccentricities of the Empress Dowager, etc. Thus, while Hart first entered the pages of literary history as a man who, as Bredon wrote, had experienced the "Romance of a Great Career," he now becomes a conflicted lover and man of power in a spectacular page-turner ready for Hollywood adaptation.

In conclusion, we see that the beauty of the diary is in the eye of the beholder. Bredon did not use Hart's diaries, but as a niece of the great man she knew about it and was aware of its importance to its author and when she surveyed the man and his life, she saw the romance of a great career. The Harvard scholars probed deeper into the diary and into the inner Hart than anyone had done before and they saw the Bildungsroman of a great career as a young man entered China's service and contributed to its modernization. The novelist Lofthouse stood on the shoulders of Bredon and the Harvard scholars and created an elegy for a concubine. Meanwhile, the task of examining the remaining sixty-nine volumes questions access to this valuable cultural capital and a lack of proper resources. As it happens, multidisciplinary research teams at QUB, Bristol University, and the Academia Sinica began work on Hart's diaries. Thus, new Hart industries are emerging and, while the Hart's diaries came from China to Europe a century ago, these important texts are now finally becoming available to answer the questions raised by the departure scene in the Peking train station.

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4. Further Research Perspectives

While the effort to transcribe and annotate volumes 9 to 12 of the unpublished Hart diaries was not one of the objectives of the NSC Research Project, this initiative will continue in the years to come and will, no doubt, yield new insights into the historical figure of Robert Hart and his life writing archive. In addition, I am pleased that the National Science Council has agreed to fund my application for a two-year grant project entitled "Men who loved books": the Literary Legacy of the Foreign Community in East Asia, 1860-1930." The Chinese title of this project is 「嗜書者」：1860-1930年外籍社群在東亞的文學遺產 and the Grant Number is 101-2410-H-029-048-MY2.

Taking its point of departure from the 2011-2012 project on Robert Hart, this new project aims to create a larger scope and demonstrate that the CMCS, though admittedly not a literary concept, represents an effective angle to research the literary legacy of the foreign community in and around the open (i.e. treaty) ports of East Asia from 1860 to 1930. Under the guidance of the dynamic and ambitious Hart, the CMCS became a true transnational community which employed foreign staff members representing more than twenty nationalities and many of these employees were graduates of British, American or European universities and had considerable expertise in statistics, engineering, medicine, foreign language studies, history, etc. These were "men who loved books" in the words of long-time Customs Commissioner Paul King and their lengthy residence and active careers in East Asia resulted in a flood of writings as the CMCS over time became an informal research and publishing power house with an output similar to that of a major modern academic institution.

The chronological range from 1860 to 1930 is a flexible historical marker and does not necessarily carry any fixed normative weight, but indicates the era spanning from the time when

Robert Hart first began to make his mark to the interbellum years when important nineteenth century figures such as Hart, J.O.P. Bland, Paul King, and H. B. Morse passed away and the CMCS became more Chinese and less foreign. The effort to map the literary legacy of this age will result in what may be called an archaeology of knowledge of the open port library and make possible further reflections on Jürgen Osterhammel's contention in his *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (1998) that the exotic and mysterious China of the seventeenth century was thoroughly "disenchanted" in the West during the course of the eighteenth century.

The new project, as the previous one, is supported by an interdisciplinary team consisting of a principal investigator who is a literary specialist and a co-investigator who is a historian, viz. Dr. Fan Ichun, the Director of the Geographic Information Science Center at the Academia Sinica, and will make use of the extensive access to resources of the Academia Sinica, Taiwan's premier research institute for humanistic studies. The research questions addressed are important and will open up further avenues for viable research regarding expatriate communities in East Asia, transnational literature, the Western imaginative understanding of Asia, and intercultural contacts in an age of informal empire. In all these respects, the 2011-2012 project on the life writing of Robert Hart was very valuable and helped to create legitimate avenues for many years of fruitful interdisciplinary collaboration. This collaboration is resulting in important critical publications and inspiring young scholars in Taiwan to consider this area as their major field of study for their doctoral studies and doctoral dissertations.

1.

I arrived the afternoon before the conference began and attended plenary speeches and panel presentations throughout the course of this three-day conference. Thus, I heard plenaries and presentations by Sarah Nutall (Duke) on Nelson Mandela and postcolonial life writing in South Africa, Craig Howes (U of Hawaii) on Native Hawaiian life writing in the nineteenth century, Alastair MacLachlan (NU of Canberra) on his parallel biography of Trevelyan and Lytton Strachey, Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer (Columbia) on their forthcoming book on “Framing Children: School Photos and their Afterlives” and many others. The quality of the presentations was consistently excellent.

2.

The International Autobiography/Biography Association is an interdisciplinary network of academic scholars, fulltime writers, documentary filmmakers and others. While about half of the participants hailed from Australia and New Zealand, there were also many presenters from North America (the US and Canada), Europe (with the UK, Germany, and Scandinavia being best represented), and Asia (including scholars from Japan, India, HK, and China). The total number of participants was large (I counted close to 300 participants in the conference program) and, as far as I could see, I was the only speaker from Taiwan. The opportunity to interact with so many people in the field, including some of the key experts in the field of life writing; including Margaretta Jolly, who served as the Chair of my session; was very enriching and will help me further develop my research agenda in this area. In addition, as some of the presenters from countries as far away as Brazil, Slovenia, Letland, etc. had very little understanding of Taiwan and Taiwanese academic culture I was able to engage in fruitful conversations regarding the kind of work which is being done in the fields of life writing, English/American literature and the humanities at the Academia Sinica and elsewhere in Taiwan.

國科會補助計畫衍生研發成果推廣資料表

日期:2013/01/30

國科會補助計畫	計畫名稱: 赫德日記及書信: 一個中國老手的隨筆手札
	計畫主持人: 馮翰士
	計畫編號: 100-2410-H-029-049- 學門領域: 其他英語文學
無研發成果推廣資料	

100 年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人：馮翰士			計畫編號：100-2410-H-029-049-				
計畫名稱：赫德日記及書信：一個中國老手的隨筆手札							
成果項目			量化			單位	備註(質化說明：如數個計畫共同成果、成果列為該期刊之封面故事...等)
			實際已達成數(被接受或已發表)	預期總達成數(含實際已達成數)	本計畫實際貢獻百分比		
國內	論文著作	期刊論文	0	0	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	0	0	100%		
	研討會論文	3	3	100%	<p>1. With Chih-yun Chang, ' Robert Hart's Diaries: Life Writing by an Old China Hand, ' (' The Journey and Its Portrayals: Explorers, Sailors, (Im)migrants' ; International Conference of the Center for the Humanities; National Sun Yat Sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan; Nov. 25-26, 2011)</p> <p>2. ' The Life-Writing Project of Sir Robert Hart ' (Symposium: Modern China and the Imperial Maritime Customs ; Center for Geographic Information Science; Research Center</p>		

							Humanities; National Sun Yat Sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan; Nov. 2-3, 2012).
		專書	0	0	100%		
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (本國籍)	碩士生	0	0	100%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		
國外	論文著作	期刊論文	1	1	100%	篇	With Chang Chih-yun, 'The Life-Writing of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, 1863-1908,' in CLC Web: Comparative Literature and Culture, Dec. 2012.
		研究報告/技術報告	0	0	100%		
		研討會論文	1	1	100%		'A 'fly on the wheel' of evolution: Robert Hart's (Self)-Representations' (Framing Lives: 8th Biennial International Auto/Biography Association [IABA]) Conference: Australian National University; Canberra, Australia; 17-20 July 2012;).
		專書	0	0	100%		章/本
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力	碩士生	0	0	100%	人次	

	(外國籍)	博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		

<p>其他成果 (無法以量化表達之 成果如辦理學術活 動、獲得獎項、重要 國際合作、研究成果 國際影響力及其他 協助產業技術發展 之具體效益事項 等,請以文字敘述填 列。)</p>	<p>I thank the NSC for adding a travel grant in the amount of 80.000 to my project ; this funding was used to attend the IABA conference at Australian National University in Canberra, Australia.</p> <p>' A 'fly on the wheel' of evolution: Robert Hart' s (Self)-Representations' (Framing Lives: 8th Biennial International Auto/Biography Association [IABA]) Conference: Australian National University ; Canberra, Australia ; 17-20 July 2012 ;).</p> <p>The IABA (International Auto/Biography Association) is a global association dedicated to the study of life writing in its many forms and brings together scholars from the Americas, Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia/New Zealand. The paper selection process was very competitive as Dr. Paul Arthur of ANU at Canberra reported that only about half of the submitted abstracts had been accepted for presentation. I was able to travel to Canberra with funding from the NSC and presented the paper in a panel which was chaired by Professor Margaretta Jolly, one of the key scholars in the field and editor of the Encyclopedia of Life Writing (2001).</p>
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	成果項目	量化	名稱或內容性質簡述
科 教 處 計 畫 加 填 項 目	測驗工具(含質性與量性)	0	
	課程/模組	0	
	電腦及網路系統或工具	0	
	教材	0	
	舉辦之活動/競賽	0	
	研討會/工作坊	0	
	電子報、網站	0	
	計畫成果推廣之參與(閱聽)人數	0	

國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

達成目標

未達成目標（請說明，以 100 字為限）

實驗失敗

因故實驗中斷

其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形：

論文： 已發表 未發表之文稿 撰寫中 無

專利： 已獲得 申請中 無

技轉： 已技轉 洽談中 無

其他：（以 100 字為限）

Three conference presentations (two domestic and one overseas) and one symposium presentation at the Academia Sinica.

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）（以 500 字為限）

Please see the attached report which includes an abstract and key words, a statement regarding the research rationale and relevance of the project, an evaluation of research achievements, the text of a critical article and further perspectives.