

In Search of the *Larpen*'s Survivors – Hazards and Securities of Sailing about Taiwan

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Abstract

The British bark Larpen left Liverpool for the Far East in May 1850, and was lost in the China seas the year next. Three of its survivors were rescued, and both Great Britain and the United States sent agents to search other possible survivors in Taiwan. The efforts of the British and the Americans have produced a bundle of information about the sailing issues near the island. The paper will explore these materials, and in the meantime, trace the few earlier European observations about the sailing conditions by or around the island, such as the records Lord's Anson's and De la Perous's voyages. The Larpen event, in fact, has something to do with the overture of lighthouse building in and around Taiwan Straits in the second half of the 19th century. By studying the sailing facilities in the Taiwan area before the mid-nineteenth century, the paper will also trace back the pagodas and old-style lighthouses used by the Chinese to guide navigators in the 16-18th centuries.

Key words: Taiwan, sailing, structures

Introduction

In 1883, the Eluanbi (South Cape) lighthouse started to work. It greatly helped improve the safety of navigation in the vicinity of that area. Most researches on the causes of its construction emphasize the effects of two events. They believe that the shipwreck of American bark *The Rover* brought up the issue of the necessity of building a lighthouse in South Cape of Taiwan, and then, another event happened in 1874 created the

conditions of so doing. Such reasoning is, in fact, not quite in accordance with historical facts. The reason of appealing for a lighthouse lies prominently in the frequent shipwrecks occurring in the neighborhood of Southern Taiwan about 1850 and thereafter.

The reasons of incessant shipwrecks were like these: (1) Exportation of Chinese laborers to America. Great Britain abolished slavery in 1833 produced a vacuum of working force, and Chinese laborers were sought to fill the gap. From 1845 onwards, the British firm Tait & Co., basing on Amoy, commenced to ship out coolies to South America. A few years later, gold mines were discovered in California, and the need of laborers was enhanced. In consequence, shipping between China and America grew phenomenally.¹ (2) Another reason is, even before the opening of treaty ports in Taiwan, foreigners eagerly sought commercial opportunities down there. Even it was not legal at all, more and more foreign vessels came to Taiwan for trade, and even tacitly permitted by local officials.² (3) A third reason is that in Northern Taiwan, in the area of Keelung, coal was abundant. Foreign steamers came to refill their tanks or just ship off coals for profit.

While shipping increased, number of shipwrecks naturally grew up. It is the reason of navigational disaster that made the necessity of some sorts of navigational aids apparent. Thus the captain of the *Science*, an illegal trading ship operating in the harbor of Takao (nowadays Kaohsiung), went into an agreement with the Circuit Intendant (Taotae) of Taiwan in written document. In that agreement, the Intendant “permits him to place lights at the entrance of the port on a flag-staff erected for such a purpose, and station buoys on the bar.”³

This is the earliest instance of erecting lights in a Taiwan port at the urge of foreigners. In addition to the “lights”, “station buoys” were also

consented to set up. However, such kinds of port facility to render aids to shipping vessels were not entirely new to Taiwan. Therefore, the Intendant was not reluctant to give his permission. Before the first modern lighthouse (the Xiyu Pagoda Light or the Fishermen's Island Lighthouse) was built up in Taiwan region, there were already two predecessors: one stood in the very site of the Xiyu Pagoda Light, and the other in the estuary of Tamsui River on Northern Taiwan.⁴ As for buoys, probably due to the influence of the Dutch occupation in the period of 1624-1662, the harbor of Taiwanfu (Tainan) was provided with lines of spar buoys to guide the operators of vessels. The buoys were called "dangying 盪纓," and recorded in many sources. "Dangying" means "swinging tassel," describing the motion of spar buoys in the waters.⁵

Anyway, in the second half of the 19th century, records of shipwrecks were plenty. Giving some examples, there are the wrecks of the *Kelpie* (1848), *Sarah Trottman* (1849), the *Larpen* (1850), *Lady Evelyn* (1853), *The Rover* (1867), and so on. A detailed list can be made with the data provided by James W. Davidson (1872-1933).⁶ According to this authority, between 1850 and 1894, some 90 ships encountered bad lucks, two on average each year. During this period, Taiwan was bestowed an embarrassing name – the "Inhospitable Shores (Coast)."⁷

In the unfortunate *The Kelpie*, there was Thomas Nye on board. His cousin Gideon Nye (1812-1888) was a famous (or infamous) China trader of those days. Gideon pressed very hard to the Chinese authorities for rescuing his relative, but to no avail. In fact, none of the survivors of the *Kelpie* was found, and the whereabouts of Thomas Nye was uncertain. It had to wait for a few years when three survivors of the *Larpen* made their appearance in Shanghai that aroused a general concern among the westerners.

The Larpent Event and Aftermath

The *Larpent* event has been quite well told in James W. David's book about half a century after the tragedy.⁸ However, supporting by more complete sources, we are now enabled to enquire into much more details. The new data come from different corners. First, the survivor's testimony reported in the Treaty Ports newspapers, including the *Hong Kong Register* and the *North China Herald*, etc. Second, the men sent to Taiwan to distribute rewards to those who had helped the wreckers and to get information about any other detained foreigners. The British bark *Salamander* took them to Taiwan. Among the people involved, Mr. (later Sir) Harry Smith Parkes (1828-1885) was present as the interpreter. Although he did not publish his own observations, the *Salamander's* officers did have their reports. In the meantime, the American envoy to China, the Rev. Peter Parker, also caused a Chinese agent to be sent to Taiwan for information gathering, and this man's report was translated into English and available to concerned parties. A couple of years later, when the British vessel the *Inflexible* was ordered to go to Taiwan for conducting a coastal survey, Robert Swinhoe (1836-1877) was on board to interpret. He and *Inflexible's* captain, as well as the assistant surveyor, all had their reports. Adding to that, we will also make use of the U.S. government papers for documentation.

Here follows is a concise summary of the *Larpent's* story. The *Larpent* was built in Moulmein, Myanmar, owned by a Mr. Thomas Ripley. It left from Liverpool on May 18, 1850, commanded by Captain Gilson. News of its anticipated arrival at Shanghai appeared times and again in the *North China Herald*. But ultimately it failed. After a voyage of 116 days, it came to the waters off Island Botel Tobago near Taiwan. The waves and surfs were not heavy, and the sky was somewhat clear. Unexpectedly, it ran

aground on the edge of Southeastern Taiwan coast. The captain and seven others took the gig, while the 23 rest crews took the long-boat to escape. Later on, the gig was lost. The long-boat, after many hazards, reached a Sugar-loaf Rock in the southern tip of Taiwan. The men on board started to land, but were shot by the natives with matchlocks. Some of them died on the spot, and the rest were forced to disperse. They were not heard for about eight months. Then, in the beginning of May, 1851, three survivors were rescued by an American vessel, the *Antelope*, and brought to Shanghai via Hong Kong. The British consul at Shanghai, Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897) took the matters into his own hands. In the meantime, the Shanghai foreign community also took some steps to help the survivors.⁹

The story of the unfortunate *Larpen* was duly taken down and published, not only in the *North China Herald* based on Shanghai, but also in the Canton-based *The Chinese Repository*. In consequence the news was widely circulated in the treaty ports along the China coast.¹⁰ Therefore, when Charles Shaw¹¹ stood out to raise funds on behalf of the crew of the *Larpen*, many people came forward. In a few days, a sum of 865 dollars was collected. A list of the contributors is available from the pages of the *North China Herald*. The British decided to dispatch the steam boat *Salamander* to Taiwan, with part of the money raised for distributing to the good-hearted Taiwanese. Apart from Harry Parkes, there were Captain Ellman and Lieutenant Lambert on board. Surprisingly, an unnamed employee of the Tait & Co. also went along together. His purpose is obscure. As for the rescued survivors of the *Larpen*, two (Alexander Berries and William Blake) also joined the mission. The last one, James Hill, being indisposed, was absent. With some difficulty, the *Salamander* got a pilot en route in the Pescadores and dropped anchors between

Xiaoliuqiu Island (the Lamay Is.) and Taiwan mainland. Some of the members successfully landed on the coast of Fangliao (“Pongle” as appears in the source materials) by a bamboo raft. They were informed by local people: it is most advisable to pay a visit to a person by the name Lin Wanzhang (Wancheang, or Bancheong). He lived not far from the landing place, and he wielded strong influence upon the aborigines in the neighboring area. An appointment was duly made and the two parties met in Lin’s residential compound in Neiliao (or Lailiao), just a few kilometers away.

From the conversation, it is confirmed that Lin Wanzhang did know the case quite well. Lin admitted that he had seen Blake and Hill in person in March of the same year (1851). He said he would have helped the two to get free but their master wanted them to stay a bit longer, arguing that if they stayed longer they would learn that his villagers were different from those who attacked them and killed their companions. Blake and Hill escaped later with the assistance of Berries and his master. Lin pointed out straightforwardly that the tribe who had committed the crime was Koalut. It was a small tribe of about 200 people. Out of them, only 60 or so could fight. Had it not been there were in want of consensus among other villagers in the area, it would have been crashed. He added that if the British party wanted to attack the Koalut, he could provide at least 400 matchlock-men. Thereafter, Lin Wanzhang sent a subordinate to accompany them to Langjiao for giving out the rewards. Lin also wrote a letter for them to be delivered to a “towkay” (headman) in a village near Langjiao.

More than one decade later, Sir Harry Parkes made a statement in the meeting of the Royal Geographic Society. Though his memory is not completely sound, he did give a short account about the mission:

“The South Cape was about the very worst point for a vessel to get on shore; for on that extreme point of the island there was a particular aboriginal tribe, numbering 200 or 300 individuals, who had an unfortunate passion for human heads, and it was a habit with them to murder any foreigner that came in their way. He had occasion to make the acquaintance of these people about twelve years ago, when one of our vessels were lost on that point, and he was sent over by Her Majesty’s Government to make some inquiries respecting the missing crew. They succeeded in rescuing two of the men, who were in the hands of another tribe on the western point, the wreck having taken place on the eastern point of the said Cape. These two men had been bought by the Chinese at 6 dollars a head, and had been in captivity with them six months.”¹³

As Harry Parkes was the interpreter, he was responsible for transmitting the information. However, probably time weakened his memory, he made the mistake to say only two men were rescued. Probably he was confused by the fact that only two out of the three were accompanying the *Salamander* to visit Taiwan. The money paid for ransoming those men was seven dollars each for Hill and Blake, although Berries was six. Blake and Hill were detained by aborigines for 4 months (not 6 months) and then purchased by a Chinese, who kept them with him for another four months until they escaped to Berries’s place. Berries’s master (Kewah) then arranged them to reach the *Antelope* and leave Taiwan.

In the beginning, the Americans also tempted to send a gunboat to Taiwan, but after learning of the commission of the *Salamander* arranged by the British, they dispatched a Chinese agent, by the name Oo-sian,

instead. This Oo-sian took a Chinese junk on August 8 in Amoy and arrived at Donggang, Taiwan, in the evening of the 11th. When still in the harbor, he encountered a typhoon and lost almost all his belongings. He spent a couple of days in Donggang and then went to Neiliao (Lai-liao) to pay Lin Wanzhang a visit.

There he learned that the men of the *Salamander* had already been to. Oo-sian and Lin Wanzhang met on the 17th of August. The latter ascertained that there were no more Western fugitives. He himself knew the whole southernmost area well. And, he added, if there were any more Westerners in captivity, they must have been found out for rewards owing to the *Salamander* men had given such a promise.

Before going to see Lin Wanzhang, Oo-sian had also collected information from local folks. It was said Lin Wanzhang owned a watch, a spyglass, and a sextant, apparently from certain wrecks. Oo-sian mentioned this to Lin Wanzhang for clarification. Lin Wanzhang replied that they were brought to him by some aborigines about four years ago for sale, so he exchanged some goods for them. Sometimes later, a mandarin shew his interest in these objects and Lin Wanzhang just gave them away. Lin Wanzhang expressed that he did not know anything more about the origin of those objects.

According to Oo-sian's report, he visited the South Bay where the attackers of the unfortunate sailors lived, then he went to some hillside places, several harbors in the southwestern coast of Taiwan, and even the Pescadores, but no more important information was gathered.¹⁴

Time elapsed for a couple of years, then, in 1858 another British steam ship the *Inflexible*, came to Taiwan for surveying the coast of that island. Robert Swinhoe, who later became the first vice-consul to Taiwan and

was renowned for his discovery of several endemic species of flora and fauna, was on board to render interpretive service. Swinhoe, as well as the commander of the *Inflexible* and an assistant surveyor all reported this visit.

The *Inflexible* left Amoy on June 7, 1858 for Taiwan via the Pescadores. After visiting a few harbors to distribute proclamations in search of surviving ship wreckers and seeing some dignitaries, it arrived at the road of Fangliao on June 14, 1858. The men took bamboo raft to land, and went directly to see Lin Wanzhang (spelt as Banchang in Swinhoe's paper). On the way to Neiliao, Swinhoe found that Fangliao was at odd then with Neiliao, but they were not molested, anyway. Upon arrival, he found there were two Chinese characters written on the door lintel, reading as "wan ke".¹⁵ Douglas Fix thinks the original words for "wan ke" must be "wanji萬記"¹⁶ – some sort of house name –, but I would like to put it as "Fange 番割" – broker with the aborigines –, which we will dwell upon a little bit more later in this paper. As the group of men from the *Inflexible* had read Oo-sian's (spelt as Urian) report beforehand, they also asked about the instruments Lin Wanzhang once in possession, and he gave the same answer as what to Oo-sian. Lin Wanzhang added that he did not hear any news about shipwreck after the event of the *Larpernt*.

Lin Wanzhang: In the Vacuum of Government Power

The men of the *Salamander*, Oo-sian, and the officers of the *Inflexible* all paid Lin Wanzhang visits when they came to Taiwan for finding out information about Western ship-wreckers. Then, who is Lin Wan Zhang? And, why should they do so?

Swinhoe describes his impression of Lin Wanzhang: "The Hero in his house we found, not as we expected to meet him, a dashing Robin Hood,

but a thin stooping elderly man, with bad teeth.” He also records that Lin Wanzhang was married to an aborigine woman, and guesses that Lin Wanzhang might have learned tribal language from her.¹⁷ In another publication, he has more about this man:

“.....When circumnavigating the island in 1857¹⁸, I had the pleasure of seeing a few women, who were married to Chinese at Pongle and Langkeaou. They were much browner than ordinary Chinese, and had their hair plaited and entwined with red cotton after the manner of their people, but they were otherwise dressed like Chinawomen. At Laileaou a Chinaman named Banchuang, of large landed property, traded with the Kalees of the hills, and was on very friendly terms with them. He was constantly at variance with the Chinese authorities who had outlawed him, but could not touch him, as he was so well defended by his numerous Chinese dependents and the large body of Aborigines at his beck. This man was wedded to a Kalee, but she was shy and would not show during our visit. He evidently considered himself vastly superior to Europeans, for he evinced to us none of that formal civility characteristic of a Chinese gentleman.”¹⁹

Again, as we see before, Lin Wanzhang was married to an aborigine woman, and here Swinhoe describes here of the Kalee tribe. The family records of Lian Wanzhang’s descendants disclose that this woman (named Talimaraw Sauniyaw) belongs to the Paiwan ethnic group living not far from Neiliao where Lin Wanzhang resides. This is an important clue to ascertain that the words written on the lintel of his house should be “fange” instead of “wanji”. In fact, an Intendant of Taiwan, by the name Xü Zonggan, once wrote “Lin Wanzhang (is) a *fange* 番格 (Those who married to aborigine woman is called a *fange*). His family serves as Yimin 義民 for generations.”²⁰ *Fange* was the kind of person who stood between Chinese and aborigines as liaison person, but mainly for the purposing of

exchanging materials. A *fange* was usually a Chinese, or a man descended from a Chinese father and an aborigine mother. In the latter case, he is called a *tushezai* or *tushenan*, meaning a “mestizo”.²¹

The commander of the *Inflexible*, G. A. C. Brooker, was not failing to mention Lin Wanzhang’s involvement in trading with the aborigines:

“Mancheong (Lin Wanzhang) is in the habit of trading with some of the aborigines through some of his people; and he assures me, from what he knew of their fierce, savage disposition and thirst for blood, no European’s life would be spared if one fell into their hands. He says, they are more savage in some parts of the island than in others, especially in the South. I left several proclamations with Mancheong, who would have them conveyed and explained to the savages, whose language is quite distinct to the Chinese, and totally different in sound. I heard there were many Chinese settled among these wild inhabitants of the woods, and had great influence with them, because they were the means of procuring articles from the Chinese which the aborigines themselves could not obtain.”²²

Lin Wanzhang had proficiency in aboriginal language, traded with the aborigines, and wielded influence upon the latter, hence was a suitable person to contact. This explains why everybody directed the Westerners to visit Lin Wanzhang when they came to Taiwan for shipwreck issues.

One thing also merits mentioning. Swinhoe noticed the forces possessed by Lin Wanzhang, and could commandeer aborigines to fight for his cause. G. A. C. Brooker also observed:

“This Mancheong has upwards of five thousand men under his control, whom he employs tilling the land, of which he possesses a large extent in the neighbourhood of the hills where he resides. Consequently he commands great influence with the people, and at times sets the authority of the Mandarins at defiance, and presents so formidable an appearance that the latter have more than once retired from an attack they have made on Mancheong for the purpose of extorting money from him.”²³

Robert Swinhoe told a much vivid story in his report. After seeing Lin Wanzhang, they left Neiliao and passed the village of Fangliao where they called upon the tiny military officer stationed there. Swinhoe found the Chinese officer and soldiers were much afraid of Lin Wanzhang, because they were defeated by him not long times ago. According to Swinhoe, the Chinese authorities sent an army of a thousand men to invade the area under Lin's control. When they came near, "Bancheang himself loaded a gun and discharged it at the invaders, knocking over eighteen men at one discharge. The Imperialists were bewildered and immediately made good their retreat..."²⁴

The event described by Swinhoe happened in 1855. Why the authorities had taken troubles to attack Lin Wanzhang? It is not clear, but we can guess. In the previous passages, we cite Xü Zonggang's description about this man. Xü Zonggang wrote in his diary that the family of Lin Wanzhang "serves as Yimin 義民 for generations." "Yimin" (literally "righteous person") were those men who stood on the government's side to fight against rebels. Lin Wanzhang did help the government in quelling some social unrest. However, he was implicated in a rebellion occurred in 1853 which his relatives got involved. He was not indicted after the 1853 event was over. Probably the authorities postponed taking action until 1855 for a better timing, although still failed. Anyway, all these facts reflect that Lin Wanzhang was too strong to be controlled.

To sum up the observations of British visitors about the person Lin Wanzhang, we have no doubt that he is an influential local bully. He wielded power over the local people in the neighborhood of Fangliao, both the Chinese and the aborigines through his role as a *fange*. As he owned his own force, he was also daring to offend the authorities, even fought

and defeated their armies. Why the Qing government performed so badly then? It is because that the southernmost part of Taiwan was declared “Forbidden Land” (jindi 禁地) after a fierce rebellion occurred in 1721 and the government force withdrew from the territory south of Fangliao. Fangliao became the last point with a very small army (no more twenty soldiers) and in fact, the southernmost region was left uncontrolled by the government. Several ethnic groups of aborigines occupied that region. Although the Qing government prohibited and dissuaded Chinese to enter into that region, it was not successful at all. As a result, besides the aborigines, there were other ethnic groups consisting of Fujianese Chinese, the Hakkas, and identifiable mestizos. They also took on their own hands to protect their own interests. Lin Wanzhang was one of such ethnic leaders, and probably the strongest. This explained why he was named to visit by local informants to western visitors.

Shipwrecks and the Safety of Survivors

However, it is still quite a distance from Fangliao to the very end of the Island. On the area near the southeast tip of Taiwan lived the Koalut tribe who was accused by Lin Wanzhang and others as the bloodthirsty killers of the wreck survivors. Although Lin Wanzhang boasted that if the British wanted to attack that tribe, he would be happy to provide more than 400 men with matchlocks, no party was interested so to do at that moment. Later on, in 1867, due to the incident of the wreck of the American bark the *Rover*, Le Gendre – U.S. consul at Amoy – came to Taiwan. He was successful to reach an agreement with the common leader of the league of aborigines in the southernmost region, Tok-e-tok. Killing or harassment against ship wreckers did not happen again, at least in the area under Tok-e-tok’s sway. But there was still another issue waiting to be solved. It is the improvement of sailing security.

The most dangerous threat to navigation is the Vele Rete Rocks. The group of rocks and shoals lie about 10 kilometers south of the South Cape (the southeast corner of Taiwan). Citing the result of Capian Ross's investigation, James Horsburgh has the following description about the Vele Rete Rocks:

"This is a mass of rocks, several of them a little detached from each other, and even with the surface; some of them are above water, and may be seen 9 or 10 miles. The channel betwixt this danger and the South end of Formosa, is about 4 leagues wide, and very safe. But very turbulent ripplings are often experienced in this, and the neighbouring channels, which Capt. Ross observed to extend in a N. E. and S. W. direction, and running so high, that the breakers resembled the sea beating furiously over a dangerous shoal."²⁵

It is confirmed that the *Rover* broke up on the Vele Rete Rocks and the unfortunate survivors were murdered by the Koalut.²⁶ The landing place of the survivors was in Dawan (now the famous resort of Kenting) within the sphere of the Koalut. In the time of Le Gendre, what occupied his thought was the safety of the survivor, not the navigational security. In consequence he pressed hard to the Chinese authorities to build up a fort in the southwestern tip of the southern end of Taiwan (now called Maobitou). Although the idea of a lighthouse to guide the sailors existed in his mind, he did not emphasize the importance and the urgent need of such a construction.²⁷ Although Robert Hart, in cooperation with the Qing government, started to launch lighthouse-building along the China coast in 1867, a lighthouse in the neighborhood of the Vele Rete Rocks was not in his plan.²⁸



Fig. 2: The Location of Dawan in Kualut Sphere.

The construction of a lighthouse in the southern tip of Taiwan still had to wait for decades. In 1874, the Japanese invaded Taiwan in excuse for revenging on behalf of the Ryukyans, whose compatriots were killed after a shipwreck in 1871 by the tribes a bit north of the former league under Tok-e-tok. In the negotiation between China and Japan, the question of navigation safety was raised, and setting up a lighthouse was brought forward.²⁹ One year after, it started. In January 1875 the engineer-in-chief of the Customs, David Marr Henderson, trekked to the Southeast tip for a survey.³⁰ Thereafter, Michael Beazeley, an assistant engineer of the Customs in Takao (Kao-hsiung), went to the South Cape to purchase a piece of land for the use of erecting a lighthouse with local chieftain. The place he acquired, he pronounced, is Wo-lan-pi, now styled as Eluanbi.³¹ A temporary screw-pile lighthouse was erected soon after, but the permanent one took a long time to come out. When the lighthouse was first lighted in 1883, it turned out to be an unusual, fortified lighthouse.³²

Its chief engineer John Reginald Harding had in fact called it a “fighting-lighting machine”. Navigation security and personal safe were all taken into consideration in designing and building the lighthouse. What can do better?

Endnotes

¹ Robert Nield, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1943* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), pp. 17 and 27; Tan Chee-Beng ed., *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon. And New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 76. Cf. Elizabeth Sinn, *Pacific Crossing: California Gold, Chinese Migration, and the Making of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

² James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present: History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects* (London, New York: Macmillan; Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1903), p. 172.

³ Jules Davids ed., *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China, Series 1: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1842-1860* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1973), vol. 12, p. 218, Document no. 26, “Agreement entered into between the Intendant of Formosa and George A. Potter on Carrying on Trade in the Island.”

⁴ Please see Stephen Davies's wonderful paper for this conference: “China's first purpose designed and built lighthouse: findings from the analysis of a long lost but recently rediscovered photograph of the Xiyu Pagoda Light (李西山塔晚燈, Lixishanta Wangdeng)”.

⁵ Cf. Wang Bichang 王必昌, *Xüxiu Taiwanxian Zhi 續修臺灣縣志* (Taipei: Bank of Taiwan, 1961), pp. 35-36.

⁶ James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa: Past and Present* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1903), pp. 180-182 and 216-218.

⁷ For example, the commander of the American fleet in China, Captain W. S. Walker, wrote to U.S. chargé d'affaires Peter Parker, reporting the British motion after hearing the case of the *Larperent* on July 14, 1851. In that letter, Captain Walker writes: “any of the missing vessels (of whatever nation) having been wrecked on this inhospitable coast....” See Jules Davids ed., *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States*

and China, Series 1: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1842-1860 (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1973), vol. 12, p. 56.

⁸ James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa: Past and Present*, pp. 110-112.

⁹ *North China Herald*, May 17, 1851. Cf. *The Chinese Repository*, vol. 20 (1851), pp. 490-492.

¹⁰ For the influence of newspapers published in the treaty ports, please refer to Marlon Zhu, "Diplomatic Intelligence and Inter-port Journalism: The News of Japanese and Chinese Troop Steamers during the Formosa Incident of 1874," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, no. 93 (September 2016), pp. 1-39.

¹¹ Mr. Shaw is one of the proprietors of the Shaw, Bland and Co. Cf. *The Chinese Repository*, vol. 15, p. 8.

¹² *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, October 1851, pp. 520-525, "Salamander's Visit to Formosa."

¹³ *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. VIII (25th Feb., 1864), p. 27.

¹⁴ Oo-sian's report was translated and published in the July 1851 issue of *The Chinese Repository*, pp. 490-492. It seems available to many interested persons. In G. A. C. Brooker, "Journal of H.M.S. *Inflexible* on a Visit to Formosa in Search of Shipwrecked Seamen," in *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 1 (January 1859), pp. 9-11, a "Translation of a Report by Urian, who was sent to Formosa by the United States Consul at Amoy, to search for missing Europeans" is also included. The content is almost the same with a little variance only. However, for unknown reason, Oo-sian was spelt as Urian.

¹⁵ Robert Swinhoe, "Narrative of a Visit to the Island of Formosa," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. I, no. ii (May 1859), pp. 149-150.

¹⁶ 費德廉(Douglas Fix)、羅效德編譯，《看見十九世紀臺灣——十四位西方旅行者的福爾摩沙故事》（臺北：如果出版，2006），pp. 21-22.

¹⁷ Robert Swinhoe, "Narrative of a Visit to the Island of Formosa," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. I, no. ii (May 1859), p. 150.

¹⁸ Swinhoe makes the mistake to record it in 1857, in fact, it was taken place in 1858.

¹⁹ Robert Swinhoe, "Notes on the Island of Formosa," in Henrietta Harrison ed., *Natives of Formosa: British Reports of the Taiwan Indigenous People, 1650-1950* (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines; SMC Publishing, 2001), pp. 66 and 74.

²⁰ "林萬掌，番格也（娶番婦為室，謂之番格），世為義民。" See Xü Zonggan's "Diary of 1853" in his *Suweixinzhai zalu* 斯未信齋雜錄 (Taipei: Bank of Taiwan, 1960), pp. 84-85.

²¹ See Kuo-tung Ch'en, "Chinese Frontiersmen and Taiwanese Tushengnan in the Local Economy of Taiwan before 1900," in Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong, eds., *Maritime China in Transition, 1750-1850* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), pp. 139-149.

²² G. A. C. Brooker, "Journal of H.M.S. Inflexible on a Visit to Formosa in Search of Shipwrecked Seamen," *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 1 (January 1859), pp. 4-5.

²³ G. A. C. Brooker, "Journal of H.M.S. Inflexible on a Visit to Formosa in Search of Shipwrecked Seamen," *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 1 (January 1859), p. 4-5.

²⁴ Robert Swinhoe, "Narrative of a Visit to the Island of Formosa," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. I, no. ii (May 1859), p. 150.

²⁵ James Horsburgh, *India Directory, or Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland ...*, vol. ii (London, 1827 third edition), p.384.

²⁶ James W. Davidson, *Formosa Past and Present* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1903), p. 115. In the letter from Anson Burlingame to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, U.S.A. (Peking to Washington, April 23, 1867), it is clearly stated that the place of tragedy is "evidently the Vele Rete rocks." See, United States Department of State, Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the second session of the fortieth Congress, 1867-'68, China, pp. 477 and 499.

²⁷ Douglas L. Fix and John Shufelt eds., translation of Charles Willian Le Gendre's Notes of Travel in Formosa (Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History, 2013) , pp. 314-318.

²⁸ United States Department of State, Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the third session of the fortieth Congress, 1868-69, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868-1869), pp. 467-470.

²⁹ Edward Howard House, The Japanese Expedition to Formosa (Tokyo: 1875).

³⁰ Robert Bickers, The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914 (London: Penguin Books, 2011), p. 266.

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