

The Distribution of *Wakokubon* Outside Japan: Through the Book Collection of Sir James Stewart Lockhart

Riku TONO*

Abstract: This article is an attempt to reveal the distribution of Japanese-reprinted Chinese classic books in the *Bakumatsu* and *Meiji* Era (1853–1912) in East Asian countries, through the book collection of Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart, a Scottish diplomat who was stationed in the British territories in China for forty years. Japanese reprints of Chinese classics, known as *wakokubon*, comprise a genre of *kanseki* (Chinese books) that were widely published and distributed in Japan. During the *Bakumatsu* and *Meiji* Era, a huge number of books and paintings flowed out of Japan and were distributed all over the world. By examining the collection from its origins to its current status, this paper will give the readers an understanding of the transference of knowledge and distribution of *wakokubon* through East Asian countries to its settlement in the UK.

Keywords: *Wakokubon*, Japanese reprinted Chinese classics, East Asia, Lockhart

1. Introduction

In Japanese, *kanseki* simply means books written in Chinese characters (*kanji*). It can refer to several things: (1) books published before 1911, edited or written by Chinese people using Chinese characters (JLA 2006); (2) books published in China, reprinted in Japan (Kawase 1982); or (3) books that were written in Chinese characters by Chinese people (SKJH 2002), regardless of their publication year. On the other hand, the term *washo* means books written in Japanese, or books edited or written by Japanese people using Japanese. Here we can see both terms are focused on the language that has been used in the book.

Meanwhile, Japanese reprinted Chinese classics, known as the *wakokubon kanseki* (usually shortened to *wakokubon*) is a type of *kanseki*. In most instances, it means reprints of Chinese classics or Chinese books, but it also includes the reprints originally published in other East Asian countries, including Korea or Vietnam. Since the books were reprinted in Japan, usually for the domestic market, the publisher would also add annotations or guide marks for rendering Chinese into Japanese. But even if those reprints were intended for the domestic market, if the text itself was written in Chinese, countries that used Chinese as an official language would also have a market demand for *wakokubon*. This article will attempt to reveal the distribution of *wakokubon* in the East Asian countries during the *Bakumatsu* and *Meiji* Era (1853–1912), through a unique collection formed by the ardent collector and scholar, Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart (May 25, 1858–February 26, 1937).

* Research Assistant Professor, Art Research Center, Kinugasa Research Organization
Email: zx10000@fc.ritsumeikan.ac.jp

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Figure 1. Portrait of Young Lockhart, 1989 (Lightfoot 2008)

The author of this article first found out about the Lockhart Collection in February 2009, during a brief visit to the Cambridge University Library. While looking at the library's catalogs the following passage drew the author's attention:

A further significant pre-war acquisition came in 1937, following the death of Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart (1858–1937), when some two hundred volumes were purchased from his executors. A large proportion of these were Chinese works in Japanese editions dating from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Lockhart had spent most of his career in Hong Kong, concluding with the posts of Colonial Secretary (1895–1902) and His Majesty's Commissioner in Wei-hai-wei (1902–21), but he had also been active as a Sinologist and had published an *Index to the Tso Chuan*, amongst other works. (Hayashi and Kornicki 1991, 8)

Lockhart is a well-known figure in the field of Chinese studies during the period of the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China (1900–1920). He spent half of his life in the British territories in China, stationed in Hong Kong for twenty years and later appointed as the Civil Commissioner of Weihaiwei for another twenty years. During his career, he had opportunities to meet the pioneers and the revolutionaries of that time, which helped him to study and observe the very essence of Chinese culture. He formed an exquisite art collection of East Asian countries, and

his book collection also contains a considerable proportion of *wakokubon*.

However, in most mainstream Japan or Japanese studies, even more general East Asian case studies, Lockhart's name rarely appears. To some extent, this reflected his own personality: Lockhart was possessed of a humble and discreet character, an asset for handling sensitive information. Readers might be more familiar with his colleague and lifetime friend Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston (1874–1938), the tutor to Puyi, the last emperor of China. In fact, the offer to become the emperor's tutor was first made to Lockhart, but as he was only a few years away from retirement, he declined the offer and recommended Sir Johnston (Airlie 1989, 188). Sir Johnston's correspondence was destroyed after his death in accordance with his will. But the letters and documents he sent to Lockhart have been well preserved at the National Library of Scotland under the collection name of "Lockhart Papers." (National Library of Scotland 2006)

This article contains three parts besides the introduction and the conclusion. Since Lockhart's life and achievements barely appear in any materials in Japan, the first part will first give a brief introduction to Lockhart's life. The second part will explain the status of his collection, and in the third part, by looking through the Lockhart Collection's masterpieces, the readers can have a glance at how *wakokubon* were appreciated and distributed through East Asian countries to the world.

2. A Brief Introduction of Lockhart's Life

(1) Early Years in Scotland

James Haldane Stewart Lockhart was born on May 25, 1858 to Miles Lockhart and Anna Rebecca Charlotte Stewart, in Argyll, in the northwest of Scotland. He was the fourth son and the sixth of nine children of the family (Airlie 1989, 3). He started to use "Stewart Lockhart" as a surname after he moved to London and tried to join the Colonial Office.

He spent his childhood in the northern highlands and attended a private school, King William's College, on the Isle of Man. In 1872, he became a student at George Watson's College in Edinburgh, majoring in Greek. In 1874 he joined Edinburgh University for further education in Greek, with Rhetoric and English Literature as a subsidiary course, but dropped out in 1877.

Since his relatives were conducting business in India, he tried to find a position in the family business but after a few unsuccessful attempts to become an official of the Colonial Office in India, he was appointed as one of two candidates of the Colonial Office in Hong Kong in 1878 (Airlie 1989, 9–10).

(2) Becoming a Civil Servant

After Lockhart passed the exam to gain an appointment to the Colonial Office in Hong Kong, he moved to London and started his training on New Year's Day, 1879. He attended Chinese classes at King's College London. In October of that year, the candidates were sent to Guangzhou, China, for another year of language training. This is when Lockhart found his true passion for the language and the culture.

He and the other candidates were assigned to a local tutor named Ouyang Hui. There are no more details about this tutor, but letters in the "Lockhart Papers" suggest that Hui passed away in the early 1890s. Ouyang introduced Lockhart to Chinese thoughts and customs through teaching the *Analects* of Confucius and Mencius, which Lockhart continued to study the rest of his life.

Lockhart put Confucian principles into action when dealing with Chinese people, which helped him a great deal in his new territory, Weihaiwei, in northeast China. His cultural fluency contributed to the local citizens' affection for him: they presented him with a bowl of water, symbolizing incorruptibility, on the day of his retirement and farewell address, which was the

highest form of tribute a foreigner could receive from the Chinese people (Atwell 1985, 140–142).

(3) Career in China as a British Diplomat

In 1881, as soon as he finished his language training, Lockhart accepted an appointment at the Colonial Office in Hong Kong as a secretary, and was later assigned to the Registrar-General's Office. The Registrar-General's Office was a civil registry in the United Kingdom and many other nations within the Commonwealth. It held the records of births, deaths, marriages, and adoptions among with many other public records. Lockhart was appointed as Registrar-General, the head of the office in 1884. He spent ten years in that position, during which he built hospitals, schools, and public services to support women and children (Airlie 1989, 52). For his efforts he was known as the "Chinese Protector" by his colleagues and other Europeans in Hong Kong at that time. It is also the reason there is a road in Hong Kong named after him, which shows the Confucius principles he learned from his training really affected his way of treating the locals.

In 1895, he was appointed as the Secretary of the Governor of Hong Kong until 1898, when the British leased a new territory, Weihaiwei in Shandong, in northern China, from the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912) for twenty-five years. Lockhart was appointed to negotiate the details of the lease (Atwell 1985, 6–11). In recognition of his negotiation regarding the lease of the new territory, in 1902 he was appointed as the first Civil Commissioner of British Weihaiwei, which he held until his retirement in 1921.

On April 21, 1921, an elaborate ceremony was held. Officials and dignitaries presented farewell gifts and speeches. The gifts included a traditional silk robe, an umbrella, a silken scroll, and a bowl of pure water. The speech was delivered by a representative of the district headman:

His Honour the Commissioner, Lo Kung, came from the British Empire. With diligence he administered us, shunning no laborious toil. He was kind and polite to scholars, and treated the peasants bounteously. His methods of rule were good, and he planned to enlighten and improve. He encouraged and bettered education, and taught farming and mulberry planting. He was attentive to commerce, directing and advising where necessary. He protected the good, and punished the wild and wicked. He was kind and stern, as required, just as seasons have rain, dew, ice, and frost. [...] Suddenly, hearing of his glorious departure our hearts are breaking with sorrow, as if we were losing a merciful mother... (Atwell 1985, 140–141)

In fact, none of his successors treated the locals as well as Lockhart, except for Reginald Johnston, who was Lockhart's assistant while he was the commissioner and who then served as commissioner for three years until Weihaiwei was returned to China.

(4) Later Life

Lockhart received the title of Knight Commander from The Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (K.C.M.G.), which honors those who made significant achievements in British foreign and commonwealth affairs. In 1919, he received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from The University of Hong Kong, for his contributions to Hong Kong.

After his retirement, Lockhart returned to the UK and settled in Covent Garden. Instead of leisure and relaxation, his life as a scholar started at that time. As mentioned above, Lockhart amassed his art collection during his forty years in China, and after his retirement he committed his life to cultivating the next generation of those who were interested in Chinese culture (Airlie 1989, 204–209).

In 1925, he became a board member of the School of Oriental and African Studies, at the University of London. In 1926, he was elected as the President of London Highland Club. In 1927, he became the Secretary of The Royal Asiatic Society. In 1932, he was appointed Chairman of the University's China Committee. This committee was funded by a grant from the Boxer Indemnities. Its purpose was to bring a two way flow of academic exchange between China and the UK. During that time, Lockhart arranged a few publications of textbooks for students interested in Chinese Studies; the correspondence and copies of the manuscripts he sent to the publisher can still be found in the archive of "Lockhart Papers" in the National Library of Scotland (NLS).

3. An Untouched East Asian Art Collection

(1) Current Status of the Collection

During his forty years in China, Lockhart amassed an exquisite East Asian art collection, including 800 paintings, 1,200 books, hundreds of decorative objects and artifacts, a considerable number of coins, 7,000 pieces of correspondence, and 3,000 photographs. There are also 800 reports which he sent to the Colonial Office, which have entered the public domain in the National Archives of the UK. Except for the book collection, which was dispersed soon after his death, the other collections remain untouched and on loan to institutes inside the UK to be preserved.

According to Lockhart's will, the coins and the artifacts were left to his wife Lady Edith, and the paintings were left to his daughter Mary, later known as Betty Joel, who eventually inherited the whole collection after Lady Edith's death. In 1969, his daughter donated everything to Lockhart's alma mater, George Watson's College (Airlie 1989, 207–209). The school tried to manage the collection for a few years, but it had very limited storage and preservation resources, so the collection was divided and put under a long-term loan to three institutes in Scotland.

The paintings and artifacts are on loan to the National Museum of Scotland (NMS). The collection includes eight hundred paintings, manuscripts, toys, artifacts and the official flag and seal of Weihaiwei used while the territory was under British rule.

Seven thousand pieces of correspondence are currently on loan to the NLS, including personal documents, letters, manuscripts, books, and albums. There are letters and personal documents between Lockhart and the well-known figures of that time, such as Sun Yat-sen (November 12, 1866–March 12, 1925) the first leader of the Nationalist Party of China, and Tse Tsan-tai (May 16, 1872–April 4, 1938) a revolutionary, and also the founder of the newspaper *South China Morning Post*. Those documents are invaluable primary sources from the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China. It is much appreciated that the school and the NLS opened these collections to scholars and researchers, so that anyone who is interested in Lockhart's life has an opportunity to review the collection, although unfortunately many of the items in the inventory are mislabeled.

Three thousand sheets of photographs are on loan to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Lockhart hired a professional photographer while he was the Commissioner in Weihaiwei, Shandong to take photographs that he included in his report to the Colonial Office, and also for the official records of his activities as a commissioner. He had very limited resources and help from the UK and single-handedly managed the newly leased territory. Readers can find photographs of him visiting the local officials, his trip to the rural side of Weihaiwei, and the changes of this territory while he was the commissioner.

(2) The Book Collection

The one thousand two hundred titles of books were soon dispersed after Lockhart's death. The books were sold separately twice, first in 1937 and again in 1948. The first purchase was arranged

by Arthur Christopher Moule (1873–1957), the third professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, who was also a family friend. The first purchase was made by the British Museum Library (now the British Library), the Cambridge University Library, and Sir Percival David, 2nd Baronet, (1892–1964), who was also known as a collector of Chinese ceramics. The second purchase was arranged by Gustav Haloun (1898–1951), the fourth professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, which purchased the rest.

There is a historical reason that these books were in such high demand at that time. Even though the UK's colonial endeavors started in the seventeenth century, India and Sri Lanka were the major targets of domestic research and studies. Scholarly interest in the East Asian colonies increased after World War II. In 1944, the UK Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs assembled a committee, the purpose of which was:

To examine the facilities offered by universities and other educational institutions in Great Britain for the study of Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African languages and culture, to consider what advantage is being taken of these facilities and to formulate recommendations for their improvement. (Foreign Office 1947, 5).

After three years, a report was published in 1947 by HMS Stationery Office: *Report of the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic East European and African Studies*, also known as the “The Scarborough Report.” The report stated the East Asian studies and research facilities inside the UK was “underdeveloped,” and suggested that further development and enhancement should be made and funded by the government.

In 1948 the University Grants Committee prepared a new grant for the universities' libraries to allow them to purchase books and materials on East Asian studies, which made the second purchase of Lockhart's books possible. In fact, in the catalog where it was stated as a pre-war acquisition in 1937, including a “large proportion of these were Chinese works in Japanese editions dating from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries,” the books were actually purchased in 1948.

4. The Masterpieces of Lockhart's Book Collection

(1) *Wu Bei-zhi (Bubishi)*, the First Encyclopedia of Militaria brought to Europe

Among Lockhart's book collection were some finely printed books from the Song and Yuan Dynasties, but unfortunately that best part of the collection was purchased by the British Museum Library. The author was able to trace the purchase made by the Museum Library from its administration records, but the titles of the books that were purchased cannot be found in the records. Also, it seems, once the books had entered the library's collection, the Museum Library did not keep the information of their previous owner, so it is difficult to tell whether this book comes from Lockhart's collection.

In spite of this, many interesting titles were left, and eventually joined the Lockhart Collection in the Cambridge University Library. The first complete encyclopedia of militaria, *Wei Bei-zhi*, is one of them, it is also the only copy in the UK and Europe.

This work was originally published in *Tian-Qi*, Ming Dynasty in the 1620s, edited by Mao Yuan-yi (1594–1640). This work has a massive two hundred forty volumes in forty books, with illustrations of weapons, forms of martial arts, and a sailing map at the end of the book. This copy was reprinted in 1664, in Japan, annotated by Ugai Sekisai (1615–1664), a Confucian who was active in the early *Edo* period. This copy's thirteenth to twenty-seventh volumes were not printed but hand copied. And it bears a seal of *Sei-in Shozō* (清陰所蔵) on the first page of every volume.

The seal *Sei-in Shozō*, apparently was the personal seal used by Nabeshima Shigemasa (1813–1866), a chief retainer of the Saga domain. “Sei-in” was his pseudonym. He was Nabeshima Naomasa’s older brother by a concubine. Naomasa was the tenth lord of Saga domain. Shigemasa assisted Naomasa’s domain duties for a very long time and earned his trust. During that time, the Saga and Fukuoka domains took turns guarding Nagasaki for a year at a time. After the Opium Wars started in China in 1840, Saga domain put more efforts into developing weapons and enhancing security. Soon they built the first reverberatory furnace in Japan.

The same seal can be found in multiple books and paintings that can be traced directly back to Shigemasa himself, but how and when this copy ended up in the UK is still unknown. There are few previous studies regarding the outflow of books and documents from Japan, but so far no studies can be confirmed to focus on Lockhart’s book collection.

It is often said that Chinese studies in Japan began to decline after the *Meiji* Era (1868–1912), but this has not been confirmed (Sato 2005). Previous studies on books that have been taken out of Japan can be summarized as follows. First, as soon as Japan ended its national isolation, European diplomats started to collect books from Japan. Second, during the *Meiji* Era, the Japanese government began to separate Buddhism and Shintoism, and many Buddhist temples sold their books. Third, after *haihan-chiken* (abolition of feudal domains and establishment of prefectures), many *hankō* (domain schools) sold their textbooks, and those books poured into the market (Chen 2003). Fourth, merchants from China purchased huge numbers of books and then brought them directly back to China (Sato 2005). It is hard to determine how Lockhart obtained this copy, but we can tell there was an enormous supply of Japanese books, especially these reprinted Chinese classics outside Japan.

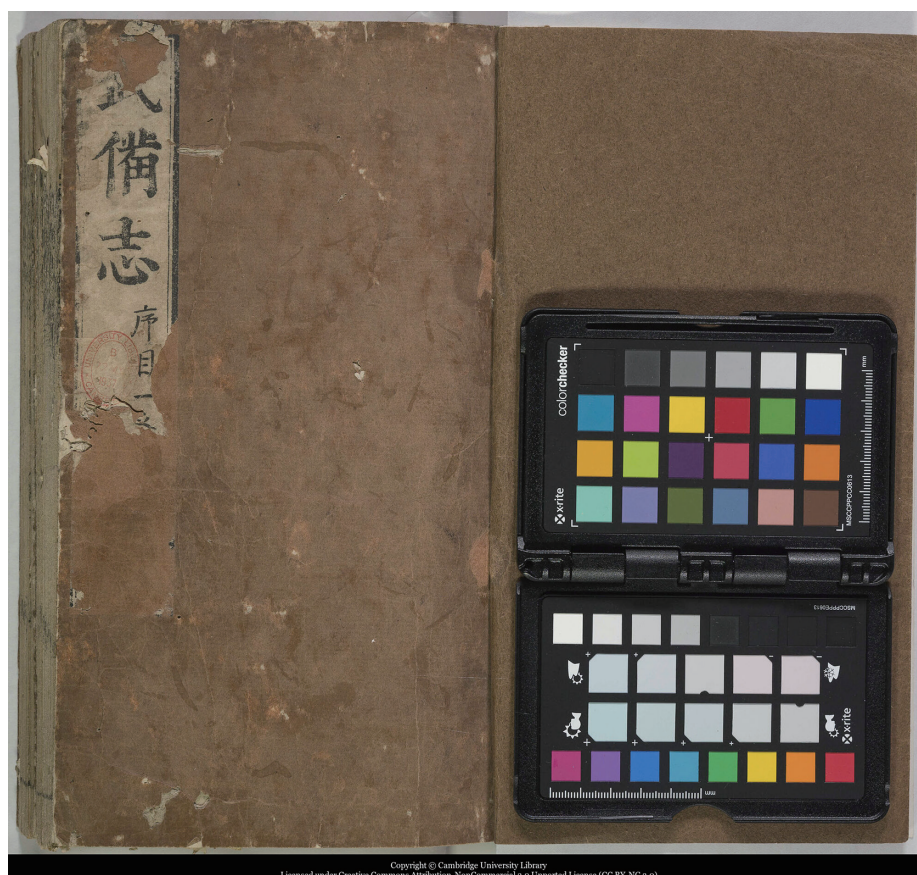


Figure 2. Cover of *Wu Bei-Zhi*, Cambridge University Library, FB.997.8–27



Figure 3. First page of *Wu Bei-Zhi*, Cambridge University Library, FB.997.8-27

(2) A Confucianist

Lockhart was also a well-known Confucianist, thanks to his early training in learning the *Analects*, and principles of Confucius and Mencius, which he put into practice when governing the Chinese (Airlie 1989, 17–18, 122–123). He even developed a unique relationship with the thirtieth Duke Yansheng, the seventy-sixth generation of Confucius' descendants, Kong Lingyi (1872–1911). Although Lockhart's book collection was dispersed and purchased by multiple institutes, there were a few books that he kept outside his collection. Those were left amongst the personal documents and letters in the NLS. Under the accession number Acc.12695/16/c, they are shown in the inventory as “four paper bound volumes of Japanese?? printed texts — with illustrations.” [sic], but in fact it is a whole set of four volumes of *Sheng Xian Xiang Zan* (聖賢像贊), and it was presented to Lockhart by Kong Lingyi himself. On the cover is a seal of *Yan Ting* (燕庭), which was Kong Lingyi's pseudonym, with a note in Lockhart's handwriting on the cover: “Presented by K'ung Ling - i, Duke Yen Shèng, the descendent of Confucius of the 76th generation. This book was presented to me when I visited the Duke on September 9, 1903.” [sic], this copy was printed in 1874 (*Guangxu* the fourth) in China.”



Figure 4. Lockhart meets Kong Ling-yi in 1903

It seems Lockhart kept notes of gifted books that he received, to remember who gave them to him. The copy of *Kong Zi Jia Yu* (孔子家語) in the Cambridge Lockhart Collection, also bears a note from Lockhart himself: “Presented to me by Chou Fu, Governor of Shantung J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Weihaiwei 1903,” the note was written directly on the flyleaf of the book. Generally, the *washo*, books published in Japan, do not have a flyleaf page (*asobi gami*), which is a blank page placed between the cover, back cover, and the pages. It can be found in most western styles of book binding, but not in the Japanese style of bookbinding. Also, by examining the cover of this copy, it can be easily seen that the original cover and back cover were carefully removed and replaced with the current ones decorated with silver foil. Also, the title slip on the cover was replaced by a piece of fabric, when in most cases it would be a piece of paper. But in this case, we can see the book was decorated to be presented as a gift, a rare opportunity to observe how a Japanese reprint of Chinese classics, *wakokubon*, was collected and appreciated outside of Japan.



Figure 5. Cover of *Kong Zi Jia Yu*, Cambridge University Library, FB.769.1



Figure 8. Lockhart meeting the local official, Zhou Fu (1837–1921)

(3) A Chinese Poet

As mentioned, Lockhart remained active in the field of academics even after his retirement. There are more private Chinese verses amongst the personal documents deposited at the NLS, most of them letters and correspondence between Lockhart and the local officials. Through the practice of his Chinese verse and Mandarin works, it can be proved that the language training he received was at a very high level.

Even after his retirement back to the UK, during the time he was a board member of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, he arranged for the publication of textbooks for students interested in Chinese studies. One is the *Gems of Chinese Literature*, by

Herbert A. Giles, and another one is *Select Chinese Verse* (英譯中國詩歌選), which contains a wide selection of Chinese verses by Lockhart himself, translated by Herbert A. Giles and Arthur Waley, published by the Commercial Press in 1934. This book includes a preface by the chairman of the publishing company, Zhang Yuanji (1867–1959), who was also selected as the first member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the first representative of the Municipal People's Congress. Lockhart's name is mentioned in the preface, and the approved manuscript of the preface can be found in the same copy (FB.525.21) in the Cambridge University Library.

There is no doubt that Lockhart made the selection from his library, so a few Chinese verse publications can be found within the Cambridge Lockhart Collection, and most of them are Japanese reprinted editions. For example, *Biao Zhong Shi Chao* (表忠詩鈔, FB.195.56), *Yong Wu Shi Xuan* (詠物詩選, FB.525.14), *Tang Shi Zheng Sheng* (唐詩正聲, FB.557.16–18), *Qian Zhu Tang Xian Shi Ji* (箋注唐賢詩集, FB.557.33), *Tang Song Si Da Jia Wen Xuan* (唐宋四大家文選, FB.558.31–32), *Du Gong Bu Ji* (杜工部集, FB.563.26–28), *Lu Xuan Gong Quan Ji Zhu* (陸宣公全集注, FB.565.3–5), etc. Readers are recommended to use the Cambridge Digital Library or the Cambridge Rare Books Collection database hosted by the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University to discover more items from the collection.

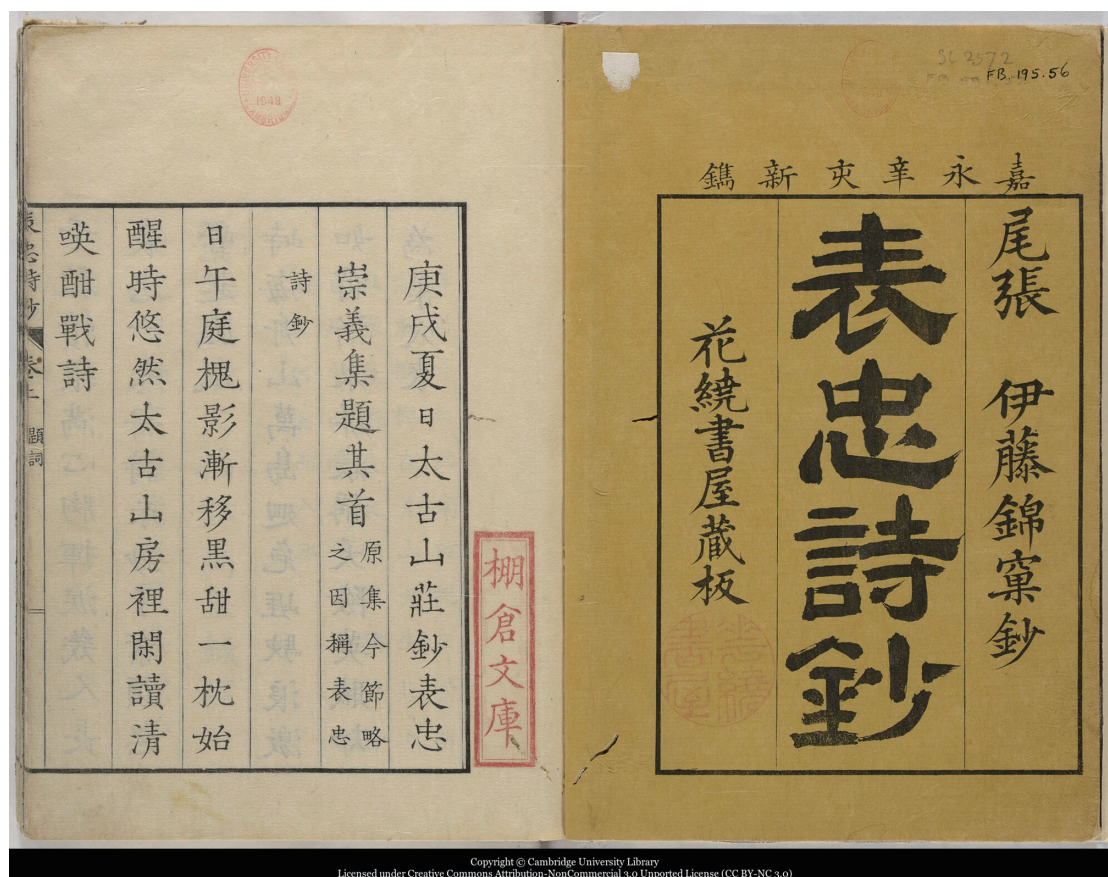


Figure 9. Cover of *Biao Zhong Shi Chao*, Cambridge University Library, FB.195.56

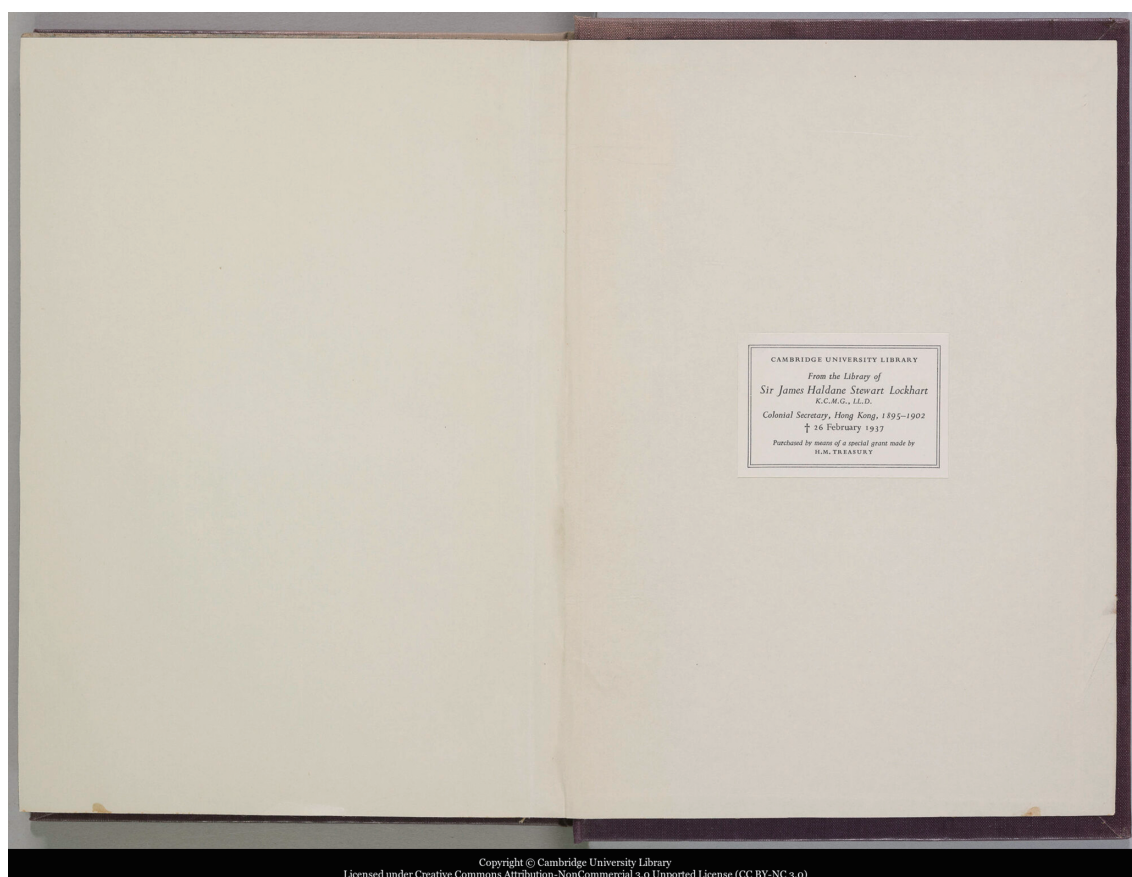


Figure 10. Book plate shows the item was from Lockhart's library

(4) The Distribution of Reprinted Chinese Classics

Wakokubon refers to Chinese classics reprinted in Japan, so that means there should be an original version of the book that was used for the reprint. So, books published in Japan written in Chinese by Japanese people are not considered *wakokubon*.

This rule can also be applied to Korean reprinted Chinese classics, if there is an original work that the reprints are based on. They can be categorized as “*Chosenbon*,” but if that work was originally published in Korea written in Chinese, it is technically not a “*Chosenbon*.” There is no accurate terminology for the books originally published in Korea written in Chinese, but in some cases Japanese speakers use the term “*jun kanseki*” (準漢籍). In this case the term is used in Japanese to categorize books, currently in China; those published outside China using Chinese characters were called “*yu wai han ji*” (域外漢籍).

So, in this case there are also few “*jun kanseki*,” Korean-published Chinese classics, in the Cambridge Lockhart Collection. One example is “*Si Li Cuo Yao*” (四礼撮要) by Yun Huibae, published in 1850, which has no original Chinese version to base it on. *Si Li* means the customs and rituals of ceremonial occasions, such as weddings and funerals.

It is unclear why this category of books was needed outside the region where they were published, but since it was written in Chinese characters, those countries that use it as its official language can understand the contents of the book. Lockhart might have been interested in its contents, since it was related to Confucians, but how many Korean published or reprinted Chinese classics were distributed in East Asia is still under discussion.

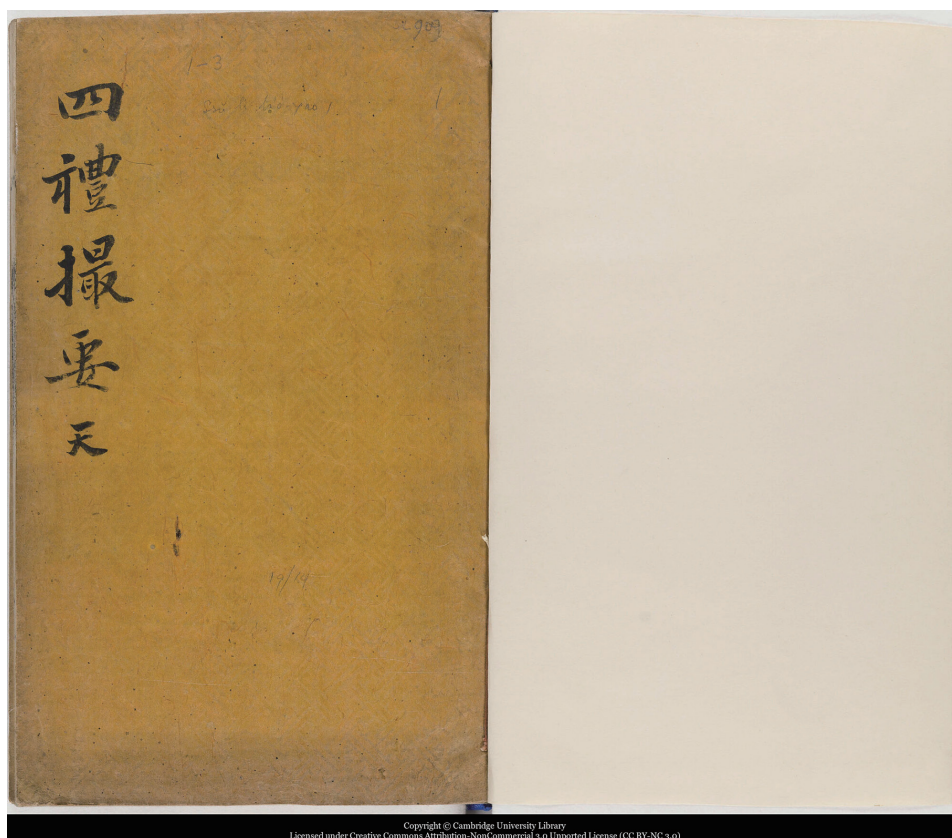


Figure 11. Cover of *Si Li Cuo Yao*, Cambridge University Library, FB.349.3



Figure 12. First page of *Si Li Cuo Yao*

5. Conclusion

From the examples above, readers can gain a rough picture of the wide and various needs for Chinese classics in the East Asian countries. Their appreciation and distribution was not limited by borders or coastlines. The Chinese language and characters were the lingua franca of the East Asian cultural sphere, and there was also a demand for books and materials inside the sphere. Later, when Europeans and Americans had their first contact with what they called the Far East, the Chinese language and characters were the most effective way to communicate with large swaths of the territory. We can safely assume that is the reason why the earlier European and American diplomats were trying to keep as much as they could collect: they were trying to understand, to learn the language and culture directly from where they were.

It is also well known that the earlier European diplomats, including Lockhart, received extensive language training before they were appointed to a position. Most of them possessed only a fraction of the passion to continue exploring the language and the culture that Lockhart displayed. He was one of a very few who learned the essence of Chinese culture directly from the source. This passion made him commit his whole career and lifetime to study and learning and left us a rare chance to observe the transference of knowledge and people through his collection.

The few examples in this article cannot uncover the whole picture of the transference of knowledge and the distribution of books in the East Asian countries, but it is still a privilege to have a chance to glance at the connections among individuals and the interaction between different cultures through this unique collection of books.

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(2) Online Resources

- Cambridge Digital Library, Cambridge University Library. <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/japanese/>> (accessed January 9, 2022)
- Cambridge Rare Books Collection database, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University. <https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/search_cambridge.php> (accessed January 9, 2022)
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