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THE TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA

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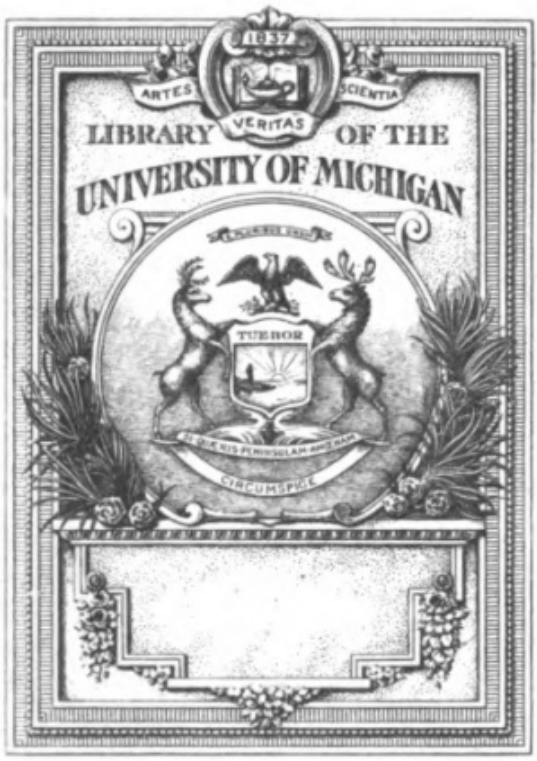

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THE TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA

By

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"THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE" ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, MAP AND DIAGRAMS

THIRD REVISED EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA
1920

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FIRST EDITION 1908
SECOND EDITION 1913
THIRD EDITION 1920

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DEDICATION

[1907]

THIRTY-THREE YEARS AGO FOUR YOUNG MEN CAME TO CHINA DIRECT FROM THE HALLS OF FAIR HARVARD. TO THE OTHER THREE THE FOURTH DEDICATES THIS WORK

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended to portray the present state of the Chinese Empire, with such record of the past as will show by what process of evolution the existing state has been reached. No attempt is made to forecast the future, or even to refer to the revolution which, under the name of Reform, has been begun. The development of many centuries is to be recast, and within a year or a generation, according as the pace is forced or not, it will assume an unaccustomed garb; and the China of that future day, near or distant, will not be the China of to-day. Whether this revolution will follow the precedent of the English Revolution or of the French, whether it will proceed by logical development from step to step, or will rush on a headlong course, will depend upon the wisdom and self-restraint of the leaders in the government, and in the last resort upon the nature of that public opinion which will be created in the Chinese people. But, just as the history of the England of the Georges cannot be well understood without some knowledge of the Stuart period, and as an acquaintance with the France of the Kingdom and the Empire is necessary to a comprehension of the France of the Third Republic, so also, to understand the China which the student of the future will know, he must be able to study its past. The China of to-day is, with minor differences, the China of the past; and in this book it is hoped that the future student will find, within the limits of the dozen subjects treated, a succinct account of the foundation on which the China of the future will be erected.

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I have written also for the reader of to-day. I can add little to the knowledge of the sinologue; but the great majority of the men of Western countries living in China know little of the people among whom their lives are spent, or of the Empire within whose borders they pursue their avocations. Much interest, too, has been aroused of late in the home lands in the study of Chinese affairs, and we have seen members of Parliament and of Congress manifesting an intelligent interest and some adequacy of knowledge in matters connected with the Orient. All those classes will, I hope, find in these pages some information on subjects on which they may seek knowledge.

Excuses must be made to American readers for giving the equivalence of Chinese currency values in English currency only. The statements of value go back over half a century, and readers must remember the state of the American currency from 1861 to 1879.

To the number of works on China I venture to add this one, and to commit it to the kindly attention of the reading public, in the hope that in its pages they will find information not readily accessible in other works.

H. B. M.

SHANGHAI,
December 1907.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE revolution has come, but it is yet too soon to declare if it will be destructive or constructive. China, however, remains unchanged, and a knowledge of the China of the past is as necessary as ever to an understanding of the China of the future. In this belief this second edition is prepared for a public which has given a kindly reception to its predecessor.

H. B. M.

GUNTEN, LAKE OF THUN
October 1912.

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PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

THE continued demand for this work confirms me in my belief that a knowledge of the China of the past, on which is to be modelled the China of the future, is considered desirable by those who are interested in the country.

While the volume was being revised, and as it goes to press, China is everywhere in a disturbed state, divided against itself, with a weak government dominated by a lawless soldiery; at the same time the world is distracted to such an extent that none but well-organised and well-administered nations can hope to win through. And yet the Chinese have shown in their three thousand years of history that there is a vitality in the people which enables them to emerge from troubles as great, even, as those which now threaten themselves and the whole world. A true friend of China, Sir Robert Hart, once wrote :—

"The country will stagger onwards through all sorts of mistakes, but it will be an advance always, and, provided wisdom increases with strength, I don't think the latter will be misused more than, or even as much as, is the case elsewhere."

That the wisdom which gives strength may increase, and that the strength which wisdom gives may be used for good, is the fervent wish of every true friend of China.

The oldest surviving nation in the world is, in some respects, the youngest. While in past centuries the West has learned much from the East, now, in this twentieth century of unrest and progress, of democracy and strong government, the East must learn of the West. In this task of instructing the East in the principles of modern thought

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and the methods of modern science, the United States of America have taken a leading part, worthy of all praise. If England and France could do as much, not even the time-honoured conservatism of China could resist the united impulse given by the three great democracies of the West; and the whole world would be the gainer.

H. B. M.

CAMBERLEY,
April 1920.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	SKETCH OF CHINESE HISTORY	1
II.	THE GOVERNMENT: IMPERIAL CHINA	32
III.	THE GOVERNMENT: REPUBLICAN CHINA	67
IV.	REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE	92
V.	THE CURRENCY	136
VI.	WEIGHTS AND MEASURES	190
VII.	EXTRATERRITORIALITY	195
VIII.	THE PROVINCES AND THE TREATY PORTS	225
IX.	FOREIGN TRADE	297
X.	INTERNAL TRADE	330
XI.	OPIUM	350
XII.	THE INSPECTORATE OF CUSTOMS	385
XIII.	THE POST OFFICE	411
XIV.	RAILWAYS	431
	APPENDICES	449
	INDEX	495

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Map of China		at the end
		facing page
Diagram illustrating Provincial Administration		54
Illustration, Sword Cash		136
,,	Early Cash	138
,,	Later Cash	140
,,	Token Coins	144
,,	Ming Government Note	160
,,	Shanghai Shoe of Sycee	167
Diagram illustrating Foreign Trade, 1864–1911		297
Illustration, The West River at Lungchow		332
,,	Monumental Arch at Wusih on Grand Canal	340
,,	Pagoda at Wusih on Grand Canal	340
,,	Bridge over Grand Canal at Wusih	341
,,	Grand Canal passing through Wusih	341
,,	Types of Bridges on and near Grand Canal	342
,,	Shanghai Custom House, 1854–1893	385
,,	Shanghai Custom House, 1894	400

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NOTE

Currency.—In the following pages the value of commodities is expressed in taels of silver as accepted at the Custom House. The gold exchange value of these Haikwan or Customs taels (symbol Tls.) has been as follows :

In 1864	..	80	pence	English currency	(6*s.* 8*d.*)
„ 1874	..	76	„	„ „	(6*s.* 4*d.*)
„ 1884	..	67	„	„ „	(5*s.* 7*d.*)
„ 1894	..	38	„	„ „	(3*s.* 2*d.*)
„ 1904	..	34	„	„ „	(2*s.* 10*d.*)
„ 1911	..	32	„	„ „	(2*s.* 8*d.*)
„ 1918	..	63	„	„ „	(5*s.* 3*d.*)

In the first months of 1920 it rose to 106 pence (8*s.* 10*d.*) in English currency, which was then depreciated about 30 per cent.

Weight.—Weights are expressed in piculs, catties, and taels.

One picul = 133⅓ lb. av. = 60·453 kilogrammes.
= 1⅓ cwt. English.
= 1⅓ cwt. American.

16·8 picul = 1 long ton.
15·0 „ = 1 short ton.
16·54 „ = 1 metric ton.

One catty = 1⅓ lb. av. = 604·53 grammes.

One tael = 1⅓ oz. av. = 583·3 grains.
„ = 37·783 grammes.

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The Trade and Administration of China

CHAPTER I

SKETCH OF CHINESE HISTORY

THE autochthonous peoples of China are still to be found in the various tribes of Miaotze, Lolo, To, Li, and others occupying the mountainous districts of the provinces of Kweichow, Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi, and of the island of Hainan, driven there for refuge by the conquering Chinese, and preserving their own customs and habits. They have generally preserved their own tribal government and given but a nominal submission to the established government of the country, and, in modern times, have never been prominent in brigandage or in rebellion.

The Chinese came into the country at a date which, in the absence of any positive proof, may be assumed to have been about B.C. 2500. They first settled with their flocks in what is now the province of Shensi, west of the Yellow River, and from there spread to the east and south of that river. From this region they followed the valleys, first westward by the valley of the Wei toward Szechwan; then, crossing the Yangtze, they occupied the basin of Kiangsi, draining into the Poyang Lake; and later, by the Tungting Lake and the valley of the Siang, they occupied

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Hunan and penetrated into the Two Kwang. Their absorption of the kingdom of Wu, stretching along the sea coast from the Yangtze south, was accomplished during the Han dynasty.

The age of the Five Rulers begins with the reign of Fu-hsi (B.C. 2852), who taught the people to fish with nets, to rear domestic animals, and to play on musical instruments; he also regulated the marriage laws and invented hieroglyphic writing. His successor was Shen-nung (B.C. 2737), who taught the people agriculture and herbal medicine. He was followed by Hwang-ti (B.C. 2697), who devised the Chinese calendar and introduced the rearing of the silkworm. The fourth was the great Yao (B.C. 2356), who associated with himself in the government Shun and Yü. These three, whose doings were recorded by Confucius and Mencius, governed wisely and increased the happiness of their people; but their chief claim to fame is derived from their control over great floods which devastated the country, and from a system of canals by which the land was drained and reclaimed. Yao handed down the government to Shun (B.C. 2255–2205) and he in turn to Yü, by whom the Hsia dynasty was founded.

The Hsia dynasty lasted from B.C. 2205 to B.C. 1766, when it was overthrown by a rebellion raised by Tang, the Prince of Shang, who founded the Shang or Yin dynasty. This was overthrown in B.C. 1122 by Wu Wang, the Duke of Chow, who founded the Chow dynasty, which endured until B.C. 255. Then followed a period of confusion until, in B.C. 221, the Duke of Tsin established himself on the throne.

During the Chow dynasty the administration of public affairs received a high degree of organisation. A currency was introduced, the token simulacra of swords and spades, which had formed the medium of exchange, being replaced by token coins of copper, round and flat, with a hole in the middle, the earliest of this form being assignable to about B.C. 660. The government was not yet in name an Empire;

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but the overlord governed through a feudal nobility of graduated rank (duke, marquis, count, etc.), the members of which were in command each of an assigned district, as was the case in the Holy Roman Empire in Europe; and, as in that Empire in its latter centuries, these feudal nobles by degrees asserted their semi-independence, giving only a nominal allegiance to their sovereign.

The Chow dynasty was distinguished by the teaching of the three great philosophers Laotze, Confucius, and Mencius, who were, respectively, contemporaries of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Laotze (the "Old One") was born about B.C. 604, in the eastern part of what is now Honan. His name records the tradition that at birth he was already an old man, with bald head and a beard. His system of philosophy is mystical, teaching men to live in harmony with "Tao" (Right or Reason), the great absolute impersonal principle which is the source of all things and immanent in all things. Taoism, one of the religious cults of China, claims him as its founder.

Confucius (Kungfutze) was born B.C. 551 in the dukedom of Lu, in the south-western part of Shantung. He collected and edited the writings and historical records of the past, giving lectures on them to his pupils. A minister of the Duke of Lu, he left the Court when he failed to persuade his master to govern according to the practice of the wise men of old (a Clarendon to a Charles II), and visited Court after Court of the feudal rulers, seeking in vain for a prince wise enough to accept his counsels. His philosophy was collected by his disciples of a later age and has served as the ethical guide of the Chinese race for over two thousand years. He died in B.C. 479; his lineal descendant was created an hereditary duke in the Tang dynasty; and he himself was canonised by Imperial decree in 1906.

Mencius (Mengtze), also a native of the state of Lu, was born B.C. 372. In some ways he was a more original thinker than Confucius, whom he called his master; but

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in the eyes of the Chinese race his chief claim to fame comes from his having collected and annotated the sayings of the Master, and taught the Master's system of philosophy.

The Tsin dynasty was established B.C. 221 by the Duke of Tsin, who was the first to adopt the title of Hwangti or Emperor; it ended soon after the death of its first Emperor, B.C. 209, but in that short space of twelve years much was accomplished. The Empire was extended until it included from the Great Wall on the north to the Yangtze on the south, and from the Yellow Sea on the east to Szechwan on the west. The feudal system was abolished and the government centralised. The currency and the standards of weight and measure were reformed. During this reign the Great Wall of China, the marvel of future ages, was greatly extended. It stretches, through a length of 1,500 miles, from 98° to 120° E. longitude, and was designed to protect the Empire from the incursions of the wild Tartar tribes on the north, who had then begun to be a menace to the Chinese and who dominated the Empire during many of the centuries following. The Emperor entirely reorganised the nation, and, desiring that it should look forward and not back, he decreed that all books and records relating to the past should be burnt. In this he succeeded only in making his name execrated by scholars in all future ages; but his reforms stood the test of time, and, in its organisation, China retained his impress for two thousand years.

The Han dynasty was established B.C. 206 by Liu-pang, Prince of Han. It carried Chinese arms and civilisation south of the Yangtze (Kiangsi, Hunan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung), following the lines through the Poyang and Tungting Lakes; and it also included Kansu in its dominion, and subjugated the northern part of Korea. Through Kansu the Chinese thus came, by the trans-Asian trade routes, into communication with the West. This period is looked back to as the Golden Age of Chinese history; and "Sons of Han" is the name given to themselves to

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this day by the Chinese, except the Cantonese, who call themselves "Sons of Tang." During this period, too, the incursions of the Tartar tribes became more troublesome, the most insistent being the Hiung-nu, to whom for many years the Han Emperors paid an annual subsidy of silks, rice, and wine.

The Han dynasty came to an end A.D. 25, and a period of two centuries of confusion followed. In this were distinguished the three great traitors of Chinese history, Wang-mang, Tung-cho, and Tsao-tsao. This was followed by the romantic and chivalrous period of the "Three Kingdoms" (A.D. 221–265)—the kingdom of Wei, comprising the central and northern parts of the Han Empire; Wu, bordering the Yangtze and comprising Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei, Kiangsu, and Chekiang; and Shu, including Szechwan and adjacent territory. These kingdoms waged incessant war with each other; but finally the kingdom of Wei was victorious and, absorbing the others, its ruler established the Western Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265–317). During the whole of this time the country was subject to the incursions of the Tartars, who seemed to consider the Great Wall as only an incitement to invasion, and to regard with scorn the weak pretensions of the "man behind the wall." Finally the Chinese rulers were driven from their capital at Kaifeng and pushed south of the Yangtze, the Tartars holding the country to the north; and in that southern territory, with the capital at Nanking, there was a succession of weak and short-lived dynasties—Eastern Tsin (317–420), Sung (420–479), Tsi (479–502), Liang (502–557), Chen (557–589) and Sui (589–618)—each throne set up by a strong commander and lost by his degenerate successor.

The Tang dynasty (618–907) is another glorious period of Chinese history. Its founder remodelled his army and was able to drive back the Tartar invaders, establishing his capital at Changan in Shensi; he reorganised the government and re-established order; he brought the Cantonese

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under more perfect control; and he encouraged the study of the Confucian classics, declaring that "Confucian thought is to the Chinese what the water is to the fish." The culminating point in this period was the domination of the Empress Wu-how, who first ruled jointly with her husband, the Emperor Kao-tsung (650–684) and then as Empress Dowager-Regent for her son Chung-tsung, until in 705 she was forced by advancing age to abdicate her power. Her ability has been recognised by the Chinese, but her memory has been execrated because of the impropriety of her conduct in presuming to govern the Empire. In fact, however, she was the last of the strong rulers of the dynasty, and for the remaining two centuries the throne was for the most part filled by men weak in character and of small capacity. Literature flourished and the arts advanced; but the country was disturbed by internal rebellions and Tartar incursions. Korea was fully conquered in 667 and reduced to a vassal state, remaining in that position until 1895; this secured the north-eastern frontier, but along the northern border for more than two centuries there was no peace.

Nestorian priests, coming from Persia, brought the first teaching of Christianity into China during this period. They were favourably received; and by Imperial sanction a stone tablet recording the tenets of their Church was erected at Sianfu in Shensi.

After the Tang dynasty followed the period of the Five Dynasties (907–960)—Later Liang, Later Tang, Later Tsin, Later Han, and Later Chow—a period of military despotism.

The Sung dynasty followed in 960. Peace was again restored and order established, and for a time one ruler governed the whole Empire. The incursions of the Tartar tribes were, however, soon resumed; and in 1125 the Kin or Nü-chen Tartars—"the Golden Horde"—gained the predominance and made serious inroads upon the Imperial domain. At an early date they seized the capital, Kaifeng,

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and required the Emperor to pay an annual tribute; and in no long time they drove the Imperial forces south of the Yangtze, establishing their own dominion over the territory to the north of the great river. The Chinese rulers of what is called in history the Southern Sung dynasty set up their capital at first at Nanking, and afterwards at Hangchow. Incessant war was waged between the North and the South, between the Chinese dynasty of the Southern Sung and the Golden dynasty of the Tartars, across the moat of the Yangtze, but neither side succeeded in gaining ground; and the Yangtze remained the frontier until the establishment of the Yuan dynasty of the Mongols in 1280.

The Mongols, originating in the district south-east of Lake Baikal, made their first assaults on the northern frontier in 1135. Under Genghis Khan (1162) they entered on their marvellous career of conquest. He first consolidated the loosely knit Mongol confederacy, and then made many successful raids into Northern China. In 1213 three expeditions, one under Genghis himself, overran the country, subjugating as far as the Shantung peninsula. Next the Mongols set out to conquer Asia. They subjugated the country to the south-west of China, pierced the mountain passes of the Himalayas, won a great victory on the Indus, and carried their victorious arms to the borders of the kingdom of Poland. Whenever Genghis conquered a city, he razed it to the ground and put its inhabitants to the sword. Genghis was succeeded in 1229 by his son, Ogotai Khan, who continued his father's career of conquest. He repeated the raid into Europe, pursuing his victorious course through Russia, Poland, and Hungary.

The Chinese Emperor Li-tsung (1225–1265) saw in the rise of the Mongols an opportunity to throw off the domination of the Golden Tartars; and, setting dog to eat dog, he made an alliance with the Mongol leader. Their combined armies overcame the forces of the Golden dynasty and conquered the country north of the Yangtze still in its possession; but when the Chinese Emperor proposed to

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reoccupy Kaifeng and re-establish there the capital of his Empire, he found that the Mongols saw no reason for surrendering conquests which their arms had made, and was summoned to return to his former domain in the south. War was thereupon declared between the allies, and the Mongols entered upon the subjugation of Southern China. Their forces were victorious, and the Chinese Emperor was driven to his last refuge in the island of Yaishan, south of Canton; there he was blockaded, and finally, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies, he and all his family committed suicide by throwing themselves into the sea.

This established the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), which again, and for the first time under Tartar rule, reunited the whole of China under one sovereign. The consolidation of the Empire was mainly effected by Kublai Khan (1260-1295). He failed in an attack on Japan, his sea power being inferior to that of the island Japanese; but, after subjugating the Chinese provinces, and adding Yunnan to his domain, he conquered Annam and Burma and maintained his northern frontier. Annam became a vassal state, its king soliciting investiture from Peking (where the Mongol capital was established) and sending periodic tribute until it became a dependency of France—Cochin China in 1864, Tonkin in 1885. Burma became a tributary state and sent tribute until the end of the nineteenth century. China was, however, but a part of the Mongol dominion; in its whole extent it spread from the Black Sea on the west to the Yellow Sea on the east, and from the northern border of Mongolia to the southern limits of Annam.

The collection of tribute and its transmission to Peking were among the most important functions of the Mongol administration; and one of the first steps taken by Kublai was the improvement of the communications between the north and the south. As a preliminary measure a canal was made from Kiaochow to the Gulf of Pechihli, cutting off the Shantung peninsula and its stormy circumnavigation. Then the Grand Canal was taken in hand. This magnificent

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channel of commerce was begun as early as B.C. 489, and then extended to the territory south of the Yangtze; under the Southern Sung its southern part, from Hangchow to Chinkiang, was much improved; and now, by Kublai, the northern part was restored and its course extended on to Tientsin, from which city the Peiho provides a good water route to Peking.

During the reign of Kublai, in 1271, the Venetian traveller Marco Polo first arrived in China, and on his return to Europe gave to the world the first of the many accounts of the wonders of that Empire. In many respects the civilisation of China was then ahead of that of Europe, and his report opened up a new realm of thought.

In conquering the country the Mongols had no thought of modifying the civilisation of the Chinese, in all respects far higher than their own; and they recognised that their own talents lay solely in the direction of arms, and that they could not supply the qualities demanded for a civil administration. The actual administration, under the Mongols, as later under the Manchus, was in the hands of Chinese, habituated to the ways of government and finance; and the nominal masters of the Empire, based on their northern home and guarded by garrisons stationed at a few strategic points, settled down to a life of luxury, supported by the tribute which was levied on the conquered people. This tribute was mainly in the produce of the country—silks for currency, and rice and other grain for subsistence—the contributions in circulating medium of exchange consisting almost entirely of cowrie shells. Of silver and of copper coins but little came into the treasury otherwise than by plunder; and the needs of the Imperial Government, other than those provided by the tribute in kind, were supplied by issues of irredeemable paper money, of which during most of the short hundred years of the Mongol dynastic rule the annual emissions amounted to the enormous sum of forty million taels.* The distress resulting from this

* *Cf.* Chap. V.

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financial condition, combined with the iron rule of the barbarous conquerors, soon brought the dynasty to its fall; and the rebellious Chinese found a leader of ability in Chu Yuan-chang (born 1328), who had spent his early life in a Buddhist monastery, and now, inspired by patriotism, emerged from his retirement to fight the oppressors of his country. Under his leadership the Mongols were driven from the soil of China, and, in 1368, he declared himself Emperor and established the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), restoring Chinese rule over the Chinese people.

The first Ming Emperor assumed the title of Hungwu and established his capital at Nanking; but, with the continued pressure of the Mongols and other Tartar tribes on the northern frontier, it was transferred to Peking in 1421 by the third Emperor, Yunglo, by whom the famous porcelain pagoda was erected at Nanking as a solatium to its people and a memorial to his father, whose tomb was there. This pagoda was destroyed by the Taiping rebels in 1853 as being an instrument of idolatry. Notwithstanding the constant conflicts on the northern frontier, internal order was soon restored; and the earlier reigns of the dynasty were marked by great prosperity and splendour. The currency was restored, trade prospered, the arts flourished, and scholarship was fostered; and at the same time the power of the Empire was maintained over the vassal states coterminous with China. It was demonstrated to the people of China that Chinese could govern their country and govern it well; and the Ming period, the period of the finest Chinese porcelain, shares in the Chinese mind in the glory of the Han and Tang periods of an earlier date.

It was during the Ming period that European traders first entered into trade relations with the Chinese Empire * —the Portuguese in 1516, the Spanish from the Philippines in 1575, the Dutch in 1604, and the English in the dying days of the dynasty in 1637; the Portuguese traded solely at Canton, the Spanish permitted the Chinese to trade with

* Cf. Chap. IX.

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them at Manila, and the Dutch and English traded at first at Amoy and in Formosa.

The first Christian missionary, after the Nestorians, to arrive in China was St. Francis Xavier, the first disciple of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Society. The jealous regard of the Chinese for their own institutions denied him access to the mainland; and, after a glorious crusade to Japan, he died on the island of Shangchuen (now called St. John's Island), south of Canton, in 1553, without having set his foot on the mainland. He was followed by Michael Roger and Matteo Ricci, who were more successful in their attempts to settle and preach on the mainland, Father Ricci even succeeding, in the closing years of the century, in obtaining a lodgment in Nanking. During the last reigns of the Ming dynasty the Jesuit missionaries obtained a footing at the Imperial Court, and this was maintained during the first two reigns of the Tsing dynasty; the most prominent among them were Adam Schaal and Verbeest, to whom was entrusted the care of compiling the calendar. Of the beautiful bronze astronomical instruments which were removed from their home on the walls of Peking, and carried to Europe in 1900, the older pieces dated back to the Mongol period, but the greater number, and of finer finish, were of the Ming period, one having been sent as a present from Louis XIV of France to the Ming Emperor.

The Ming dynasty finally fell, as the result of successful rebellion by ambitious Chinese generals; but the profit was reaped by the Manchus, a Tartar tribe occupying what is now the province of Kirin. In 1618 the Ming Emperor, Wanli, interfered in a faction fight among the Manchus, espousing the cause of Nikan. The Manchu chief, Nurhachu, having overcome his rival, at once invaded Chinese territory and occupied the Liaotung peninsula. Defeating the Chinese troops, he then took the city of Liaoyang, the inhabitants of which were forced to shavė the front part of their heads and to plait their back hair into a queue after the Manchu

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custom; and this rule was enforced whenever the Manchus later gained possession of a Chinese city. Nurhachu then advanced to force the passage of the Great Wall, where it touches the sea at Shanhaikwan, but was unable to take the city of Ningyuan, which barred his way and was well defended by the Chinese troops, who were aided by cannon supplied by the Portuguese in Macao. The greater part of Manchuria was, however, brought into subjection by the Manchus.

Meantime the country was rent by civil war, two Chinese generals having in 1630 raised the standard of rebellion. Chang Hsien-chung, starting from Shensi, conquered the country to the west and south, and established himself as sovereign in Szechwan, where for some years he was left undisturbed. Li Tze-ching, starting from Shansi, marched on Peking, defeating the Ming troops sent to bar his way, and gained possession of the capital. He then assumed the title and dignity of Emperor, whereupon the last of the Ming emperors, Chwanglieh-ti, committed suicide by hanging himself.

Under ordinary circumstances this would have left the victorious general in possession of the throne and enabled him to found a new dynasty. But a loyal general of the Ming Emperor, Wu San-kwei, resolved to avenge the death of the Emperor, and for that purpose called in the Manchus to aid him in dispossessing the successful rebel; and the allied forces of the Manchus and the Chinese army loyal to the dynasty together gained a decisive victory. The fruits of victory were reaped by the Manchus, whose chief, a minor at the time, was placed on the throne, thereby establishing the Tsing dynasty (1644–1912). After the subjugation of the Empire was completed, Wu San-kwei was rewarded with the satrapy of Yunnan and Kweichow, to be held in feudal tenure; but, exciting the jealousy of Kanghi and fear lest he should set up an independent kingdom, he was summoned to Peking. He refused, declaring that he would come only at the head of eighty thousand soldiers; this was treated

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as contumacy and rebellion, an expedition was sent to reduce him to obedience, and he died in 1678.

The reign of the first Emperor, Shunchih (1644–1661) was spent principally in conquering the provinces. This task was still uncompleted at his death, many Ming princes and partisans being still in arms in the south and west, and the final conquest and pacification were completed by his successor, the great Kanghi (1662–1723). The conquest may be considered to have been accomplished in 1683, in which year Formosa, then recently colonised by settlers from southern Fukien, was first brought into subjection to the Chinese throne. That island had first, within the previous hundred years, been colonised from Amoy; it was then taken and held from 1624 by the Dutch; they were dispossessed in 1662 by Koxinga, of the name-clan of the imperial family of the Ming, who made good his hold on Amoy and Formosa; and he in turn by the Manchu forces, under the Emperor's own leadership, in 1683.

The Manchus imitated the Mongols in leaving the civil administration of the Empire to a great extent in the hands of the Chinese.* They organised the whole of modern Manchuria on the military basis, and converted Peking into an armed camp, with the Emperor's tent in the middle, surrounded by the troops of the Imperial clan, that in turn surrounded by the main body of the Manchu army,† with the Chinese inhabitants (the sutlers of the army) segregated in a separate city, dominated by the walls of the Manchu city, as shown in the diagram. (See next page.)

They further established military colonies in twenty-five cities of Chihli, as an inner line of defence, and selected a dozen important strategic points ‡ in the other provinces at which military colonies were settled to serve as outposts in holding the Empire in subjection. Certain lucrative posts were reserved for Manchus, and an indefinite number of posts in the ordinary administration, latterly not exceeding a fifth of the total, were held by Manchus; otherwise the civil

* Cf. Chap. II. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

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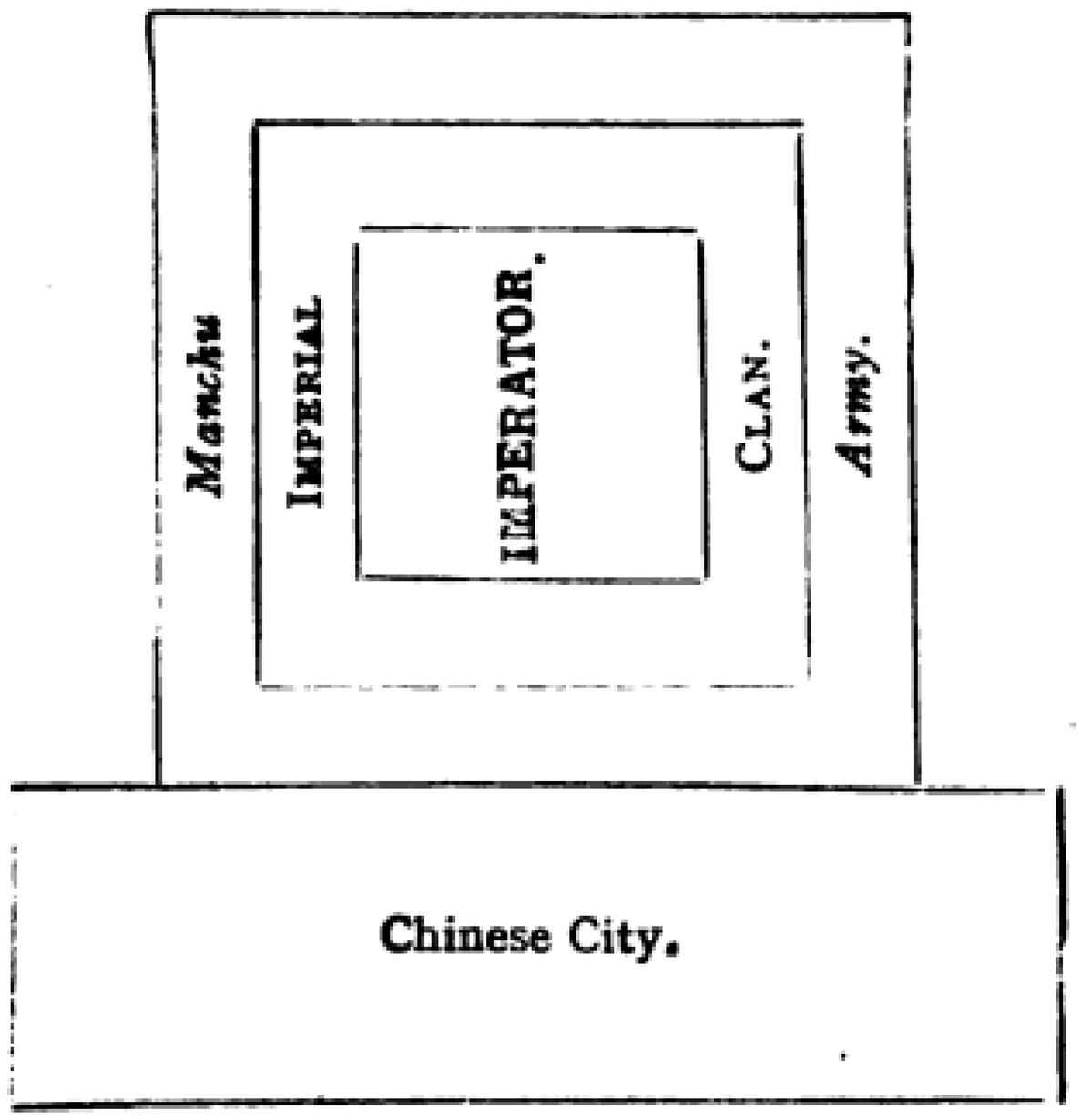
administration was in the hands of the Chinese, the nominally subject race. The Court and the Manchu army (consisting of all adult male Manchus) were maintained from the grain tribute, the land tax, the salt gabelle, and a few minor tributes, the grain tribute being sent in kind to Peking to be issued as rations to the army. The taxation covered by these heads was light, and the conquered race was not discontented with its subjection, so long as the government was strong, official corruption was kept in check, and justice and protection secured to the subject.



The reign of Kanghi was one of great splendour. The arts flourished, and Kanghi porcelain was equal to that of the best Ming period. Order was maintained, and throughout the Empire the farmer and trader enjoyed full security in their occupations. The vassal states recognised his overlordship without question. Scholarship was encouraged; the Emperor himself was no mean scholar, and under his patronage were published the great Kanghi dictionary, and an encyclopedia of universal knowledge in 6,026 fascicules. He himself composed the sixteen maxims, known as the

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Sacred Edict, which, afterwards expanded and annotated by his successor Yungcheng, have since that time been expounded in the city temple of every city in the Empire.

He was succeeded by Yungcheng (1723–1735), whose reign was also one of great prosperity and good administration.

The Roman Catholic missionaries, barely tolerated at first by the Ming emperors, had later obtained a footing at court. Shunchih, the first Manchu Emperor, was much interested in their accounts of their religion and civilisation; and under Kanghi they attained to positions of great importance in the Imperial administration. Though jealous of any attempt to introduce unaccustomed practices, he was much inclined to lend a willing ear to what they had to say, until he was suddenly aroused by a question of mere terminology. The proper rendering into Chinese of the term "God" formed a subject of dispute between the Jesuits and the Dominicans; the Emperor interested himself in the disputation, and gave his decision in favour of the interpretation desired by the Jesuits. The Dominicans, however, appealed to the Pope; and, as the Jesuits were then in disfavour at the Papal court, the Emperor's judgment was reversed. The Emperor was dissatisfied that his knowledge of his own tongue should be questioned by a Western barbarian; and he and his Ministers were startled on discovering that an appeal from his judgment on a question of Chinese polity could be carried to the tribunal of an Italian priest. He therefore withdrew the light of his countenance from the missionaries, and an exceptionally favourable chance of converting the Empire to Christianity was lost. His successor Yungcheng went further and, in 1727, issued an edict prohibiting the propagation of the Christian faith and confiscating the property of the missions. This prohibition was withdrawn in 1844.

Calvinist pastors entered Formosa in the train of the Dutch, and shared their fate in being driven out in 1662. A number of them were then beheaded or crucified by the officers of Koxinga.

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Yungcheng was followed by Kienlung (1736–1796). There were some internal disorders during his reign, but on the whole the administration was effective, and the country prospered. He conquered and annexed eastern Turkestan, and reduced Burma, which had rejected his suzerainty, to subjection. The Gurkhas having invaded Tibet, he dispatched an army into that country and drove them back into Nipal, restoring Tibet to obedience to the Chinese rule.

During the reign of Kienlung the foreign trade of Canton developed and assumed great proportions,* the nations of the West sending their ships and traders to obtain the tea and silk of the Celestial Empire. It was during this period, in 1784, that the Americans entered the commercial field, in which they were soon to occupy a place second only to that of the English; and by the end of the reign all the trading nations of the West were represented in the factories at Canton.

Kienlung abdicated in 1796, after a reign of sixty years, in order that he might not exceed the limits of the reign of his grandfather, Kanghi. With the accession of Kiaking set in the degeneration and degradation of the Empire. The court became corrupt, the administration ceased to be efficient, corruption among the mandarinate went unchecked, justice and protection were no longer assured to the people, the secret societies awoke from their dormant state, and dissatisfaction manifested itself in many parts of the empire. At Canton trade flourished and the foreign merchants increased in numbers; but their trade, grown to larger proportions, was brought under more complete control, while their personal freedom was restricted by many vexatious regulations, some petty and annoying, others making of the trade a close monopoly in the hands of the officials at Canton.

In 1796 Imperial edicts strengthened the old prohibition (originally proclaimed in 1729) against the smoking of opium—up to the end of the eighteenth century smoked

* Cf. Chap. IX.

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entirely in conjunction with tobacco ; and in 1800 an edict was issued prohibiting the growing of the poppy in China, and the importation of foreign opium. These restrictions changed, in immaterial ways, the machinery of trade, but they were not enforced, and they in no way diminished the use of the drug.

Taokwang (1820–1850) attempted to check the corruption of the Court, and to amend the evils of the administration ; but the task was impossible. He succeeded to a rotten administration ; the finances were disordered by a succession of minor rebellions in one after another of the provinces ; he obtained but weak support for reform among his officials, who were the most in need of being reformed ; his army had degenerated ; and he was helpless in presence of the Augean mass of corruption which it was his task to sweep away.

The restrictions on the trade of Canton were made more strict and the monopoly more close. The trade of the nations of Europe was under the control each of an East India Company of its own nation, and this system provided some small degree of check on the working of the Chinese monopoly. But, by the year 1830, fully nine-tenths of the trade was in the hands of the English and Americans. Of these, the English were compelled to trade through, or by the licence of, their East India Company—they could trade with India and other Asiatic countries under licence, but the trade with their home country, including the entire trade in the main staples of tea and silk, was absolutely prohibited to them. The Americans, on the other hand, were free to trade where they would ; even the trade between China and Europe, denied to the English, was open to them. An agitation for freedom of trade started in England, and in 1833 the monopoly granted to the English East India Company was abolished.

This brought China face to face with the English Government, without the intermediary of an incorporated company ; and in 1834 Lord Napier was sent to Canton to settle

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the many subjects of friction and dispute between the two countries. He was not allowed to get so far as to open negotiations ; he was met at the outset by a refusal to treat him as an envoy of a friendly Power, enjoying a position of equality with China ; he was refused an interview with the Viceroy, who required him to formulate his demands through the committee of Chinese merchants through whom the trade monopoly was worked ; his letters were not received, and he was required to present his written communications in the form of a humble petition ; and coercion was applied to the English merchants and their trade to force him to leave Canton. For public reasons he complied with this last order, and returned to Macao, where he died, from fever and vexation of spirit, just three months after his first arrival in Chinese waters.

During this same year died Robert Morrison, who had arrived in Canton in 1807, the first Protestant missionary to be sent from England. He was not allowed to preach the Gospel ; but, under the protection of a nominal post under the English East India Company, he studied the Chinese language, and gave to the world a translation of the Bible and a dictionary which has been the basis of most of the lexicons compiled since by others. The next to follow him was Elijah Colman Bridgeman, sent from America, arriving in Canton in 1829. He founded the *Chinese Repository*, a monthly magazine published at Canton from 1831 to 1851 ; and originated in 1857 the Shanghai Asiatic Society, being its first president. Other Protestant missionaries followed, and in 1845 they numbered sixty, of whom (with one German) two-thirds were American and one-third British. In 1907, the centennial anniversary of Robert Morrison's arrival, the Protestant missionaries, including all independent workers, men and women, but excluding wives and children, exceeded four thousand in number, of whom about a half were American, four-tenths British, and one-tenth of other nationalities.

The Emperor Taokwang took the opium question much

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to heart. The restriction on its import had in no way diminished the quantity; the ships under all the foreign flags (excepting only the ships of the English East India Company) continued to bring it, but, instead of coming into port, they remained outside port limits and delivered it there to Chinese buyers; and the officials continued to levy their tax on it, but it was for their own profit and not for the public fisc. In 1836, in order to combat the evils of a clandestine trade, the question was seriously debated at Peking whether it was not better to legalise the trade, but it was decided in the negative. In this decision the Emperor had against him practically all the tax-collecting mandarins, but in Lin Tse-sü he found a man after his own heart, prepared to over-ride all obstacles and so extirpate the curse. He was appointed High Commissioner for this purpose in 1839; and, on his arrival at Canton, put an embargo on the foreign trade, and placed the English Superintendent and the foreign merchants of all nationalities in close confinement in their houses, deprived of food, fuel, water, and servants, and demanded that the opium then in the "outside waters" be brought in and surrendered to him. With the foreign residents held as hostages for the execution of this command, the English Superintendent, to secure their release, ordered all opium then in Chinese waters to be surrendered to him on behalf of the British Government, and he in turn surrendered it, to the amount of 20,291 chests, to the Chinese authorities, who destroyed it to the last ounce. Commissioner Lin then demanded that each foreign resident should sign a bond undertaking, for himself, his Government, and all foreign merchants, that there should be no more trade in opium. They were willing, in their state of duress, to sign for themselves individually; and, when the High Commissioner found he could obtain no more, he released the imprisoned foreigners and allowed them to take refuge on board their ships at Hongkong. In the war which followed the Chinese were uniformly beaten; Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Chapu, Shanghai, and Chinkian were taken by the British

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plenipotentiary, Sir Henry Pottinger, with Admiral Sir William Parker in command of the fleet; and on August 29th, 1842, was signed the treaty of Nanking, by which the Chinese conceded all that was demanded.

To the Chinese opium appeared to have been the sole cause of the war, and they honestly could not understand that any other cause existed. To their expressed surprise * the opium question was not included in the English demands formulated at Nanking, and they were informed that they could regulate the trade according to their own laws, on condition that, in doing so, they did not injuriously affect the persons or the other property of foreign merchants. The treaty settled the equal status of nations, and guaranteed security to the persons of their representatives and merchants; abolished the monopoly of trade, and permitted foreign representatives to communicate direct with the Chinese officials; designated five ports (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai) at which foreign merchants might erect residences and warehouses and conduct their trade; provided for a uniform and published tariff of customs duties, in lieu of the previous exactions, unknown in amount and uncertain in their incidence; and exacted an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars for the expenses of the expedition and as compensation for the opium surrendered to obtain the release of the persons illegally detained. The provisions of this treaty, imposed at the cannon's mouth, indicate clearly enough what were the motives which led the British Government to take up arms.

The concessions obtained under this treaty for the British were expressly extended to all other nations. In 1844 the United States of America negotiated a similar treaty, by which the principle of extraterritoriality † was more clearly defined; and in the same year France also made a similar treaty. Under the new treaties the foreign

* "Is this all?" as the principal Chinese negotiator, Kiying, said to Sir H. Pottinger.

† Cf. Chap. VII.

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trade developed; but their spirit was not fully accepted by the Chinese and, in the succeeding years, there were much hostility and friction. The Canton Viceroy, Yeh Ming-chin, in particular showed himself hostile on all occasions, never once consenting to grant an audience to the foreign Envoys, British, American, or French, who requested one; and finally in 1856 he provided a fresh *casus belli* by illegally seizing some reputed pirates on a ship, the lorcha *Arrow*, flying the British flag, for which he refused reparation, or even explanation.

In the meantime Hienfeng (1851–1861) had come to the throne, succeeding to an Empire rent by rebellion and rotten with corruption. The greatest of the rebellions was that of the Taiping. This originated in north-eastern Kwangsi, and soon found a leader in Hung Siu-tsuen. He had been instructed by an American Baptist missionary in the tenets of the Christian faith; and, though his beliefs were soon dominated by the practices of an Oriental despot, at the outset he formed a band of devoted adherents, rigid in their observances, unconquerable in battle, and comparable only to Cromwell's Ironsides. Breaking out from Kwangsi in the spring of 1852, he advanced north through Hunan, conquering as he went, but was unable to take Changsha. Yochow and Hanyang fell to his troops in December 1852, and Wuchang in January 1853. Thence he pursued his conquering advance down the Yangtze, gathering adherents as he went, and devastating and plundering the country; and, on March 19, captured Nanking, which he made the capital of the new Taiping empire. For the time his troops advanced no further to the east; but an army was sent north to attack Peking. It defeated every army sent to oppose it, and established a fortified camp within twelve miles of Tientsin; but it was a spent force, and in 1854 its remnants were driven back to the south. Other associated risings were also successful, and in 1854 the Imperial Government was undisputed master of scarcely a province in the Empire.

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This was the time selected by the Canton Viceroy to irritate the three Western Powers, who were then united in making joint representations to the Chinese Government, and in demanding a revision of the treaties and better protection to foreign lives and property. The American representative could take no positive action, since his instructions forbade him to proceed to the use of force, the declaration of war lying with Congress and not with the President; but France was provided with a *casus belli* by the murder of the missionary Chapdelaine, the rightfulness of which was upheld by Viceroy Yeh, who refused any reparation, and, when it came to the clash of arms, France stood by the side of England. Canton was taken by the allies at the end of 1857, just twelve months after the Viceroy had burned the foreign factories there. The forces then proceeded to the Peiho, at the mouth of which stood the Taku forts, which were taken almost without a blow; and they advanced at once on Tientsin, with the American and Russian Envoys in close attendance. There was no long hesitation, and the negotiations were not protracted. With the Empire torn asunder by rebellion, the prestige of the Imperial Government was shattered by the armed force of the English and French, and the conditions imposed were accepted. In June 1858 the Treaties of Tientsin were signed, the first by Hon. Wm. B. Reed on behalf of the United States, the second by Count Putiàtin for Russia, then by the Earl of Elgin for England, and the last by Baron Gros for France.

One article of the British treaty provided for the continued residence of the British Envoy (and therefore of all foreign Envoys) at Peking; but, on the earnest solicitation of the Chinese negotiators, Lord Elgin consented to defer the execution of this condition, substituting for it a stipulation that the ratifications of the treaty should be exchanged at Peking. When, in June 1859, the Envoys of the four Powers came to exchange the ratifications, they were refused a passage past the Taku forts. The French forces were engaged in operations against Annam, and the only fleet

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present was the British. An attempt by these to force the passage was repulsed with heavy loss. It was on this occasion that the American Commodore Tatnall declared that " blood is thicker than water," when he sent boats to tow the wounded English marines out of the line of fire, and went himself, amid the dropping shot, to inquire for the welfare of the English admiral, who had been wounded.

The English and French proceeded to carry their undertaking to its end, and sent a joint expedition, again with Lord Elgin and Baron Gros as plenipotentiaries. The allied force took the Taku forts, after some resistance, on August 21st, 1860, occupied Tientsin, and took Peking. At Tungchow a party of English and French were captured by the Chinese, while engaged in peace negotiations; some were murdered and all were tortured, and as punishment for the act of treachery, the Emperor's summer palace at Yuenmingyuen was destroyed by fire. By the Convention of Peking, which was then signed, the indemnities were increased and it was provided that the foreign Envoys should reside in Peking.

The treaties of 1858 and 1860 made a definite settlement of the relations between China and Western nations; up to 1842 it was China which dictated absolutely the conditions of trade, but since 1858 they have been dictated by the West. The opium question was then settled by the legalisation of the traffic. The smuggling had reached scandalous proportions, demoralising the officials whose duty it was to enforce the law and the merchants to whom it was a forbidden trade. The American Envoy was appalled by the demoralisation, and suggested legalisation as the lesser of two evils. Lord Elgin, who was in a position to dictate terms, was reluctant to take the initiative; but the Chinese negotiators were ready to relieve the financial difficulties of the Empire by securing for the Treasury the revenue which prohibition only diverted into private pockets; and the trade was legalised by including opium in the tariff which was appended to the treaty.

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Meantime the Taiping rebellion maintained its ground. For some years the Heavenly King remained quiet, with his capital, Nanking, as the eastern outpost of his Empire; but the devastation and depopulation of the country dominated by his anarchical rule drove him to seek new bases of supply, and, in 1860, the Taiping forces broke into the rich and hitherto undevastated country between Nanking and the sea. They captured Soochow and Hangchow, and the intervening country, but evacuated Hangchow, leaving the corpses of 70,000 of its inhabitants massacred within its walls. They then marched against Shanghai; but the foreign Envoys had decided to protect, against Imperialists and rebels alike, the neutrality of that centre of foreign trade; and, on August 18th, while the allied troops were advancing to take the Taku forts from the Imperial forces, the allied troops were engaged in defending Shanghai from the Taiping assault. Shanghai was, however, an oasis in a desert of Taiping devastation, and the only successes obtained against their armies were gained by a force organised and led by the American, Frederick T. Ward. To this force was given by Imperial decree the title of "The Ever-Victorious Army." Ward was killed in action in 1862, and after the American Burgevine and the English Holland had tried to wield the baton of leadership, the British authorities lent the services of Captain Charles G. Gordon—"Chinese Gordon." He continued the ever-victorious career initiated by Ward, and recaptured city after city, until finally Changchow was retaken. Gordon then resigned his command, refusing all reward, except the Imperial insignia of the Yellow Jacket and military rank. The back of the rebellion was broken, and in the spring of 1864, after an investment, not always very close, of eleven years, Nanking was taken by the Imperial forces, the Heavenly King committing suicide.

Then followed twenty years of recovery, with no important events, but with a great development of trade. The event most worthy of special note was the mission to foreign

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Powers, at the head of which was Mr. Anson W. Burlingame, with two Chinese associates. He had been Envoy of the United States during the period of reconstruction, and on his resignation in 1867 he undertook to establish the relations between China and the West on a new basis. China was not yet, however, sufficiently advanced to enter on equal terms into the comity of nations, and this was manifest to the sober sense of the Western Governments.

In 1870 occurred the massacre of Tientsin. For some time before anti-foreign and anti-Christian literature had been freely circulated, and the feelings thereby excited were stirred to frenzy by reports that the sisters of the (French) Roman Catholic orphanage were in the habit of kidnapping children, and using their hearts and eyes to compound the marvellously effective Western medicines. A riot ensued in which the orphanage and cathedral were burned and all of French nationality who could be found were murdered with horrible mutilations. France was then engaged in war with Germany, and the settlement demanded gave reparation for the murders, but not for the anti-national animus manifested.

In 1873 the Emperor Tungchih (1863–1874) attained his legal majority, and on June 29th the first Imperial audience was granted to the foreign Envoys. This was a notable concession, but after all only a half-concession, as the audience took place in the Pavilion of Purple Light, a hall ordinarily used for receiving the Envoys of tributary nations.

In 1876 Mr. A. R. Margary, of the British consular service, was murdered in Yunnan. By the Chefoo Agreement, signed on September 13th, reparation for the murder was given, a better method of regulating the opium traffic was agreed to, and the jurisdiction in mixed cases was placed on a better footing.

In 1883 France undertook the conquest of Tonkin, and in so doing came into conflict with the suzerain Power. In 1884 the Chinese fleet in the port of Foochow was destroyed by the French fleet, which had entered the anchorage before

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the outbreak of hostilities. Formosa was then attacked, but was successfully defended by the Chinese. An inconclusive war was closed by a treaty, signed June 9th, 1885, by which the French claim to Tonkin was recognised, while France abandoned all other demands on China.

Korea had been a vassal state under the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor since the year 667; but the subjection was little more than nominal, being made manifest chiefly by the formal approval and investiture of each new Korean King, and the annual sending of tribute. The suzerain Power generally maintained the land frontier, but gave no protection against the incursions of the Japanese, the most notable of which was that under Hideyoshi in 1592; and in that year a Japanese settlement was founded at Fusan. In 1876 an unprovoked attack on Japanese gunboats led Japan to send an expedition against Korea, and as a result three Korean ports were opened to Japanese trade under conditions of extraterritoriality. As a measure of protection against this, China required Korea to open these ports on the same terms to the trade of all nations. Much disorder followed, and on one occasion, in 1882, the Japanese Legation was attacked and burned to the ground. Japan sent troops to Chemulpo to demand reparation, whereupon China despatched a force to Seoul to maintain order. A clash seemed imminent, but the matter was settled by a *modus vivendi* established by Li Hung-chang and Count Ito. On the ground that disturbances existed along the frontier of her Siberian possessions, Russia moved her troops in the direction of Korea; as a counter-movement the British fleet occupied Port Hamilton, an island south of the southern point of Korea, but it was abandoned in 1887.

In 1894 China sent troops to Korea to suppress disorder which had broken out, and Japan answered by sending a force to maintain the independence of Korea. Both nations were fully equipped; but Japan had fully imbibed the spirit of Western military methods, while China had acquired only the material. The Japanese forces on land were

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uniformly victorious, and drove the Chinese out of Korea, across the Yalu and through eastern Manchuria, with scarcely a check. In the naval battle off the mouth of the Yalu the Japanese gained a great victory, owing to the inferior quality of the Chinese ammunition. The Japanese forces then assaulted and captured the stronghold of Port Arthur; and at Weihaiwei they captured the forts and many of the ships remaining to China, after a gallant defence by Admiral Ting Ju-chang. The war was closed by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed April 17th, 1895, by which it was recognised that Japan occupied a status on an equality with any Western power; the independence of Korea was admitted; the Liaotung peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores were ceded; an indemnity of two hundred million taels was exacted; and further Chinese ports, all inland, were to be opened to foreign trade. Ultimately, on the joint demand of Russia, France, and Germany, the cession of the Liaotung peninsula was waived, in exchange for an additional indemnity of thirty million taels.

China seemed to have reached her lowest depths, and the European Powers began to provide against the impending break-up of the Empire. In 1897, as compensation for the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung, Germany demanded and obtained a "lease" of Kiaochow. Then in 1898, in rapid succession, "in order to restore the balance of power in the Ear East," Russia obtained a lease of Port Arthur, England of Weihaiwei, and France of Kwangchowwan. In 1899 Italy demanded the lease, on the same footing, of Sanmen Bay in Chekiang. This was too much: Italian interests in China were of the smallest, and Italy had never displayed her strength in Chinese waters; and China, weak and disorganised as she was, peremptorily refused the demand. No evil consequences followed on this refusal, and the patriotic party was much elated.

China had slumbered for half a century, but the awakening seemed at last to have come. The Young China

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party believed that only by radical reforms could the Empire be saved; and one of the most ardent of their number, Kang Yu-wei, gained the ear of the Emperor. He was carried away, and issued edict after edict, intended to transform in a few months the institutions based on thousands of years of settled government, and to correct the abuses engendered by a century of corrupt administration. The tried Ministers of State took alarm, the Empress Dowager emerged from her retirement and soon restored the Emperor to his natural obedience, and the wave of impulsive reform was checked. But the feeling of discontent among the people was too strong to be suppressed, and in 1900 it manifested itself in the vague and aimless national and anti-foreign rising known as the Boxer * Outbreak.

The Boxer movement came as a bolt from the blue, with no warning, and soon the foreign communities at Peking and Tientsin, including the foreign Envoys at Peking, were beleaguered by many thousands of armed fanatics, determined on their extermination and the uprooting of all foreign influence. The whole world stood aghast. No such crime against the comity of nations had been committed within historical times, and thousands of troops were sent by the principal Western Powers to the succour of their besieged countrymen and their imperilled Envoys. The defence of the beleaguered communities was gallantly maintained, under conditions which recall the siege of Lucknow in 1857; but they were in daily peril for nearly three months. One attempt to relieve them was made by an international contingent of 2,000 sailors of all nations under the British Admiral Seymour; but, while they were on the march, the Taku forts were attacked and taken on June 16th, by the foreign fleets,

* The movement was conducted by a secret society named the "Yi-ho" society, which, by its sound, might be interpreted either the "Society of Justice and Union" or the "Society for Pugilistic Exercises." Cf. German Turnverein of 1813.

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